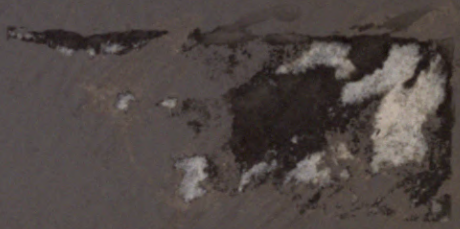

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HISTORY OF THE JESUITS.

M. Gaster

Ignatius Loyola.

A. Stanley, Bishop.

Feb. 7 1887.

THE JESUITS;

A

COMPLETE HISTORY

OF

THEIR OPEN AND SECRET PROCEEDINGS FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE ORDER TO THE PRESENT TIME.

TOLD TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE

BY

THEODOR GRIESINGER.

TRANSLATED BY

A. J. SCOTT, M.D.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
W. H. ALLEN & CO., 13 WATERLOO PLACE.
PUBLISHERS TO THE INDIA OFFICE.

1885.

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THE JESUITS:

COMPLETE HISTORY

OF

THEIR ORIGIN, PRINCIPLES, AND PRACTICES.

SECOND EDITION

LONDON:

W. H. ALLEN & CO., 13 WATERLOO PLACE.

1848.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE new edition of my "History of the Jesuits" is the best proof that the book has done its work. It has found thousands of readers, and no one has put it aside without having obtained a proper idea of this Society, so worthy of condemnation. And seeing, now, that the Imperial Government has ranged itself on our side, let us hope that the accursed ban by which, through the influence of the Jesuits, the spiritual resurrection of our fatherland has been restrained, will now be removed from Germany.

Firstly, the crushing of the Empire's enemies, and now the attack on the foes of light! When was there ever for Germany a greater epoch?

STUTTGART,
July, 1872.

2092207

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THERE is a structure in the world, to the completion of which every thinking man is bound to lend his assistance, I mean the fabric of intellectual light and spiritual freedom, without which real and material liberty cannot be attained. Providence has given to some few the power of contributing a corner-stone, or even an entire pillar, to this building, and those few are the "Spiritual Knights" of whom Heine sings. But even when to the remainder this power is wanting, are they on that account to lay their hands on their lap and totally refrain from labour, when, perhaps, they might be in a position to pass on towards this erection the mortar and small stones? I say "No"; and upon this "No" have I completed the "History of the Jesuits." May this book contribute a little, if not to the stripping-off of the fetters of superstition and spiritual thraldrom in which so many hundred thousands are still bound, at all events to the loosening of them and to the preparation for casting them aside. More I do not expect.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In reading this remarkable book, it struck the translator that, perhaps, it would not be unacceptable to the reading public of this country to know what is thought, in Protestant Germany, about the Society of which it treats. He has, therefore, devoted some of his leisure to rendering it into English.

In order, however, that the reader may know something about the author of this work, he has also added a translation of what is said of him in the fourth volume of Heinrich Kurz's *Geschichte der neusten Deutschen Literatur, von* 1830 *bis auf die Gegenwart*, fourth and improved edition, Leipzig, 1881:—"Karl Theodor Griesinger was born at Kimbach near Welsach, in Wurtemberg, on the 10th December 1809. After a complete study of theology, he became a vicar, but relinquished this position in three years to devote himself to literature. After a severe illness, he entered in 1841 a bookseller's shop, in order 'to make sure of his bread,' but again gave up this career in 1848, and founded a democratic newspaper, *Die Volkswehr*, which led to his arrest for high treason. Of this charge, however, he was acquitted, but, notwithstanding, it was the cause of his emigration to America with his wife and child in 1852. As the mode of life there did not please him, he returned to Stuttgart in 1857, when he again resumed the career of author, and for his *Würtemberg nach seiner Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, *&c.*, received from the King the gold medal for Arts and Sciences. Griesinger belongs to the German Democrats, who were not pleased with life in America, because it was tinged with truly republican opinions. This may be concluded from his *Lebenden Bildern aus America* (Stuttgart, 1858), which, moreover, are indicative of talent. These are not exactly novels, but rather descriptions of life among the Germans in America, more especially in New York, and this life is represented in a poetical manner and with spirit.

His *Emigranten Geschichten* (Tuttlingen, 1858–59, II.), relating to matters connected with German emigration, show the inventive faculties of the poet, as well as his skill in describing situations and characters. Some tales are represented with the delicious humour which had already gained for the author many friends in *Humoristischen Bildern aus Schwaben* (Heilbron, 1839), *Die Alte Bauerei oder Criminalmysterien von New York*, is a clever story, but rather distasteful from its exaggerated atrocities. That the revelations in the *Mysterien des Vaticans oder die geheimen Sünden des Papsthums* (1861, II.), were, and still are, in accordance with the spirit of the age, is proved by the proceedings of the Jesuitical party in the Council of 1870. Griesinger also attempted historical novels, not without success, both in the *Letzten Tagen der Grävenitz* (Heilbron, 1839), and the *Heinrich von Mompelgard und Elisabeth von Bitsch*, a historical novel of the end of the fifteenth century (Stuttgart, 1860, II.)."

Dr. Griesinger, in addition to the above mentioned, published also several other historical works, such as *Das Damen Regiment an den verschiedenen Höfen Europas* (Stuttgart, 1871–72), and *Die Geheimnisse des Escurial* (Stuttgart, 1869), *Geschichte der Deutschen* (Stuttgart, 1874, IV.), now out of print. His *Mysterien des Vaticans*, a most interesting work, containing startling revelations as to the great depravity which the Church of Rome had fallen into, previous to the Reformation, was published in 1861. It was translated into English and published in 1864 by Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co., of Waterloo Place. The *History of the Jesuits* was published in 1866, and a second edition in 1873. This Society had been used by the Papacy in order to combat the Reformation. Some uphold the sons of Loyola, others, like the author, condemn them, but it cannot be gainsaid that the Society has been expelled from almost every Christian State, and from some of them more than once. This work is now presented to the reading public in an English dress, and the translator's task ends with the translation.

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BOOK I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE JESUITS;

OR,

THE SAINT IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

MOTTO.

Der Teufel sass in der Höll' und krümmt sich vor Schmertz
Weil der Mönch Luther sich gefasset das Herz
Einzugreifen in der Welten Ring,
Und zu stürzen die Alte Ordnung der Ding'.
"Ist nicht genug," so heult er, "dass es weithin schalt
Dass die Arge sich wagt an die geistliche Gewalt?
Muss er auch noch mein eigen Reich und Dominium.
Sich erkühnen zu stürzen um und um?
Bei meiner Grossmutter, er ist im Stand und erobert die Höll'
Wenn ich ihm nicht eine grossere Macht entgegenstell'!
Doch wer hilft mir in dieser schweren Noth,
Wo die Welt aus den Fugen zu gehen droht?"
So heult der Satan und schlug sich vor's Hirn
Dass blutgefärbt war bald die schwarze Stirn.
Da trat er die Schlang' zu ihm und alt giftig' Thier
Welcher von Bosheit, Trug und List der Bauch berstet schier.
Und flüstert' ihm leis' ein paar wort' in's Ohr,
Der Teüfel in seinem Innern nicht eins davon verlor,
Aufsprang er und erleichtert schwoll ihm die Brust
Und sein Auge leuchtet vor Wonn' und Lust.
Neun Monat drauf ein Weib einen Jungen gebar,
Dess' Name Don Innigo von Loyola war.

Aus der alten Reimschronik des Pater Cyprian.

(Translation.)

The Devil sat in hell and doubled himself up with pain, because the monk Luther was courageous enough to encroach on the round world, and to upset the old order of things. "Is it not sufficient," he screamed, "that it resounds from afar that the wicked one dares to venture an attack on the spiritual power; must he also be bold enough to turn everything upside down in my own kingdom and dominion? By my grandmother, he has taken up a position and will rob hell if I do not oppose him by a greater power. And who will help me in this severe exigency, when the world threatens to depart from its course?" Thus howled Satan, and flogged his brains in such a way as to make his black forehead the colour of blood. At this juncture the Serpent approached him, the old poisonous beast, who nearly burst his belly with malice, deceit, and cunning, and whispered softly a couple of words into his ear. The Devil lost not a syllable in his innermost thoughts. Up he sprang, and his swollen breast was relieved, and his eye shone again with pleasure and lust. Nine months after that a woman gave birth to a youngster whose name was Don Innigo de Loyola.

From the old Rhymes of Father Cyprian.

CHAPTER I.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA BECOMES HOLY.

It is a fact regarding which, according to the views of all enlightened people, the Germans have reason to be not a little proud, that almost all orders of monks belong to the Romaic speaking races, *i.e.* French, Italian, and Spanish, the Germans not having the slightest connection therewith. Thus formerly the widely extended Order of the Benedictines has to thank for its origin the holy Benedict of Nursia in Umbria, a province of Italy. So also the Camaldolenses, whose founder was the holy Romuald, from the family of the Dukes of Ravenna, while they derive their name from the Abbey of Camaldoli near Arezzo in the Appenines. The grey monks of Vallombrosa come from Fiesoli in the territory of Florence. Further, the Carthusians so named from the solitude of La Chartreuse near Grenoble, where the holy Bruno, in the year 1086, built the first hermitage for the companions of his persuasion. Then come the Cölestines, called into existence by the hermit Peter de Murrhone, who in the year 1294 ascended the Papal throne under the name of Cölestine V.; after them we find the Cistercians created by Robert Abbot of Citeaux, or Cistercium, followed by the Sylvestrians, the Grandimontines, and others. In like manner the Augustines and all those congregations who regulated their cloisters according to the rules of the holy Augustus, viz. the Prémonstratenses,* the Servites, the Hieronymites, the Jesuaden,

* I am well aware that this Order was founded by the Canon Norbert, from Zanthen, in the territory of Cleve, a man of German extraction, who was afterwards, from his zeal for the Church, nominated Archbishop of

and the Carmelites, as well as the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchines, along with the Minimen, the Minorites, and the whole tribe of Beggar Orders, have all likewise a pure Italian origin. The fact is, that all the cloisters and instituted Orders have, in a word, their homes to find in Italy, France, and Spain. The reason thereof is not difficult to discover. The spirit of the German nation is, indeed, by no means of a very imaginative nature, and does not allow itself to be overruled by fancy, especially in regard to religion. In other words, the German has altogether a too cold-blooded, calculating, deliberate temperament, to allow himself to be easily and thanklessly enthusiastic, and is much more inclined to indulge in subtle inquiries and investigations: on this account expelled from Rome in a most bitter way, the chief heresy, namely, Protestantism, owes its birth to Germany.

In reviewing all these many orders more closely, or even merely running over their names superficially, the question naturally suggests itself, which of them might be considered the best, the most excellent and most esteemed? This question was formerly much discussed, especially among the Orders themselves, and it gave rise among them to an infinity of strife, jealousy, discord, and mutual depreciation. In short, formal war took place between the individual Orders, and I need only mention Thomists and Scotists (Dominicans and Franciscans, the former followers of Thomas Aquinus, the latter of Duns Scotus) in order to render superfluous all further explanation. If, in this manner, disputes took place among the members of the Orders themselves, how much less could the public, the lay world, be expected to agree as to their value or excellence, especially while the national jealousy of French, Italian, and Spanish was mixed up with the question.

In the sixteenth century, two circumstances occurred which at once put a termination to the contention, namely, the Reformation and the institution of the Order of the Jesuits.

Magdeburg, and still later translated, indeed, among the saints; but in the first place the Prémonstratenses are only a new edition of the "Canonici regularis Sancti Augustini," who, it was well known, derived their origin from Italy; secondly, Norbert lived so long in France that he was no longer German, but simply thought and acted as French; thirdly and lastly, the foundation really took place in France, namely, in Sprenge, in the Bishopric of Laon, in the forest of Concy, on a meadow indicated by heaven itself (*Pré montre*, hence the name Prémonstratenses), and the immigration of the brethren of the Order into Germany only took place several years afterwards.

Before the clearing thunderbolts launched forth by the Reformers, Monachism, then flourishing, could no longer maintain itself; so it collapsed like a decayed building, and all its former admirers were at once converted into mockers and scorners, if not into haters and persecutors.

On the other hand, through this Reformation, that is, by the insight thereby obtained, the Catholic world and the Papacy could no longer possibly, by the means hitherto employed, ward off the frightful attacks with which it was assailed; so a new Order, I mean that of the Jesuits, was called into existence, which at once not only threw totally into the shade all previous monkish brotherhoods, but which accomplished more in a single century than the whole of them put together had effected during the long period of their existence. All were amazed at the new Order, and all, whether friend or foe, were unanimous in the belief that the Jesuits, in relation to power, influence, extension, empire, and mastery, had made even the impossible possible. All, however, agreed, that never so long as the earth had been inhabited by man had there been a society so steeped in meanness and vileness as were the Jesuits; indeed, should the tenth part of the crimes and shameful deeds attributed to them be true, they are unworthy to exist among men. Briefly, everyone could not but admire the intellect, the extraordinary activity, and the remarkable organisation of the Order of Jesuits; on the one hand, there were numbers who actually shuddered at the bare mention of their name, whilst, on the other, not a few broke out into excessive and rapturous praises of the fraternity.

Thus was it judged of the Jesuitical Order in the last century, and precisely the same opposite opinions may be heard in the present day, when the Order seems about again to raise itself in all its pristine glory. Under these circumstances can it be otherwise than of the highest interest to hear something more in detail of this society? Is it not the duty of the historian, then, to make people acquainted with all that is true respecting this hate and this admiration, and to penetrate into all the secrets with which the Jesuits are alleged to be surrounded?

I believe the only answer to this question must be an unqualified *Yes*, and thus will I at once forthwith begin to make the reader acquainted with the founder of this Order. His country is also a foreign one, as in the case of the founders of all the

other Orders. Spain, indeed, that most Catholic of all Catholic countries, had the good fortune to bring him into the world. In the Basque province of Guipuscoa, between the two small towns of Azcoitia and Azpeitia, rose a proud feudal castle, which belonged from the thirteenth century to a highly aristocratic family bearing the name of Loyola, and in this castle, the ancestral seat, resided towards the end of the 15th century, Bertram, son of Perez, lord of Loyola and Ogne, or, as it is also written, Onate. As spouse he had Donna Marianna Saez of Licona and Balda, so called from her father being the knight Martin Garcia de Licona and her mother the Marchioness de Balda; but to this high-sounding title her dowry did not at all correspond, consequently Knight Bertram found himself possessed of no very splendid property, besides the two castles and the land surrounding them. More fruitful, however, was it ordered in the domain of love, seeing that the tender pair were blessed by degrees with eleven children*—seven sons and four daughters; of the former, the youngest, who came into the world in 1491, *i.e.* eight years after the birth of Luther, received the baptismal name of Don Innigo (or Ignatius) Lopez de Ricalde in the church of the holy Sebastian de Soreasu in the before-mentioned small town of Azpeitia. This Ignatius was destined to become the founder of the most celebrated and at the same time the most ill-famed Order ever instituted. Don Innigo showed, while yet a boy, the most remarkable capabilities, but unfortunately they were not cultivated as they might have been, it being thought unnecessary for him to do more as regards learning than to be able to read and write his own mother-tongue. Moreover, an uncle domiciled at Arevalo in old Castile, with whom he passed the greater part of his childhood, had him instructed in fencing, dancing, and playing on the mandoline, in

* Some biographers make out that there were fourteen children, nine sons and five daughters, but the names of eleven only are preserved to us, and these are as follows:—(1) Don Joannes, who lost his life in the Neapolitan war; (2) Don Martinus, who inherited Loyola on the death of Joannes; (3) Don Bertram, who also died young on the field of Nona; (4) Don Ochoa, who was taken off, too, in his youth; (5) Don Hernandus, who died in India; (6) Don Petrus, who entered the Church, and who officiated in the cathedral of Aspezia, that is, in that of the holy Sebastian; (7) Don Innigo, whose life I am now describing; (8) Donna Magdalena, married to Don Joannes Lopez de Gallay Itaqui; (9) Donna Mariana, married to Don Stephano de Arqueza; (10) Donna Katherina, married to Don Joannes de Martinez de Lasuo; (11) Donna Maria, who died unmarried.

all which accomplishments the young Innigo was made to excel. At the age of fourteen, Don Antonio Mariquez, Duke of Majera, and grandee of Spain, a distant relation of the Loyola family, obtained for him the situation of page at the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella, and here, in this brilliant and luxurious atmosphere, he received the last finishing strokes of his knightly education. In other words, he learned to make love declarations to the ladies in finely-turned phrases—sung, it may be well understood, to the accompaniment of the mandoline—and when the jealousy of husbands, brothers, and bridegrooms was raised thereby, he was quite ready to defend himself in his nightly serenades sword in hand. In a word, he obtained for himself, as did others of his age and rank, the reputation of being a very vain, high-spirited, and withal eccentric but at the same time agreeable, brave, and self-sacrificing comrade, who never broke his word. With all this, he was well made, and had a broad open forehead, grey eyes, and a fine roman nose somewhat bent, a healthy colour, and a symmetrical strong build, though not above the middle height. It was, therefore, not to be wondered at that he obtained favour with the fair sex, without on that account being unpopular with the men. After he had thus employed himself during several years in such-like trifling, and established for himself the reputation of being a first-rate "Cabelleros," he came to the conclusion that such a life was truly purposeless, and seized with most vehement ambition, he resolved upon entering on a military career, in order that his brows might be crowned with laurels. This time, also, the Duke Rosera gave him a helping hand, and soon advanced him to the rank of officer. Of this distinction he well knew how to render himself worthy in every respect, and he not only gave most glorious proof, on the battle-field, of a brave heart and a strong arm, but also in his leisure hours he sought to perfect himself theoretically in systematic study of the art of war. Still, I should not conceal that he continued while in winter quarters to devote himself with true knightly art to gallantry, and in the arms of love he sought to console himself for the hardships of the summer campaign.

In this manner did he spend several years, which brought him pretty soon to the rank of captain, while he confidently trusted that his acknowledged bravery would eventually raise him to

become a general. He dared the more to hope this, as at that time there existed much strife and contention, in that Charles V., the successor of Ferdinand and Isabella, and at the same time Emperor of Germany, strove for ten long years for the mastery of Europe with Francis I., King of France. But now a sudden accident put an immediate end to all these brilliant expectations. In the year 1521 the French, led by André de Foix, Lord of Esparre, besieged the town of Pampeluna, and on the 20th of May, after a breach had been effected, the assault was made. The defence of the citadel was, however, entrusted to a *man*, even to Don Innigo Loyola, who resolved rather to be buried under the ruins than that his heroic reputation should be stained by a cowardly surrender, so that the French could not gain a foot without paying for it with rivers of blood. Whilst the brave Loyola received a wound on his left foot from a fragment of a broken wall, he at the same time had his right leg shattered by a cannon-ball, and consequently all resistance was now at once at an end; and the Spaniards, seeing their leader fall, lost courage and yielded unconditionally. The French commander behaved nobly on the occasion, and caused the wounded Don Innigo to be attended by his own surgeon, and, not contented with this merely, gave him his liberty at the end of a fortnight without ransom, and when his cure was completed caused him to be removed to his ancestral castle. This was done with great care, the wounded man being carried in a litter, notwithstanding which, however, the journey had indeed a most prejudicial effect, as it seemed that the bandages had become displaced, and the medical attendants, who were immediately summoned, declared that it would be necessary, in order to effect a good cure, that the bone should be broken again, which involved the extensive wound, already half healed, being torn open afresh. This cruel operation was most painful, as a number of broken splinters of bone had to be removed; but the courageous Loyola at once gave his consent thereto, and conducted himself like a hero while the doctors were then most cruelly torturing him: not a single cry escaped from him, and he obliged himself to put on a pleasing smile while his sisters were shedding tears of pity. The loss of blood and consequent fever reduced him so low that it was considered well to administer to him the sacrament for the dying, and at last the

medical men even declared that he could not be saved. In spite of all, however, it did not come to this, but his naturally strong constitution overcame the debility, and he began to get better, although, indeed, very gradually and in the course of several months.* But, alas! as he at length was able to leave his bed, and tried to walk up and down his room, it became apparent that the limb had become an inch too short, and besides, below the knee there was an unsightly projecting piece of bone which made it impossible for him to wear the high tight-fitting boots which were at that time in fashion. This was a misfortune that his vanity could not endure, and he forthwith resolved to have the detestable bone sawn off. His physicians explained to him that he would run a great risk in having this done, and that the operation would be uncommonly painful. However, he insisted upon it, and the bone was sawn off. Hardly had he got over the effects than he began to have the limb stretched, and with this object he caused an iron machine to be made, in which he forthwith inserted the leg. It was then turned, in order that the muscles should become more and more lengthened, and, in spite of almost maddening pain, Loyola bore up resolutely, giving the best proof of the very great energy he possessed; but, unfortunately, the desired result was far from being accomplished, and Ignatius could no longer conceal from himself that he had become lame for life. Moreover, the mirror told him too plainly that his features, in consequence of his long sufferings and agonizing pains, had become old and withered, his hair thin, and his forehead wrinkled. It was a subject for despair. He who had hitherto been the favourite of the ladies, and through his agreeable manners had outstripped all rivals, arousing envy and admiration at the same time wherever he went, should *he* now be slighted, and even, perhaps, become an object of pity and contempt? No, it was impossible for him to endure such an affliction, and an escape from it must be found in some way or another. Already, during his long confinement to bed, had he taken to reading in order to overcome the deadly weariness, and by accident he found in the castle either *Amadis* or some other work, but all of a particular

* His historian attributes this recovery to a miraculous work of the Apostle Peter, the latter being greatly interested in keeping Ignatius Loyola alive, at all events until he had founded the Order of Jesuits.

description, namely, different kinds of legendary lore, as the *Flores Sanctorum* (Flowers of the Saints). This latter book superabounded in the extraordinary adventures which the saints had to go through before they became truly holy; and one can easily understand what an impression such flowery pictures might have made on such an excitable, fanciful, and eccentric man as Loyola. He was, indeed, firmly impressed by it with irresistible fascination. "The holy Francis did thus and I will do the same. The holy Dominic behaved thus, and I will do the same," he exclaimed. Indeed, at times he was so completely absorbed as regards the oppressions, expiations, griefs, mortal pangs, and former heroisms of the saints, that the experiences of a Florisando of Gaul or a Lisnarde of Greece appeared to him trifling and insignificant. It is true these impressions were at first not permanent, but merely transitory, and the image of the beautiful Donna Isabella Rosella, for whom he formerly entertained the most ardent affection, always dispelled them again; but now, however, as he became convinced that his beauty was a thing of the past, and that he had become a lame cripple, whilst his beloved Donna declined to listen any more to his love speeches, and began to trifle with others, he tore her forcibly from his heart, and instead there appeared to him an unspeakably beautiful virgin, even the Queen of Heaven herself, to whom he at once most heartily devoted himself. Henceforth he resolved to make her the queen of his heart, to whom he would render homage, and if he met with her favour he most certainly must become as perfect a saint as a Januarius or Eustachius. What blessedness would it be if he, like them, could make the blind to see, the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear, and all kinds of diseases to heal! when he obtained the power to fly through the air like a bird, to walk through the sea dry-shod, and to pass through the blazing fire uninjured! when he should equally be able to drive out the devil, conquer hell, and gain heaven alive!

In this manner, a complete change took place in the mind of Don Innigo Loyola, and the formerly gallant cavalier transformed himself into a strict imitation of an Anthony or a Pachomius in order to gain the favour of the Virgin.

He now clothed himself, as his biographers narrate, in thick filthy garments, and over his attenuated and unwashen face fell

his uncombed hair, formerly redolent of costly ointments. He also imposed upon himself the greatest abstinence, and not uncommonly fasted so long that he fainted from sheer weakness. While during these trances, he frequently had, according to his own affirmation, visions of the saints, and especially of the Virgin Mary—he even saw himself translated direct into heaven, where God Almighty with His own hand placed him close beside His Son Jesus Christ.

It now seemed apparent that the former brilliant warrior had turned a complete fool, so much so that his own brother Don Martin Garcia, at that time head of the family, very earnestly urged him to give up all this nonsense without delay, and be again like other men. The idea of becoming a saint was already so firmly fixed in Ignatius's mind, that reasoning with him was useless, and he consequently resolved to quit the Castle Loyola under some pretext or another, in order, in the cloister, at a place of pilgrimage at Montserrat in Catalonia, renowned for its miraculous image of Mary, to devote himself formally for life to the service of the Mother of God. The excuse was soon found, in that he intimated his intention of riding out to meet the Duke of Majera, who was at the time sojourning at Navarette; but presently, dismissing his attendants, he quickly made his way to Montserrat, and having arrived there in March 1522, he first of all exchanged his knightly costume, which he had resumed by the order of his brother, for a beggarly pilgrim's garment, consisting of a long coat of coarse sailcloth, a rope round the body, from which a hollow gourd was suspended in place of a flask, a long staff, and a pair of sandals. He then flogged his body until the blood came, in order to chastise himself for the love of earthly pleasure he had hitherto cherished, made a three days' general confession to the hermit Clanon, one greatly esteemed for his exemplary piety, and lastly, following the example of Amadis and other heroes of romance, kept a solemn night-watch before the chapel of the Queen of Heaven, to whose gracious image he consecrated his sword and dagger, giving thereby a sign that he had, henceforth, entirely devoted himself to her service as her spiritual knight.

He named himself, also, henceforth, not only Knight of the Virgin, but now and then also, by way of a change, Champion of Jesus, and formed the resolution, in order to put a crown

upon his striving after sanctity, to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He was anxious, however, first of all, in order to render himself more worthy for such an enterprize, to make preparation by works of penitence of such an extraordinary nature that the whole world might acknowledge that no man had ever before submitted himself to such self-inflicted torture. He selected for the scene of this penance the small town of Manresa, on the road to Barcelona, from the harbour of which he intended ultimately to embark for Jerusalem, and he took himself at once to the local hospital dedicated to the holy Luca, with the intention of living amidst beggars and sick people. He never slept in a bed, not even on straw, but upon the bare naked ground, and subsisted during the whole week on nothing but water and bread, which last he obtained by begging in the streets. He girded himself, too, round the body with an iron chain, with which he daily publicly flogged himself three times; he no longer made use of any comb or scissors, so that his appearance became perfectly horrible, to a degree that whenever he made his appearance he was surrounded by the street boys, who ran screaming after him, bespattering him with rotten eggs and mud. He endured all this, however, without a murmur, and rejoiced so much more over it, as it was proof to him that his body was now sufficiently unclean to present a worthy vessel for the destruction of sin.

He thus conducted himself during several months, until by accident his noble birth was discovered, when he then attracted the attention not only of the street boys, but also of the grown-up people, who hitherto disregarding him as a beggarly and half-crazed vagabond, were now anxious to see a man who, instead of taking his position, as he had a right to do, among the happiest and foremost of the earth, voluntarily made himself the most wretched among men. This, however, was not at all after his mind—indeed, such cruel obtrusiveness concealing derision and scorn under the mask of sympathy annoyed him much; he therefore betook himself to a neighbouring cave, to which he made his way through thorns and prickly bushes. Here in the cavern he carried on his penances more severe even than before, and often took no food or drink for several days; when, however, in order that he might not be reproached with the crime of self-murder, he did break his fast, he was content with roots

growing in front of the cave, or with old spoilt bread which he had brought with him from the hospital. In addition to this, he now flogged himself with his chain six times a day instead of three times, prayed for seven long hours, resting on his naked knees, and, as much as he could, deprived himself of sleep in order to fill up as far as possible the measure of his bodily mortification. In consequence of all this, as one may well imagine, he assumed the appearance of a perfect martyr, and became so weak that he fell from one fainting fit into another. He was continually afflicted, moreover, with the most frightful remorse of conscience, while he always considered that he still had not done sufficient penance, and his disordered imagination pictured to his mind the most insane visions, such as that he saw the devil more than a dozen times, with claws, horns, club feet, and black face; he also beheld the Saviour surrounded by hosts of saints, ready to combat Satan and his underlings. On another occasion, he witnessed the Holy Trinity in the form of three piano notes, closely bound together, hanging upon a stalk; and to his holy eyes, moreover, the Host was represented transformed into the true God-man. In short, during this period of his life he had the most marvellous apparitions, and whoever wishes to become further acquainted with them may read the book, *Holy Exercises*, in which they are described, with many other wonderful statements concerning him.

He bought this ecstatic mental condition, however, but too dearly, so much so that on one occasion he lay unconscious during eight days, and would certainly have died had he not by accident been discovered by some passers by, and immediately conveyed to the hospital of the town. There he soon recovered, not only bodily but mentally, owing to the good care bestowed upon him.

From several conversations which he had with the priests to whom he made confessions, he was at length brought to the conviction that he could not attain sanctification, so well, at all events, solely by severe penance and self-inflicted macerations, as by leading others to repentance, and especially was it pointed out that the conversion of the heathen would bring him more quickly and surely to his goal. Penance certainly is of great worth, his father confessor told him, but preaching, which touches the heart, would be more valuable still, and every

heathen won over to Christianity might be regarded as a round in the great ladder by which man may climb up into heaven. This enlightened the mind of the Knight of the Virgin, and he felt, besides, that in order to be able to undertake the business of conversion of the heathen, one must be possessed of health and strength. For this reason he no longer fasted so strictly, nor did he flog himself so often. He cut his hair and nails and threw aside his coarse smock coat, becoming again a polished man for whom loathing and disgust need no longer be entertained. He also declared at the same time that he would not put off any further his pilgrimage to Jersusalem, as his determination was to convert all Turks and Mahomedans.

Such changes took place in the mind of Don Innigo Lopez Loyola in the short space of one year, and one sees from this what enormous results may be brought about by a broken leg healed defectively.

CHAPTER II.

THE VICISSITUDES OF THE NEW SAINT AND THE SEVEN FIRST JESUITS.

"To Jerusalem and Palestine for the conversion of the Turks," was now the watchword of the converted Loyola, and, in fact, he betook himself immediately, at the commencement of the year 1523, towards Barcelona, in order to embark from there, first of all, to Italy. Money had he none, but that did not distress him, for, being already accustomed to beg, he soon collected enough not only to keep himself from starving but to pay his passage-money to Gaeta in the Neapolitan dominions. Having arrived there, he proceeded forthwith further towards Rome, always begging his way, reaching it on Palm Sunday. His first care, naturally enough, was to perform his devotions in all the stations and churches where pilgrims are wont to resort. He also had the unspeakable good fortune, on Good Friday, the 5th of April, to receive, along with other pilgrims, the blessing of His Holiness Pope Hadrian VI., and, according to some of his biographers, he was permitted to kiss the Pope's foot. Be that as it may, I have only to remark that Innigo continued to support himself by begging, and that he generally passed the night in a miserable shed. On the 12th of April he prosecuted his journey further towards Venice, always, be it understood, on foot, and begging his way. But although he was now so used to this mode of travelling, he this time nearly fell a victim to it, as from his miserable appearance he was universally looked upon as a plague-

stricken person, and on that account not to be allowed to enter any town, seeing that the plague at the time was raging, in a truly unmerciful manner, in Upper Italy. He was, therefore, often compelled not only to sleep in the open air, which proved very prejudicial to his health, but he also found on this account little opportunity of soliciting alms, and accordingly at times endured frightful sufferings from hunger. At last he succeeded in reaching Venice, and contrived to introduce himself through the gate without detention by the sentries. He had no longer any lack of nourishment, as many benevolent hearts are everywhere to be found, and fortune favoured him so much that a Spaniard of rank, the Duke Andrea Guitti, obtained for him a free passage in an Italian State galley to Jaffa in Palestine. It nearly went badly, however, with him in this ship, on which he embarked on the 14th of July. Having plenty of spare time during the voyage, he employed it in preaching better manners to the sailors, accustomed as they were to swearing and obscene language, and, being provoked thereby, they nearly threw him into the sea. But God and the captain of the ship protected him, and he thus reached his intended destination, on the 1st of September, in safety. He was now in Palestine, which he had so long earnestly desired to visit, so, proceeding to Jerusalem with a caravan of pilgrims, he arrived there in good condition on the 4th of September. But scarcely had he visited the holy places, and performed his devotions at the different spots over which Christ had wandered 1,500 years before, than he hastened to carry out the great aim he was desirous of accomplishing. In other words, he presented himself forthwith to the Provincial Father of the Franciscans, and craved permission to commence his work of preaching and converting. The Provincial, entering into conversation with the new labourer in the Church's fold, found, to his great astonishment, that the latter was not only completely ignorant of the language and religion of the Turks, but that the same was the case even as regards Christianity itself, that is to say, in "Theology" (the knowledge which Christ taught) he was quite a tyro. And for such a thoroughly ignorant man, who had also a perfectly beggarly and vagabond appearance, to believe himself fit for such a weighty undertaking as the education of those who did not believe in the Christian religion, appeared to the Provincial to be the purest nonsense, and so he told Ignatius to

his face. The latter advanced that God might, perhaps, bring about a miracle, and produce such a powerful effect upon the Turks that they might understand his preaching in the Spanish tongue; but, disregarding such views, the Provincial shook his head still the more vehemently, and ordered Ignatius to return forthwith to Europe. As the latter did not at once acquiesce in this suggestion, he nominated him a beggar missionary, and, under an authority from the Pope to banish all pilgrims who were not compliant to his decrees, he had him conveyed on a certain small ship bound for Venice, where he safely arrived in January 1524, after a four months' voyage. Thus ended, in an almost laughable manner, the pilgrimage to Palestine; but it had so far done good, that Ignatius obtained a full comprehension of his ignorance, and became convinced how impossible it was for him to do anything as a preacher or converter while he had not previously made himself acquainted with the science of Christianity and studied holy theology. He had now already attained his thirty-third year, and had not the slightest idea of even the rudiments of the Latin language. Moreover, the sole property he possessed consisted of the cloak that covered his body, miserable trousers which hardly reached to his knees, and a long frock of ticking, full of holes. However, he disregarded all this, and resolved to return to Barcelona, to commence there his studies. "God and the Holy Mary, whose knight I am," he thought, "will further assist me, and I hope that I will with ease collect sufficient by begging to complete my studies." In short, he made his way from Venice, by Genoa, forthwith, but had to encounter many dangers before he arrived there, owing to the war that at that time was going on between Francis I. of France, and Charles V., Emperor of Germany and King of Spain. Among other adventures, he was taken prisoner by the Spaniards on suspicion of being a spy, and treated to the scourge. When at length he reached Genoa, he there had the good fortune to be provided by the commander of the Spanish galleys, a former acquaintance, Rodrige Portundo, with a free passage upon a ship, and he arrived safe and sound at Barcelona without further mishap.

Now began a new period in the life of Don Innigo, when he entered upon his studies, and, first of all, he sought out a teacher of the Latin grammar, of the name of Hieronymus

Ardabale, and presented himself to him as a scholar. The professor regarded the boy of thirty-three with some astonishment, but took him as a pupil gratis, and Ignatius now sat continually during two long years in the Latin school, and one can easily imagine the difficult position in which he now found himself; while declining and conjugating, how strangely he must have felt in saying *amo, amas, amat*; and how much he was teazed by his class-fellows, twenty-five years his juniors; and how hard it was for him to contend against his extreme poverty and provide for his daily necessities. He often at this time entertained the idea of running away, and this would certainly have occurred had it not been for two female friends whose acquaintance he had made, a young lady of the name of Isabella Roselli, and a dame, Agnes Pasquali, who encouraged him to persevere in his efforts, and not only so, but also assisted him with money and good advice. Consequently, he did persevere, and in order that he should not again fall behind the other school-boys, he begged the teacher to be sure to give him the rod as much as in their case. In short, he studied Latin with most astonishing zeal, but, at the same time, did not forget to exercise himself in the great aim of his existence, *i.e.* in converting wherever conversion was required; and now and then he obtained good results, as he possessed extremely fascinating powers of persuasion, and felt no restraint in asserting his views in public places, or even in beer-houses. On one occasion, when he was trying to make into honest women the nuns of a certain convent where improper conduct much prevailed, he got such a fearful thrashing from their admirers that he lay for dead on the spot, and only recovered from the effects after several weeks. Nevertheless, he immediately commenced again to preach as soon as he got well, as he entertained the firm conviction that this ill-treatment was only a trial that God had laid upon him.

After two years' study of the Latin grammar, Ignatius considered that he was now sufficiently advanced to pass over to the study of Philosophy and Theology, and on that account he forthwith, in the year 1526, installed himself in the town of Alkala, where, shortly before, Cardinal Ximines had established a high school. He found these studies much more difficult than that of the Latin language, and as he, at the same time, attended the lectures on Logic, Metaphysics, and Theology, for three

hours daily in each department, it created such a confusion in his head that he learned hardly anything. As regards preaching, begging, and converting, which three functions he knew so well to combine with the most consummate skill, he succeeded so far as to win over three students, and make them do exactly as he did. With them he went daily about the streets of Alkala, partly begging and partly preaching, and in order to make themselves more conspicuous they dressed alike in long grey frieze gowns of the coarsest description, which they bound round their loins with cords. They also wore neither boots nor shoes, but went barefoot, and upon their heads they placed bell-shaped hats, so that God and the world were proclaimed wherever they appeared. In short, they drew the attention of all Alkala upon them, and got the name of "Ensazaladas," that is, the men with the frieze coats, and presently there were a sufficient number of old maids who took advice from them in matters of conscience. Nor is it astonishing, although there was nothing whatever to justify it, that they began to carry on a commerce in the worship of God, to act the part of Father Confessors, and to preach repentance to those who had no wish for anything of the kind. Whereupon, the ecclesiastics and monks of Alkala became jealous of them, and complained about Ignatius and his companions to the Holy Inquisition. Ignatius, of course, was immediately arrested, and most minutely interrogated, as it was thought he might belong to the notorious heretical sect which went by the name "Los Alumbrados," that is to say, "The Enlightened" (*Illuminaten*). However, the Vicar-General of Toledo, who conducted the investigation, shortly found that there was certainly nothing enlightened about Ignatius, and that although a very good Catholic, he was a Christian deeply steeped in ignorance, and in no way fitted to assume the functions of counsellor in matters of conscience. He therefore forthwith acquitted the accused, who had been falsely charged with heresy, and released him out of prison after six days' detention. On the other hand, he forbad him, however, from preaching any longer, under the penalty of excommunication, until he was completely versed in theology. At the same time, he strongly recommended that the frieze-coated society should at once lay aside their remarkable clothing, so different from that of any Order hitherto existing, and conduct themselves like other students. This was for our Ignatius a

very unpleasant sentence—somewhat worse, indeed, than he at first expected.

Through the preaching of Ignatius, inviting to repentance, two ladies of distinction belonging to Alkala were brought to the determination of giving up all their possessions to the poor, to dress like beggars, and to go about from one place of pilgrimage to another, doing nothing else than praying and begging. They, indeed, carried out this determination, and suddenly disappeared by night from Alkala, so that their distressed relations were unable to discover where they had gone, though everyone was firmly of opinion that no other but Ignatius could have been the person who led them astray. He was in consequence at once accused, arrested by the authorities, and thrown into prison, being kept in the criminal department until both of the ladies, Donna Maria de Bado and Donna Ludovica Belasquez, returned in good health, and pretty well cured of their adventurous flight on a begging pilgrimage.

Under such circumstances, the pious Ignatius could no longer remain in Alkala with any comfort, and therefore he resolved to remove to Salamanca, another celebrated Spanish university, in order there further to prosecute his studies. In this determination he also persuaded his frieze-coated company to follow him, and, after all had collected the needful money by begging in a body, they betook themselves to the town in question, in the summer of 1527. Here, too, as far as study was concerned, not much was effected. They employed themselves much more in administering to the sick in the hospitals, in all public places calling upon the people to repentance, using exciting language in so doing.

Their sojourn in Salamanca was used only to reproduce the forbidden scenes of Alkala in a new locality, and it could not be otherwise than that the clergy should once more be grievously offended. The Bishop caused Ignatius to be immediately arrested, and he was kept for twenty-two days in very rigorous seclusion,* and only liberated on his giving a most binding

* Ignatius was attached to one of his companions, of the name of Carlisto, by a long heavy iron chain, and this Carlisto must have cut a very extraordinary figure, as he was a tall thin man, furnished with an enormous beard; he carried a knobbed stick, and rejoiced in having a short old jacket, a still shorter tattered pair of trousers, a beggarly pair of half-boots, and an enormous hat. The rest of the Ignatians went barefoot, wearing the long frieze coat as above described.

promise never again to exercise the functions of the priestly office until he had studied theology during four consecutive years.

This decision naturally made the further sojourn of Ignatius in Salamanca as irksome as it had been in Alkala, and he now bethought himself of coming to the bold determination of betaking himself to the hitherto most celebrated university in the world, viz. Paris. There, in the capital of France, he dared to hope he might be able to carry on his business without molestation, as in it there was neither Inquisition nor a bigoted priesthood. There ruled, indeed, truly academic freedom even for the wildest ecclesiastical eccentricities; and Francis I., the most free-thinking of monarchs that existed, protected this freedom. He communicated his plan, also, to his companions, who requested him to be their leader; but being tired of perpetual arrests, and also fearing the long and difficult journey in a foreign country, they hesitated about it, and even attempted to detain him in Salamanca. He was not, however, to be deterred from his object, and so setting out on foot in the middle of winter, driving before him an ass laden with his books, manuscripts, and other effects, he arrived safely in the French capital within the first days of February 1528.

Don Innigo had now attained the age of thirty-seven, but the professor to whom he presented himself found that he had not mastered yet even the first elements of the sciences, and it was pointed out to him that he must first of all study the Latin language. With this view, he attended the lectures of Montaigne, and during eighteen months sat among small schoolboys, who often provokingly mocked their older companion. He also perceived that learning was just as difficult here as he had found it at Barcelona, Alkala, and Salamanca, besides which he was obliged to spend a great part of his time in begging; while, owing to his being a foreigner, the French did not prove to be very liberal to him. Nevertheless, after the conclusion of his year and a half's course of Montaigne's lectures, he passed over to the study of philosophy in the college of St. Barbe (to the holy Barbara), and made such progress, that in the year 1532 he obtained the degree of bachelor, and then in the following year that of Master. The first step in knowledge had now been reached, but the principles of holy theology he had yet to

master; to this his patience had not yet extended, but he preferred attending some less important lectures given by the Jacobins.*

As has been previously stated, the study of the sciences was never the object of Ignatius. He had no desire to excel through his knowledge, and only wished to learn as much as might enable him to carry out his business of conversion. That was and continued to be his main object. The conversion, especially of the heathen, to Christianity, as well as also the calling to repentance of baptized Christians, chastising himself and despising all worldliness and resemblance to his former self—these were his aims.

He never lost sight of these objects, either while with Montaigne or at St. Barbe, and in the latter establishment he carried out his zeal for conversion so far, that he induced a part of his fellow-students, instead of assisting at the prescribed disputation after public worship, to prosecute with him *exercitia spiritualia, i.e.* to pray with him and to fast and flog† themselves. For such conduct, however, he narrowly escaped receiving a slight public flogging before all the students, and only the circumstance of his having arrived at the age of forty saved him from this disgrace.

Naturally enough, moreover, he was not satisfied only to exercise the work of conversion himself, but, as at Alkala and Salamanca, he did his best to obtain coadjutors, that he might work with them in common, and share with them his studies and devotions, his griefs and joys. In the selection of his companions he now, however, became much more particular, for circumstances had arisen which henceforward exercised a great and, indeed, overpowering influence over his whole course of action.

About this time a new spirit came over men's minds, which shook the Papacy to its foundation, and threatened to overthrow the whole Catholic faith hitherto subsisting. Luther, Zwingle,

* Most of the biographers friendly to the Jesuits affirm, indeed, that Ignatius Loyola also obtained in Paris the degree of Doctor of Theology, but the most minute inspection of the University register from 1520 to 1537 disproves this.

† These spiritual exercises (*exercitia spiritualia*) are more fully detailed in the book already mentioned, bearing the title *Liber Exercitiorum Spiritualium*. Ignatius attached great importance thereto, and required them to be thoroughly studied.

and other reformers now raised their powerful voices, and as a Catholic author expresses it, "invited peoples and princes to a great hunt of the Roman Church." Almost the whole of Germany answered the cry, and even England and Switzerland, as well as the Scandinavian countries, did the same. Italy, too, lent an ear to the seductive voice, and France was not without its many thousands who hailed it with loud acclamations. In short, the Reformation threatened a great, the greatest part, indeed, of the Catholic world, and the downfall of Rome seemed to be inevitable.

Of all this, so long as Loyola had been in Spain, he had heard nothing, and if this spirit was not entirely quiescent south of the Pyrenees, it only prevailed in the higher regions, and the common people, properly so called, among whom Loyola moved, were not infected by it. Moreover, the Inquisition exercised special care that it should soon be driven away, and that the Reformation should never take firm root under the sceptre of the Most Catholic King. Very different, however, was its progress in France, only too much infected, and especially so in Paris, where even several professors of the university favoured the daring views of Luther. The eyes of the out-and-out Roman Catholic Ignatius were now thoroughly opened, and an unequalled panic seized upon him on account of this terrible perversity which had taken possession of mankind. But he was not content to rest satisfied with panic and disgust; naturally enough, he, the Knight of Mary and of her Son Jesus Christ, was compelled to fight for them in every way, and to endeavour to the utmost of his power to stem the pestilence fast spreading from Germany. He therefore resolved to denounce to the proper authorities all heretics, whether public or private, and made himself a spy among all circles in which he moved. He soon, saw, however, that, whatever trouble he gave himself, and whatever were the results of his spying, still the effects were comparatively so small, that more powerful means must be employed. What, then, he asked himself, must these be?

This much appeared certain, that the innumerable hordes of Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, Minorites, or whatever else they might be called, through which Rome had hitherto swayed the hearts of men, had now lost their influence, and their begging sacks hung about them empty; the remaining

clergy, too, owing to their ignorance, dissoluteness, and shamelessness, were even more thoroughly despised than the barefooted monks, and it was no longer possible to awaken from the grave any faith in them. New armour must therefore be found if help was to be given—armour of quite a different kind, of quite a different appearance, of quite a different power, than that borne hitherto by the souls' counsellors, and he himself must don that armour—he himself must act as general-in-chief.

At first sight the thought did not appear so clear to him, but it became more and more so the more he reflected upon this infectuous heresy, convincing him that the object in life of himself and his chosen associates should not merely be the conversion of the heathen, or even less the calling of Christians to repentance, but that to these must also be conjoined at the same time the waging war on the heretical world. He thought himself Jesus Christ (this may be read in the book of *Spiritual Exercises*, and gathered from Peter Juvenez, who was intimate with Ignatius), as the generalissimus of heaven, who with angels and saints takes the field against the devil, thundering down upon the kingdom of hell; and after this model he wished to form upon earth an army of spiritual knights, whose supreme head should be Jesus Christ in heaven above, in order to overcome the devil of this world—the heretic. As this was his object, it was his desire, as formerly in Alkala and Salamanca, to select from his best neighbours, associates who would be prepared to follow him. Formerly, it was sufficient for such as declared themselves ready as sheep of Christ to castigate their bodies, as he did, and to invite the rest of the world to a similar life; now, however, it was a question concerning the warriors of Christ, and of such warriors, indeed, who would have sufficient spirit and strength to overcome the well-armed Reformers with their assistants and followers. He had cause, therefore, to be particular in the selection of his associates, and, indeed, to be most cautious.

The first whom he won over to his views respecting a spiritual knighthood for the conversion of men, and the prosecution of war against the heretical world, was Pierre le Fevre, more properly Peter Faber, a native of a place in Savoy, in the neighbourhood of Geneva, a youth possessed of a learned and sagacious intellect, and at the same time full of glowing imagination, who

might well allow himself to be but too easily inspired with a grand idea.

Much more difficult was it, however, with Francis Xavier, from Spanish Navarre, who not only belonged to a powerful noble family, but who, already at that time professor in the college of Beauvais, had future claims to the highest ecclesiastical honours. On that account he began at first by ridiculing all that Loyola preached to him about his proposed spiritual knighthood, and plainly declared to him that he looked upon it as a mere extravagance. But the man had two weak sides, namely, unlimited ambition, and also a strong inclination to follow a loose kind of life, and on these two points Loyola well knew how to lay hold of him. In other words, he placed his money bag, which, owing to the benevolence of high patrons, was pretty well filled at that period, at the disposal of the extravagant professor, and he at the same time pictured to the latter such a brilliant future, that he could no longer resist, and at length gave himself up, heart and soul, to the idea.*

Inasmuch as Peter Faber and Francis Xavier were looked upon in the university of Paris with great consideration, other students as well as professors turned their attention to the efforts of Ignatius, and of their own accord enlisted themselves as his assistants. Among these, however, he only took four into his association, and, naturally enough, those he considered to be most worthy, or rather the most suitable for his purpose, namely, Jacob Laynez from the city of Almazan in Castile, certainly a very poor but also a very energetic young man of twenty-one years, shrewd and well-grounded in scientific knowledge; then the still younger Alphonso Salmeron from Toledo, only eighteen years old, a very able philologian. Further, Nicholas Alphons with his nickname of Bobadilla (after his native place, a small

* Some biographers, certainly very friendly disposed to the Jesuits, relate the matter quite differently. According to them, the conversion of Xavier arose from a game at billiards. As Ignatius was paying Xavier a visit one day, the latter proposed playing a game of billiards with him. Loyola at first declined; as his friend, however, pressed him further, he accepted the proposal on the condition that whichever of them should lose was to do during a whole month whatever the other prescribed. Xavier agreed to this, as he was a good player. He, nevertheless, lost; thereupon Loyola made him during the next four weeks go through a most exciting course of spiritual exercises. Among other things, Ignatius fasted along with the recusant Spaniard during six days, and caused him thereby to see visions, effecting such a change in him by this means, that the hitherto proud man became at last as a pliant rod in the hands of Ignatius.

town not far from Valencia), who already gave public lectures on philosophy, and who was also as powerful with his pen as with his tongue—as it were, a worldly knight with his sword and lance; lastly, Simon Rodriguez from Azevedo in Portugal, a gloomy fanatic and enthusiast, who embraced the idea of a spiritual knighthood with exceedingly zealous joy.

These were the six associates—four Spaniards, one Portuguese, and one Savoyard—whom Loyola selected for the accomplishment of his designs, as above described and already the immediate future proved that his choice could not have been more judicious or more excellent. The half-crazed or rather quite demented ascetic of Manresa, made wiser by his several experiences in the course of time, and relieved of several of the notions to which he was inclined, was now changed in many respects. His energy, however, and his iron will he still possessed, and also his enthusiastic fiery zeal had not in the least diminished. On the contrary, with his forty years, his understanding began to work, and, although with some degree of struggling, it broke out in such a grandiose manner as one would previously have thought to have been quite impossible.

To return now to the six chosen associates who formed the nucleus of that great society which gives the title to this book, and which, in a truly incredible short time, spread over every region of the globe, and even down to our own day exercises a decided influence upon mankind. They were, in a word, together with their master the first seven Jesuits, although this denomination was only first applied to them about a couple of years later; so it happened that the University of Paris, which afterwards became the most deadly enemy of their teaching, was the birth-place of this Order—the same city and University of Paris from which issued forth for centuries the spirit of freedom and intellectual light.

At its commencement the new society appeared of very moderate dimensions; so much so, that very few Parisians had any conception of its existence. Ignatius designed, it is true, a similar costume for himself and his companions; but, as burnt children dread the fire, nothing so striking as the former frieze cloaks. Their attire consisted simply of a narrow black cloak which reached down to the ankles, and for head-dress a black broad-brimmed hat similar in form to that of the Spanish

sombueros, while on their feet they wore black leather shoes, there being no question now of bare soles. Moreover it must not be thought that the seven allies formed, as yet, a close society, with laws and statutes of association; for they merely lived together as brethren, and reciprocally pledged themselves for the future as Spiritual Knights of Christ, that is to say, as missionaries for the promulgation and extension of the Roman Catholic religion. For this voluntary pledge, however, Ignatius was not satisfied merely with an ordinary promise and a mere shake of the hand; he required much more than this, he demanded that his associates should not in future harbour any thought of again returning to the world, and, therefore, a formal oath taken in the most solemn manner was imperative. They agreed all seven to assemble on the festival of the Ascension of Mary (15th August 1534) at day-break, in the Faubourg St. Jacques, and thence ascended the heights of Montmartre and immediately betook themselves to a subterranean chapel situated there, in which, some centuries before, Dionysius, the Areopagite, had been beheaded. This was a dismal kind of grotto, of coarse, rough construction, with bare, dark grey walls dripping with moisture, and quite unadorned with flowers, gold, or precious stones. On the contrary, all appeared here dull and dreary, bare and silent, while hardly a breath of air could penetrate from without; the lighted tapers emitted a sickly, pale yellow light, which rendered the chapel even more awful in appearance than it might otherwise have seemed. A frightful impression was given by the plain rough stone altar, behind which rose an old ruinous statue which held the head severed from the trunk in its outstretched arms—that of the holy Denis. Before this altar the seven men kneeled, on entering, and muttered their low prayers. Then one of them rose up—it was Le Faber, who, alone of all of them, had been already consecrated to the Priesthood—and read a solemn mass, after which he administered the Holy Communion. Scarce had this taken place when Ignatius Loyola placed himself before the altar, and swore upon the Bible to lead henceforth a life of poverty, chastity, and obedience. He swore to fight to all eternity only for the things of God, of the Holy Mary, and her Son Jesus Christ, as true spiritual knights, as also for the protection of the holy Romish Church and its supreme head, the Pope; and for the extension of the true faith, among

unbelievers—devoting his life thereto. "*Ad majorem dei gloriam*" (to the exaltation of the glory of God), he exclaimed, as he had finished taking this oath, and his wild piercing eyes shot like lightning out of his leaden-coloured haggard countenance. After him the six others took the same oath, and each exclaimed at the finish, "*Ad majorem dei gloriam.*" On the termination of this ceremony, however, they did not at once leave the chapel, but remained shut up in it until late in the evening, muttering their prayers, and without a bit of food or a drop of water having passed their lips. As they at last rose up from their knees, Ignatius Loyola marked upon the altar three large capital letters; these were I. H. S. "What do these signify?" demanded the others. "They signify," answered Ignatius, with solemn utterance, "*Jesus Hominum Salvator*" (Jesus the Saviour of Mankind), "and they shall henceforth be the motto of our institution." From that time these words were inscribed on the banners of the Society to indicate that the members of the same desire to be considered Assistants of the Saviour Jesus.

CHAPTER III.

LOYOLA IN ROME.

THE reader has now been made acquainted with the origin of the Society of Jesus. Still, the purpose of Loyola and his companions, after taking the oath at Montmartre, was not to make off at once and commence the conversion of the heathen as well as the hitherto disbelievers and heretics; the rather, in order not to have the regular clergy again going against them, they wished to remain in Paris until they had completed their theological studies and been ordained priests. From this good resolution, however, Ignatius himself, after a short time, was again compelled to depart; for, through joy at the successful progress of his undertaking, he again chastised his body as cruelly as he had formerly done at Manresa, and weakened his constitution so much in consequence, that the physicians declared that if he wished to be restored to health he must at once resort to a warmer climate, and go either to the south of France or to Spain. He chose the latter country; not so much, however, from attachment to his own native land, as that in this way he might have the opportunity of arranging the family affairs of his two associates, Laynez and Salmeron, who would otherwise have been obliged to return themselves to Spain on that account. This latter contingency he wished to prevent at any price, and simply for the reason that there might be danger that their exertions for the holy knighthood and missionary zeal might be damaged by the influence of their kinsfolk. He quitted Paris,

consequently, in the spring of 1535, after a seven years' residence there; not, however, without making proper provision for the further prosperity of the Brotherhood; he especially nominated Le Fevre, as next senior to himself, to be *interim* director. Moreover, he arranged that the six should leave Paris at the end of 1537, in order to meet him in Venice, as by that time theology would be done with, and all studies relinquished; while, again, the latter city would be the best place for the holy knighthood to embark to begin the conversion of the unbelievers in Palestine.

Ignatius, travelling by way of Loyola, was received by his relations and kinsfolk with much honour, and he was more especially esteemed by the common people, whom he knew how to attract by his zealous preaching of morality and repentance. Moreover, had not his time been spent in the hospitals of Aspezia rather than in his paternal castle, where the most costly food was always obtainable at the table of his relatives? had he not, too, supported himself by begging his bread from door to door, a proceeding which produced a powerful effect upon the populace? He thus soon obtained a great reputation throughout the whole neighbourhood, and at the same time visibly improved in health. But the remaining year and a half he had to pass in Spain soon elapsed, and the period upon which he had fixed for the meeting in Venice came upon him before he knew what he was about. He consequently now transacted the business he had undertaken for Laynez and Salmeron as quickly as possible with great skill, and betook himself, in the autumn of 1536, to Valentia, whence he embarked for Genoa, and from there proceeded in a pilgrimage on foot towards Venice, where he arrived on the 8th January 1537, and joined his associates; not, however, without having met with many adventures and dangers on the way. All had, as we have already seen, the intention of proceeding to Jerusalem, in order to turn the whole of the Turks into Christians. They had left Paris a few weeks sooner than was intended, as at that time a war was impending between France and Spain, which would have made the journey to Italy impossible, and one can thus well imagine how immensely pleased was Ignatius at their happy meeting. Besides, what rejoiced him still more was that they did not come alone, but brought along with them three other associates, viz. Claud

Lejay from the diocese of Geneva, John Cordur from the city of Embrun, and Pasquier Brouet from the diocese of Amiens, all young and very apt theologians, whom Le Fevre had won over for the Society. The little band of holy knights now consisted of ten—or, rather, of thirteen—as Ignatius, during his sojourn in Venice, had succeeded in picking up three more associates. I allude to the brothers Stephen and Jacob Eguia, two Navarese of very good birth and education, as also Jacob Hosez, a very sagacious man, and at the same time a sworn enemy of heresy, who, however, died soon afterwards, to the great grief of the Society. While, as it was now in the midst of winter, the departure for Palestine was for the moment inadmissible, Ignatius divided his associates between two hospitals, "The Incurable" and the "St. John and Paul," to which they devoted themselves in such a manner that their reputation spread all over Venice, and, indeed, far and wide, beyond it. They received not only ordinary patients, but also especially lepers upon whom attendants would no longer wait even for high remuneration. Nor did they hesitate, even when there was danger of infection, to wash out the most disgusting sores, or to suck them out with their mouths when it was necessary so to do. Indeed, they took into their own beds some incurably afflicted persons who had been, owing to the hopelessness of their cases, turned out of the Lazareth; and so it happened that the Jesuit band sacrificed themselves for the good of suffering humanity, and it was no wonder then that the people became enthusiastic about them. In spite of all this, his sojourn in Venice still nearly brought a heavy misfortune upon Ignatius. His zeal did not allow him to remain satisfied with merely nursing at the sick-bed, but he also engaged in preaching, and the people flocked in crowds when he appeared in the market-place or other public resort in order to summon the passers-by to repentance and holiness. This success enraged not a little the ecclesiastics of Venice, who spread abroad a report secretly that Ignatius was a runaway heretic from France and Spain, who now wished to poison Italy with his teaching. But they were not satisfied with themselves doing this; they further drew the attention of the Tribunal of the Inquisition upon him—so much so that it was to be feared that he would again be shut up in prison, as he had formerly

been in Alkala and Salamanca. In this critical moment Ignatius by his intelligence completely secured his safety, knowing well by means of flattery how to procure a powerful patron in John Peter Caraffa, Archbishop of Theate,* who understood how to give this unfortunate affair such an advantageous turn, that the Papal Nuncio, Jerome Veralli, decided in favour of the accused. In this way Ignatius escaped from harm this time, but it taught him the lesson that in order to preach with impunity he must get himself consecrated as priest; and he determined forthwith to use the high patronage of Caraffa and Veralli for the attainment of this object. He was not fully qualified in theology, it is true; while several of his associates were in the same position. He had not the right to demand his ordination from the Pope, but, on the other hand, might not the latter accord his permission thereto through his supreme grace, in order to obtain which he immediately despatched three of the most prominent among the Society—Xavier, Laynez, and Le Fevre—to Rome, well provided with letters of recommendation from Caraffa and Veralli. In fact, the deputation met the most favourable reception from the then Pope, Paul III., and having explained to him the design of the brotherhood for the conversion of the Turks in Palestine, they not only obtained permission for the ordination of all those associates who had not taken holy orders, but were also favoured with the Papal blessing, and a present of sixty ducats as a contribution towards defraying the expenses of the journey to Palestine. This was, indeed, almost more than could have been expected, and Ignatius, with redoubled zeal, took upon himself the "patronage" of the Institution; but above everything he at once availed himself of the accorded permission, and had himself and his associates consecrated as priests by the Bishop of Arba.

In the spring of the year Loyola and his friends were now prepared to carry out their previous arrangement of proceeding

* This Archbishop of Theate, afterwards Pope Paul IV., was the same who at that time founded the Order of Theatiners, an order of regular priests, whose task it was to improve the scandalous lives of the priesthood, and it is affirmed that it was the wish of the illustrious man to get Ignatius to join the brotherhood, but that he declined the request. This, however, I venture to doubt, as one does not generally give a refusal to a man whose favour one wishes to obtain, and therefore it seems much more probable that Peter Caraffa put no such proposal before Ignatius. At that time the latter thought but of the conversion of the heathen, a project of which the Archbishop heartily approved.

by sea to Jerusalem, but the war which had just broken out between the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Porte interrupted communication with the Holy Land, and the contemplated journey had to be deferred, at least for the present.

What was now to be done? was the question. To indulge in idleness and depend on begging for a living? or to continue to devote themselves to the service of the hospitals of Venice, as they had done for several months past? No. This would have been far too narrow a sphere for men like them; and had they not obtained the long-desired priesthood, which gave them the right to devote themselves entirely to the cure of men's souls—the right to preach, and by preaching to convert? Yes, truly it would be a sin not to make use of that right, and thus Ignatius resolved with all his associates to proceed to work immediately. Yet not quite immediately, but after a forty days' preparation by prayer, fasting, and self-castigation. Ignatius then divided his society thus:—He himself, along with Le Fevre and Laynez, established his domicile at Vicenzia; whilst Xavier, Cordur, Hosez, and the two Eguia, went to Treviso; Lejay and Rodriguez to Bassano; Brouet with Bobadilla, however, proceeded to Verona; in which several cities they all began preaching on the same day—and, indeed, at the same hour. I say "preaching," but whoever fancies that this word preaching is to be taken in its usual acceptation would fall into a great error. Loyola and his companions, for instance, would place themselves in some open place, or at the corner of some street where there happened to be much thoroughfare, and mounting upon a stone or barrel, or something of the kind would swing their hats round in the air, gesticulating with hands and feet, and shouting out individual words with a loud scream, so that the people passing involuntarily stood still. When at length they had succeeded in gathering together a gaping crowd, they proceeded to harangue the same in a truly stormy manner, exhorting them to repentance and contempt of all worldly things, and on the other hand describing the advantages of a saintly life, and delineating the charms of Paradise for the godly, so that no one could dissent from the fiery eloquence and glowing enthusiasm of the speaker. On the other hand there was much that was comical in their discourses, for there were few who understood anything of the Italian language, and they consequently poured

forth a strangely variegated mixture of Latin, Spanish, French, and Italian fragments.

Notwithstanding all this, however, their appearance was not altogether without effect; and often the most wicked scoffers, after listening for a time, ended by beating their breasts and repenting of their ways. But this effect was more to be attributed to their gestures and gesticulations, and to their fantastical appearance, than to the apparent earnestness of the words they uttered.

In this manner Ignatius and his associates conducted themselves for more than a year, and, as I have already mentioned, with results of which they might have indeed been proud. During the period, however, of this preaching, they had the bitter experience of finding that the poison of heresy was more deeply rooted in the hearts of men than superficially seemed to be the case, and, deeply impressed thereby, Loyola again asked himself the question, as he had done once before in Paris, in what way this fundamental evil might be checked. "The Romish Church, the Papacy, and the Pope himself, are all in the greatest danger," he exclaimed, "and the whole religious fabric must collapse, owing to its former supports being now thoroughly worm-eaten, unless some entirely new foundation pillars can be found." Continually did he go on further to investigate this theme, and constantly and often did he converse upon it with the cleverest, most cultivated, and most clear-sighted of his associates, namely with Jacob Laynez, until at last he came to the fixed determination of placing himself completely at the disposal of the Pope for the protection of the Papacy. Consequently, in the autumn of 1537, the whole of the brethren were summoned to assemble at Vicenza for a great consultation, before which assemblage Loyola detailed his new project with uncommonly convincing power.

"The journey to Palestine would indeed be a most meritorious work, and you ought never to lose sight of the aim and object for which you have bound yourselves—the aim, namely, of the conversion of the heathen; but what would be still more profitable would be to save the Papacy (or, as he termed it, Christianity) out of the clutches of the dominion of Heresy; and with this end in view it concerns you all, above everything, to follow out what you have already sworn at Montmartre. You

ought to consider the reason why Providence has just at this time allowed war to break out between the Turks and Venetians. It is certainly on no other ground than to hinder the journey to Palestine, because you are destined for a somewhat greater career." And Ignatius closed his animated speech as follows: "Let us, therefore, offer our services to the Holy Father, and tell him that we are determined to raise a mighty army of holy knights, whose sole aim and thought should be directed to overthrow all enemies of Rome, under the banner of the Saviour."

These words told, and they not only all declared themselves favourable to the proposal of Ignatius, but they became enthusiastic in the idea of forming a "Phalanx Jesu" ("a society of Jesus warriors"), as the knightly-born Ignatius expressed it. Accordingly, this resolution was at once concluded, that Loyola himself, with Laynez and Le Fevre, should forthwith proceed to Rome, and throw themselves at the foot of the Pope; the rest, however, undertook the duty of making tours through Italy, with the object of enlisting as many retainers as possible, in order that the company to be placed at the disposal of the Pope should be a really considerable one.

From this period the affairs of Ignatius and his associates took a completely new turn; up to the present time it had been merely a small missionary band, but it now became a great society with a distinct programme and fixed statutes. In other words, it was a question of a new Order, which, under the title of "Phalanx Jesu," should flash forth as the light of the world.

For the present, at any rate, Loyola, on his arrival in Rome, in October, in speaking about his undertaking, avoided making use of the expression "Order," as it was well known that all Orders were just then looked upon with no friendly eye at the Vatican, on account of their evident inutility; on the other hand, he busied himself all the more with the principles he had laid down at Venice, to look about for well-wishers and for friends of all descriptions, in order through them to attain his end more surely even though it should be by bye-ways. Among these, I must mention particularly an old acquaintance, the celebrated Parisian Professor and Doctor of Theology, Pater Ortiz, who, by command of Charles V., was now in Rome, playing a prominent part at the Romish Court. It was, indeed, this Ortiz who presented Ignatius to Pope Paul III. The latter, too, receiving with great

favour the offer made of forming a "Jesus" company for the purpose of combating heresy, not only permitted Loyola himself to preach in all the churches of Rome, but also accorded to Le Fevre and Laynez two theological professorial chairs in the College della Sapienza.

The spell was thus broken, or, at least, the first step thereto was secured. Through Ortiz, Ignatius was made acquainted with Cardinals Gastpar Contarini and Vincenz Caraffa, two extremely sagacious, though not exactly holy, men, and both, likewise, highly approved of the notion of a "Jesus" association. They were also of opinion that above all things the idea ought to be more clearly defined, and a formal statute drawn up for the Society about to be founded, for when it is known exactly what is wished one is in a much better position to render effectual service More especially, they added, the new Society must not in any way be a copy of any of the previously existing Orders, but it must have its foundation on something that had never before been thought of, the advantage of which to the Papacy should be palpable, otherwise it would not be worthy of being placed before the Pope for confirmation.

In consequence of this, Loyola immediately called together all his associates, as well as those more recently added, to deliberate on the proposed statute for the Society, and the assembly took place in the beginning of the year 1538. However, weeks passed, and, indeed, months, before they came to any conclusion on the subject, in spite of there being now among the members many who need yield to no one in acuteness of understanding. Perhaps, indeed, their invention might have met with no success at all had it not been for the assistance of men of higher standing, such as Dr. Ortiz and the two Cardinals above named, and it cannot be affirmed that the principles of Jesuitism emanated entirely, or even for the most part, from Ignatius Loyola. The idea of the same, the conception to form a "Phalanx Jesu," originated, indeed, from him, and from him alone, but with the accomplishment of this idea, the shaping of this conception, and its further development, many other heads co-operated, and it is a pity that in those days nothing like stenography existed, for then, doubtless, we would have been furnished with a report of the long and earnest consultation, and we might have then known exactly what, and how much, might be ascribed to each of the

contributors and participators therein, as regards the conclusions arrived at. But while the above fact is undeniable, as must be admitted even by those most ardently favourable to the Jesuits, it must not be forgotten, on the other hand, that Loyola always remained the very heart and soul of the consultations, and that the final conquest over all the hindrances which had to be overcome in the foundation of the Order must be attributed alone to his fiery zeal, and indomitable untiring force of will. It may well be imagined that Loyola and his comrades, by their peculiar costume, and still more their extraordinary manner of haranguing the public, excited great attention, and obtained, among a large portion of the inhabitants, a certain degree of celebrity. Already this stirred up the envy of others, and especially among the lower classes of ecclesiastics, and those parties complained, with more or less justice, that the newly-baptised "Black Cloaks," as they were called in Rome, were encroaching on their preserves. Still more angrily behaved the monks; and as it became rumoured about that the object of Ignatius was to found a new Order, their rage no longer knew any bounds. "What!" cried they, and amongst the foremost of the dissentients were the Augustines and Dominicans, who had hitherto been accustomed to appropriate to themselves the fattest morsels among the people; "What! Our table, through this detestable Reformation, and the enlightenment extending among the people, has already become much diminished, and now the last remains are to be snatched from us by a parcel of wandering vagabonds! No! this must not be allowed, if life and death depend upon it!" In short, the above-named monks immediately set to work, and used every endeavour to ruin Ignatius and his adherents. They especially spread about reports that these "Black Cloaks" were secret partisans of the new doctrine of Luther and the Reformers, and called upon the Inquisition to interfere and to protest against these dangerous emissaries, who had already succeeded, through lying, in escaping the hands of justice in Spain. In consequence of such-like complaints, an investigation was instituted, and Ignatius narrowly escaped from being arrested; however, in this respect, that is, in regard to heresy, no one could be more innocent, and thus it was no difficult matter for him to clear himself entirely from the result of those made-up stories. Not only so, but on the 18th December 1538, he

succeeded in obtaining formal public satisfaction through a judicial judgment upon this untiring persecution, which proved to be extremely humiliating for his accusers, but which turned out very honourably for himself. From this time forth the credit of Ignatius daily increased considerably, and he naturally hastened to take advantage energetically of the same, to attract and gain over new patrons and retainers. He thus won over, among others, Franciscus Strada, a man distinguished for his learning; also Pietro Codaci, a superior officer and relation of the Pope, who placed his whole very considerable property at the disposal of the Society; and, lastly, Quirino Garzoni, who evacuated one of his own houses, near the Sante Trinita, at the foot of the Quirinal Hill, for Ignatius and his associates to live therein. And not only among the rich and noble did Loyola seek to acquire proselytes; he speculated also especially upon obtaining the friendship of the great mass of the people, and with this purpose it was his first principle to give assistance to the poor and suffering, by aid of contributions obtained by begging from the benevolent rich. He did this especially in the winter of 1538–39, when a dearth spread vast misery in Rome, and on that account one can well imagine how greatly esteemed the "Black Cloaks" were among the common people. When such was the case, when high and low at the same time sang the praises of Ignatius, how could it be otherwise than that the Pope's attention should more and more be directed towards him by whose efforts it was mainly owing that the Order was founded. In this locality, too, Loyola succeeded in obtaining no trifling results and reputation in the conversion of the Jews, of whom there were very many at that time in Rome, some of them being very rich. By what means, however, was this accomplished? Among others, by an order obtained from the Pope, that no physician could be allowed access to the sick-bed of a Jew until the latter had been brought to confession with the view of his embracing Christianity. Ignatius, therefore, so to speak, brought a knife to the Jews' throats in order to convert them, and from this a conclusion may easily be drawn as to the spirit which influenced the Society of Jesus. The founder of the new Order also now became conscious that, with the view of placing himself in the ascendant, he must, above everything, endeavour to gain the favour of the Roman ladies, and especially that class of

them whose name is not usually mentioned in polite society. About the time in which our history runs, there reigned in Rome, as was well known, an almost unbounded state of licentiousness; indeed, it appeared as if nearly all the profligate women in the whole of Italy had assembled there. All who had money at their command, whether lay or clerical, married or unmarried, young or old, kept their own mistresses; and there were not a few who were scarcely even satisfied with two or three. There was no question but that this shamelessness existed concealed behind the walls of the houses; but these ladies, too, were to be seen flouncing about the streets by day as well as by night, and in all processions they were present, especially in the churches, where they placed themselves in the most conspicuous places in their half-naked beauty. Moreover there swarmed about the residence of the followers of Christ a still more despicable class of the female creation, who went by the name of common women; and as a large number of strangers was wont to resort annually to Rome, thousands upon thousands continued to support a miserable existence by the barter of their bodily charms. This, certainly, was a great scandal; but, whilst in other large cities the state of things in this respect was no better, and as in Rome, previous to its becoming the capital of Christendom, there had been periods in its history of much greater profligacy, this discreditable state of things would have been winked at in high places, had it not been that Luther was then preaching the regeneration of Christendom, and that all his followers were pointing the finger of scorn at the old city of the Cæsars. Indeed, this latter generally received in Germany the name which Luther assigned it, "*The Whore of Babylon.*" Even in those countries in which the Romish faith flourished unimpeached, this appellation was universally accepted by acclamation. Such a scandalous thing must be rectified if the greatest injury to the Pope and his dominion was to be averted, and Paul III. convoked a commission of cardinals, whose task it was to find a remedy for the evil. The commission assembled and held weekly meetings during many months. The means desired, however, were not to be found, excepting the sensible proposal to expel by force the disreputable females out of the city; this plan, however, had to remain in abeyance, for otherwise a revolution among the people would have to be faced. Licen-

tiousness continued, therefore, to rule the roost, and the Princes of the Church found themselves in the most wretched dilemma. Ignatius Loyola now came on the scene, and what the cardinals, invested with the fullest powers, failed to accomplish, he alone, quite unaided, completely effected. What were, then, these means which he proposed to himself to use? Simple enough; it was through the influence which he knew how to bring to bear upon the minds of those poor wretched beings. First of all he collected among the Roman ladies of rank sufficient money to found a cloister for converted sinners of the female sex, and as he at the same time named these ladies patronesses of the said cloister, they contributed largely through mere vanity, and collected together considerable sums. A suitable building was thus soon erected, and very ornamentally and invitingly arranged as to its interior economy. It was baptised with the beautiful title "To the holy Martha." A regular nunnery, however, it was not the intention of Loyola to make it; but the future inmates were to have the right to leave the home again whenever it pleased them to do so, and if they found that it did not suit them to remain in it. They were, therefore, on that account, not bound by any kind of oath, nor were they obliged to live according to any certain rules. In short, all restraint was from the first prohibited, and it was rendered, on the contrary, exceedingly attractive by offering the prospect of an easy existence without the trouble of work. Having now brought the matter so far, he commenced—not so much openly as secretly—to make interest for his new institution, and he soon won over some dozens of the poorest and most forsaken of those lost damsels on whom he forthwith conferred the pompously sounding title of "Congregation of the grace of the Holy Virgin." To enter, in our days, an asylum or refuge for fallen damsels, would have awakened a feeling of natural timidity; but by the entrance into the "Congregation of the Holy Virgin," those miserable beings considered themselves raised instead of lowered, and each of the poor creatures looked upon herself as a penitent Magdalen. But this was the least part of the business. As soon as the Martha cloister became in some degree peopled, Loyola began to organise processions of his repentant beauties, and displayed in them such splendour that all Rome went down upon their knees as soon as he appeared in the streets with his remarkable

following. Immediately preceding them marched a troop of beautiful children, who swung about smoking censers, exhaling delicious perfumes, or throwing a shower of flowers on all sides over the gaping crowd. Then came three gigantic men, each of whom carried a still more gigantic banner. Upon the first was delineated, richly ornamented with rubies, the three capital letters I. H. S., *i.e. Jesus Hominum Salvator*; upon the second sparkled the image of the mother of God, with the inscription, "Congregation of the grace of the Holy Virgin," and lastly, upon the third, shone the representation of a wonderfully beautiful penitent, over whom a martyr's crown was held by three angels. Behind the banner-bearers followed Ignatius, surrounded by his associates, all clad in closely-fitting black cloaks reaching down to the ankles, and broad-brimmed black hats bent down on all the four sides, similar to what the Jesuits wear at the present time. Behind Ignatius marched the penitents, that is to say, the inmates of the cloister of Saint Martha, not, however, in sombre penitential garments, but gaily enveloped in white muslin cloaks finely ornamented, with flowers in their hair, and strings of pearls round their necks. The younger members of the Society of Jesus, brought up the close of the procession, with garlands of roses in their hands, and looks cast humbly on the ground, all singing together the hymn, "*Veni Creator Spiritus*," "Come God the Holy Ghost," or some other suitable song. In this manner did Ignatius appear in the streets of Rome, with his "Congregation of the grace of the Holy Virgin," and before the palaces of each of the cardinals, and especially before the dwellings of the noble patronesses a short halt was made, at which both the former as well as the latter were not a little flattered. The result was that the inventor of these processions received encouragement from all quarters for his undertaking, which prospered more and more, notwithstanding the ridicule thrown upon it by the enlightened Romans themselves. Indeed, certain of the beautiful sinners became so enthusiastic on behalf of the new order of things that the Cloister of the Holy Martha was soon filled from top to bottom, and the name of Ignatius resounded throughout all countries, as care was taken to noise it abroad that he had succeeded in turning all the abandoned women and mistresses of Rome into pious penitents.

When, however, this work of Loyola was more closely looked into, the nimbus pretty well vanished, and, properly speaking, no real moral worth could be attributed to it. In the first place, only a very small number of ladies who had made themselves notorious entered into the Congregation of the grace of the Holy Virgin, since it appeared that the whole number comprised in the Cloister of the Holy Martha did not exceed 300 penitents, and the conversion of the Roman world of profligacy, if not quite inconsiderable, became reduced to very small proportions. Secondly, there was really no question of any true conversion, that is as to a change and amendment of the moral perception in any single one of the penitents, whose repentance appeared to consist in nothing else than mere pompous show, and in the outward confession of past sins, upon which absolution immediately followed. Nevertheless, Loyola thereby gained two uncommon advantages; first of all he put the holy Father under great obligation to him, it being trumpeted forth to the world that the whole profligacy of Rome had gone over into the cloister; while in the next place, in consequence thereof, the severe reproaches of the adherents of the Reformation regarding the licentiousness of the high ecclesiastics of the Papal Court were capable of refutation; added to this, hearing the confessions of so many profligates and mistresses, put him in possession of such a mass of secrets that the information he thus obtained was of extraordinary value to him. As for example, it could not be easy for a cardinal or any other high personage to dare to oppose him in his projects relating to his Order, when such persons were conscious that in all probability Loyola was initiated into the story of their amours and former misdoings with this or that Donna, Olympia, or Julia! Moreover, what influence had not these beautiful sinners over their lovers when the former, as not unfrequently happened, at a future time returned again to the world from the cloister of Saint Martha? What power did it not put in the hands of a father confessor?

Loyola, therefore, was never in his life engaged in such a cunning business as in adopting the profligate women of Rome, and from that time forward all his scholars and associates have taken trouble, above everything, to win for themselves the fair sex, whether married or otherwise. In this manner Loyola obtained for himself a firm footing in Rome, and as he now

thought that he had sufficiently won over to his views such as had influence with the Pope, in August 1539, he had the statutes of his Order, so far as then prepared, laid before His Holiness at the time residing on the Tiber. This was done by Cardinal Contarini, who was very favourably affected towards Ignatius. The Pontiff charged Father Thomas Badia, who at that time held the office of High Chamberlain (*Magistrum Sacri Palatii*), and who afterwards became Cardinal, to read through the document; but as the latter extolled it so much, he took it into his own hand, and after carefully examining it, full of astonishment and admiration, exclaimed, "*Digitus Dei est hic!*"—"The finger of God is here." He forthwith summoned Ignatius before him in September 1539, and, after loading him with praise, informed him that there was nothing whatever to hinder the ratification of the new Society. Who could now be more joyful than Ignatius? Still this delight was soon again disturbed on his urging His Holiness to confirm in writing, that is to say, by a Bull, his verbal approval. After further consideration the ruler of Christendom began to entertain some scruples. The Pontifex was of opinion that the matter was far too weighty that he should dare to trust entirely to his own opinion and judgment; it must rather, as usual with all vital Church questions, be referred first of all to a Commission of Cardinals, and only after a favourable opinion being pronounced upon it by them could the Pope give his final approval. In short, he at once nominated such a Commission, consisting of three of the most distinguished Cardinals. It was thought, however, to be a bad omen that one of the number was the learned, upright, and sagacious Cardinal Bartholomew Guidiccioni, who was well known to be thoroughly unfavourable to the ecclesiastical Orders. From this quarter Ignatius was seized with great alarm as to the fate of his Order; and that he had good cause for this anxiety the immediate future disclosed. Guidiccioni at once declared the proposed Society to be completely inadmissible, inasmuch as, according to the 4th Synod of Lateran of the year 1215 and the 2nd of Lyons of the year 1274, it was distinctly decided that no new Order could in future be founded. And even were this prohibition of the Church to be set aside, the ratification of this proposed society of Loyola must be relinquished, as envy and jealousy would be aroused thereby among the Orders already existing;

while, as so much hatred and disputation already reigned rampant in the Church, it was most desirable that all occasion for new conflicts should most carefully be avoided. "Rather abolish the Orders entirely," said the Cardinal at the close of his judgment, "or reduce their overwhelming number, than create an accession of monks who, we all know, bring at present more injury than advantage to the Papal throne." Thus judged Cardinal Guidiccioni, and his two colleagues agreed with him completely—at least, at first—so that the ambitious Loyola was almost driven to despair. At last, however, after an opposition which had continued for almost half a year, the efforts of Ignatius and his friends succeeded in bringing about a change of opinion, and finally even Cardinal Guidiccioni came to be, instead of an enemy, one of his most zealous supporters. And wherein lay the grounds for this change of opinion? Simply and solely because the cardinals now came to the conviction that the new Society might be made a lever by which Roman Catholicism, so greatly shaken by the Reformation, might be raised up again—a lever and point of support for the Pope and the Papacy such as had never yet existed.* This conviction found favour for itself, partly in that the statutes of the Order and its inherent principles and rules had survived a long-continued and very searching trial, and partly also on account of several explanatory additions proposed to be made, to which Loyola and his friends gave their consent.

It was after this that, as the college charged with the examination of the statutes had declared itself favourable thereto,

* All authors unanimously agree that the Pope ratified the Order of Jesuits solely on grounds of utility, that is, because he believed that through it the degraded Papal power might again be resuscitated. The learned Schröck, for instance, declares his views:—"The acceptance of, and favour shown to, the Order of the Jesuits by the Pope is not to be wondered at from the state of the Catholic Church at that time; on the contrary, it must have been heartily welcome to the Roman Court. The latter had already lost an immense deal of ground through the Reformation of Luther and Calvin, and stood in danger of being always still more a loser, as the former means of the Popes for securing the obedience of Christians were no longer sufficient; the other orders and ecclesiastical societies which had hitherto rendered good service had become powerless and effete, and enjoyed but little consideration in their own proper church. More powerful institutions and more active defenders than the Roman Catholic Church hitherto had, were required against such formidable and fortunate opponents. Now a society offered itself which promised to devote itself to all the requirements of the Church, and render the most implicit obedience to the Popes. Why should it, then, be rejected?"

the Pope himself naturally took no further exception to the solemn formal ratification of the new Society under the name of "Societas Jesu," * and this, in fact, took place on the 27th September 1540, through a special Bull commencing with the words, "*Regimini militantis ecclesiæ.*"

In this manner was the Order of the Jesuits called into existence.

* Most of the remaining orders were named after their founders. Loyola, however, did not seek for Loyolites or Ignatianites, but for Jesuits, as not himself but Jesus he wished to be considered the head of the Society he had founded. On that account he had from the first the intention of giving his Society the expressive title of "Phalanx Jesu," and also "Compagnia di Giesu," "Societas Jesu" in Latin, and it was not, therefore, Paul III. who invented this name, which originated entirely with Ignatius Loyola. The designation "Jesuit" came, moreover, into use only after Loyola's death, and according to general belief originated in Paris from the celebrated Etienne Pasquier, the advocate of the Parisian University in its transactions with the Jesuit Order during the latter half of the 16th century. Previous to this time the Jesuits were called, as has been already related, "Companions of Jesus."

CHAPTER IV.

THE ORGANISATION AND STATUTE BOOK OF THE NEW ORDER.

The reader will now be curious to become acquainted with the statute which Loyola submitted to the Pope, and I therefore place it before him in a verbal translation. Thus begins this very memorable document:—

"Whoever will, as a member of our Society, upon which we have bestowed the name of Jesus, fight under the banner of the Cross, and serve God alone and His representative on earth, the Pope of Rome, after having in the most solemn manner taken the vow of chastity, must always recollect that he now belongs to a Society which has been instituted simply and solely in order to perfect in the souls of men the teaching and dissemination of Christianity, as also to promulgate the true faith by means of the public preaching of God's word, by holy exercises and macerations, by works of love, and especially by the education of the young, and the instruction of those who have hitherto had no correct knowledge of Christianity, and lastly by hearing the confessions of believers, and giving them holy consolation. He should always have God before his eyes, or, more correctly, the aim of our Society and our Order, which is the sole way to God, and strive with his best exertions to bring about the accomplishment of this aim. On the other hand, each one should be satisfied with the measure of grace dispensed to him by the Holy Ghost, and not contend in judgment with others

who are, perhaps, more discreet. In order to effect this more easily, and with the view of upholding that order rightly which is necessary in all well-regulated societies, it shall be for the General alone, the Chief selected from among us, to have the right of deciding how each should be employed, and of determining who would be most suitable for this or that office or business.

"Further, this Chief or General shall have the power, with the approval of his associates, to frame the fixed rules and constitution of the Society, and judge whatever will be most fitted for the attainment of the chief aim of the Society, not, however, without having previously asked the associates and consulted with them. On all important occasions, and where it concerns permanent regulations, the General has on that account to convoke the whole members of the Society, or, at least, the greater number of them, and then the point will be decided by a simple majority. In the case of less important matters, however, especially where dispatch is needed, it shall be quite sufficient to call together in council such of the associates as may happen to be present on the spot where the General resides. The carrying out of the laws, moreover, no less than the proper right of command, and supreme power, belongs solely to the Chief, and to no third person.

"Be it known to all men further, that it must be engraven, not only on the doors of their Profess-houses, but also on their hearts in capital letters as long as they live, that the entire Society and all and sundry who enter into the same are bound to render implicit obedience to our holy lord the Pope, as also to all his successors, and in this obedience to fight only for God. However learned and thereby orthodox they may have become in the Bible, all Christian believers owe obedience and allegiance to the Pope of Rome as visible head of the Church and representative of Jesus Christ; so, also, do we hold ourselves bound by a special vow of general obedience for the submission of this Order in general, as also for the formal spiritual mortification of each individual among us in particular, and for the public renunciation of our own proper will. This vow requires that whatever the present Pope or his successors may order, provided it redound to the advantage of souls and the propagation of the faith, that for whatever mission it is

desired we may be employed in, whether it be to the Turks or other unbelievers, even if it be as far as India, or to heretics, Lutherans, or schismatics, or, lastly, even should it be wished to send us among the orthodox, we shall immediately obey without any delay, and without offering any excuse whatever. On this account it behoves all who are minded to join our Society, before they take this burden upon their shoulders, well and maturely to consider whether they have the command of such spiritual means as would enable them to climb, with God's assistance, those steep heights; that is, whether the Holy Ghost, who impels them, has poured upon them such a measure of spiritual grace, that they may dare to hope, with His assistance, they may not succumb under the burden of their vocation. Are you quite prepared to range yourselves for war service under the banner of Jesus Christ? So must you gird up your loins day and night, and be ready at any hour of the day or night to bear the burden you have undertaken.

"No one belonging to the Society shall, impelled by ambition, carry out, of his own accord, this or that mission or function, and still less shall any member have the right to enter independently into communication, directly or indirectly, with the Roman chair, or other ecclesiastical authorities; it is only God alone, or rather, that is to say, His representative, the Pope, as also the General of the Order, who can do this. All such orders must proceed from them; but when a member has a commission given to him to execute, he shall not under any circumstances whatever hesitate to undertake the same; on the other hand, he may not engage to concert or come to an arrangement with the Pope regarding any great mission work without the approval of the Society. All and every one must vow to render implicit obedience to the decision of the Chief on all points relative to the rules of the Order; he himself, however, on the other hand, must engage to issue only such commands as he considers conformable to the attainment of the object the Society has in view. Also must he in the administration of his office always have before his eyes the example of the goodness, gentleness, and love given by Christ and His Apostles, Peter and Paul, and so shall he also instruct all his councillors and higher officials. Especially must he take care that the education of the young, and the instruction of ignorant adults in

the principles of Christian teaching, in the Ten Commandments and the other elements, both as to time and place, as also with regard to the person himself, shall never be neglected, and, indeed, this is the more necessary, as without a well-founded faith no true edifice can be erected. Moreover, it is clear that if the General should not take the business strictly in hand, one or other of the brethren, erroneously thinking himself more accomplished, and believing this or that land, or this or that district, to be much too small and inconsiderable for the extent of his knowledge, might abandon the instruction, whilst in fact nothing could be more serviceable than this instruction, as well for the edification of his neighbour as for exercise in works of humility and love, and, lastly, for the attainment of our chief object. In a word, the members of the Society shall, according to the rules of the Order, implicitly obey the Chief, or General, in every particular, and on all occasions, to the infinite benefit of the Society, and the continual exercise of humility never to be sufficiently commended, considering him with becoming reverence as the representative of Christ, the commander-in-chief of the heavenly hosts. Now, whilst experience teaches that there are no men who have a purer, more edifying, or more agreeable life as regards their neighbours, than those who are furthest removed from the poison of avarice, and stand closest to evangelical poverty; and while we further know that the Lord Jesus Christ provides all his servants, when engaged in the service of the kingdom of heaven, with all necessaries of food, drink, and clothing; so shall each and every member of our Order make a vow of perpetual poverty, and at the same time declare that neither for themselves, that is, for their own proper persons, nor also for the maintenance and use of the Order itself in common, shall they take or obtain possession of any lands or property, wherever situated, or merely the income derived therefrom, but rather be satisfied with what they can voluntarily spend in administering to the wants and necessities of others.

"It will be still free to them to establish one or more colleges at the universities, for the maintenance of which the acceptance of lands and estates, with the income derived therefrom, need not be declined, on the understanding that they are to be used for the good of the students. The superintendence, however, over the before-mentioned colleges, the students attached to them,

as well as the administration of the same, and of the incomes appertaining to them, rests entirely with the General and with those brethren of the Order entrusted by him with such power, as also, indeed, the appointment, dismissal, recall, and expulsion of the teachers, superiors, and students, besides whatever concerns the introduction of statutes, regulations, and laws, the instruction of the pupils, their indoctrination, their punishments, their clothing, and, above all things, their education, guidance, and management. It will, in this way, be best made certain that the students can never misuse the said estates and incomes, nor can it even be a question of the Society employing the same for their own benefit and advantage. On the contrary, the entire interest of the college properties shall be appropriated to their maintenance, and to defraying the expenses of the education of the pupils; the latter, however, may be admitted into our Society as soon as they have obtained sufficient proficiency in science and learning, and can even themselves work as teachers. All members of the Order who are consecrated to the priesthood, though they enjoy neither any church benefices, nor any other revenues, still have the duty of discharging all church functions, and are also bound to rehearse the office after church usage privately, that is, each individually for himself, but not in common as monks in cloister.

"This is the statute of our Order, which we have sketched by the suggestion of the Holy Father Paul, and now submit for the approval of the Apostolic Chair. It is only a summary outline, but it will sufficiently enlighten those who are interested in our doings and proceedings, and it will serve as a criterion for those who subsequently join this Order. Since we now, moreover, know exactly, by long personal experience, with how many and great difficulties a life such as ours is surrounded, we have likewise found how advantageous it is that no one should be allowed to join our Society as a member who has not previously undergone an exact and searching examination. First, then, he can only be admitted to the war service of Christ if he has been found efficiently skilled in the service of Christ, and clean and pure in his teaching and mode of life; may he, however, to our small beginning add his grace and favour, to the honour of God the Father, to whom be glory and praise in eternity, Amen."

Thus run the rules of the new Order, which Paul III. confirmed, on the 27th September 1540, under the title of the Society of Jesus, but, it must be added, with the addition that the number of members should be limited to sixty.

Still, these rules formed only the first principle, the mere beginning of the subsequent organisation of the Order of the Jesuits, and we shall be informed, in the next chapter, that the more precise and weighty of the laws and constitutions were only added afterwards. Still, in this initiatory sketch, or rather, by this small commencement, indications are not wanting of something entirely different from what at first existed. First and foremost, in addition to the three customary vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience to superiors, comes a fourth, the vow of absolute and unlimited submission to the Pope (*obedientiæ illimitatæ erga Pontificem*), and from this it follows that the members of the Society of Jesus are nothing else than an army of spiritual warriors who devote themselves entirely to the service of the Romish Chair. The second not less important point is that the new Order should not by any means be a monkish order, in spite of the obligation of the above-named vows. Up to this time the monks went by the name of whatever Order to which they belonged; they lived together in cloisters, and led therein a life apparently devoted to God; the Jesuits, on the contrary, were to live in the world, and not in seclusion. They were to possess, it is true, profess-houses, that is to say, houses of accommodation for the members who had bound themselves by all the four vows ("profess" is equivalent to "vow"), but none of them could remain stationary anywhere for any length of time, and each must always hold himself in readiness to be sent about here and there on any particular duty for which he might be required. Their task was not that of following a life of contemplation, but that of working among men for the benefit of the Pope, and of labouring in far-away missions among the heathen, as well as in their native Europe fighting against heretics and schismatics. The third cardinal point is that they acknowledge education, secular as well as spiritual, to be the chief object of their lives. By the former must be understood the education of adults backward in knowledge, as well as that of the young, in the *true,* or Roman Catholic religion, for only in this way could a lasting and effectual stop be put to the extension of heresy. Spiritual

education, on the other hand, would be prosecuted among the so-called novices, such youths merely as had the desire of preparing themselves for admittance into the Jesuit Order, as it may be supposed that the novices or pupils in question ought to be thoroughly perfected for the objects of the Order. With the view, moreover, that this essential principle of the Order, *education*, should be effectual, and, indeed, might be looked upon as a fourth cardinal point, it was required that the vow of poverty should be modified in some degree, or, rather, raised, as it were, by an artificial lever, and so transformed into the reverse. The professed brethren themselves should, properly speaking, be poor and possess nothing of their own; but the educational institutions and colleges, on the other hand, which were entirely under the protection and control of the members and General of the Order, had the right to take whatever might be given them, and the more that was given the better pleased were the rectors and directors appointed by the General. As the fifth and last cardinal point, which, indeed, gave to the Order from the commencement its firm internal cohesion, I have to state that the General or Chief was elected for life, and was endowed with completely absolute sovereign authority. He might not, indeed, alter or remodel the constitution without the advice and approval of his associates, but in all other matters implicit and unconditional obedience must be rendered to him, without any one having the right even of asking questions as to his reasons, and he might not only bestow offices and commissions according to his judgment, but he had to be looked upon as Christ's representative, the embodied Jesus.

Under such circumstances was it that the Order must necessarily obtain such a unified power as no society or institution in the whole world had ever before acquired, seeing that each member of the Society of Jesus, on his admission, gave up his own will and became, indeed, henceforth an instrument merely for the use of the Order.

These are the five cardinal points by which the statutes of the Jesuit Society were pre-eminently distinguished from any preceding Order, and when we contemplate these points the more closely we cannot but be astonished at the extraordinary wisdom which they reflect. Not the less are we struck, at first sight, with the reason why the Roman Court promised for itself great

advantages from the new Order, especially in opposing the increasing progress of the Reformation, and on that account we need not wonder that Paul III. solemnly confirmed the institution. On the other hand, there is not to be found in the statutes the slightest thing that detracts from the prosperity and advancement of the human race, and even the object of self-perfectibility, which among religious bodies had hitherto been the principal one, must give way thoroughly before that of the "defence of Papal things." Leaving all this aside, the new Order presented but a glaring contradiction, with its laws of reason and morality, because it required of its members, as an indispensable condition of their admittance, a complete surrender of all personal wishes and inclinations, of all personal dealings and striving after advancement; in like manner must all thought of domestic life and friendship, all love of parents and sisters, all thought of country and home, all desire after or taste for beauty and art, be abandoned completely. In a word, all sources of the inner life of soul and body must be extinguished, in order to obtain the knighthood of Faith, with its concomitants of uninterrupted zeal and obedience.

CHAPTER V.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA AS GENERAL OF THE ORDER.

THE first business which the new Order had to take in hand was to elect a Chief or General, and the choice fell unanimously on Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society. It is true, certainly, that there happened to be at that time only five members of the Order present in Rome, namely Lejay, Pasquet-Brouet, Laynez, Cordur, and Salmeron, but the election, nevertheless, may still be termed unanimous, because the remaining members transmitted their votes in writing. Ignatius, in fact, entered on his contemplated office on holy Easter Day of the year 1541, and it must have been uncommonly flattering to his fiery ambition that he had, through immense perseverance, at length brought the matter so far. On the other hand, he frequently asked himself whether he would be able to carry out even a small part only of what he had with his people promised to perform, as the situation in which at that time the Papacy found itself was a superlatively difficult one. Throughout the whole Christian world purity of the faith was completely obliterated; and, instead of Christian fervency and love, complete indifference had crept in. The ecclesiastics and priests had shown themselves to be unworthy of their office through their almost general shameless mode of life, and they possessed so small a knowledge of God's Word as to be unable to determine whether Melchisedec had been a butler or a dancing-master. As to the cloisters I will not at present speak, and still less of the chastity

to be found therein. It could not be denied that even in Rome itself more heathenism than Christianity prevailed, and so little awe was there for the Almighty among men, that, as a proof thereof, in lonely churches a dog even might be seen chained to the high altar to protect the deeply venerated property, and prevent the Pyx being stolen out of the tabernacle. If this were the case in Rome, it seemed even worse throughout the rest of the world. Spain and Italy were smothered in ignorance and sloth; Germany through Luther, France through Calvin, Switzerland through Zwingle, and England through its own king showed a great falling away from the Catholic faith; every day added to the number of heretics as well as heresies. In those regions still remaining Catholic the most shameless and wicked abominations were perpetrated with laughter and derision; as, for instance, wicked grooms were not ashamed to mix the consecrated Host with the oats they gave to their horses, or to solemnise their carousals with the holy cup. And who now espoused the cause of the miserably down-fallen Romish Church? Scarcely anyone in the whole wide world; and if any did do so, it was without earnest good-will.

With the initiation of the Order of Jesuits, however, all this was changed; things soon assumed a very different appearance, and the world saw with astonishment what immeasurably great things a small society could accomplish as soon as it was conducted by one of iron will, who never lost sight of the aim and object he had in view. This same iron will Ignatius—now, indeed, in his fiftieth year—possessed even in a still greater degree than when, formerly, he insisted upon his half-healed leg being broken again in order that he might not appear in the world a mutilated cripple. Had he not day and night before his eyes the victory of Christ's Kingdom, as he designated the supremacy of the Papacy? As he now considered himself consecrated to the service of Jesus, he at once severed all bonds that still tied him to the world, especially that of blood-relationship; as, for instance, he threw into the fire, without reading them, letters which after a long interval arrived for him from his home, and which had been joyously handed to him by the porter of the profess-house. He claimed also from his associates the absolute renunciation of all personal relations, and especially required of them, as warriors of Christ, the same unconditional

blind obedience which a soldier owes to his officer. In this respect he was quite inexorable, without the slightest consideration for the birth, knowledge, understanding, or attainments of the individual. It might so happen, for instance, that he would suddenly call upon the most learned among the associates to perform the duties of cook, merely with the object of exercising him in humility; or he would require another, who from his noble birth might consider himself capable of some important service, to clean out the kitchen or sweep the street. He was especially severe on idleness, and two younger brethren who were standing gaping idly about them, at the door of the Roman College, were compelled to carry up a heap of stones to the upper storey piece by piece, and to bring them down again on the following day. But, above all things, he exhibited the greatest severity upon those who did not immediately and on the instant attend to his orders, or who in the least seemed to allow it to be seen that they were inclined to submit those orders to their own judgment. Even Laynez himself, who might, so to speak, be looked upon as the chief in the Order, was obliged to apologise most humbly, as he on one occasion disapproved of an order of Ignatius, and permitted himself to raise expostulations against it. He, Ignatius, the Master of the Order, he took care to say, was ready day and night to comply with the orders of the Pope, and exactly, in like manner, must the members of the Society of Jesus be ready to comply with his (Ignatius's) orders. A brother, even while engaged in listening to a confession or in performing mass, dare not delay an instant if wanted by the Master, as the summons of the General was to be looked upon as equivalent to the call of Christ Himself. In short, Ignatius went upon the principle that if something substantial was to be effected, it could only be when one mind and one will pervaded the whole Society, and that it was only by carrying out this principle to the utmost that the end in view could really be accomplished.

As soon as the new General was elected, on the 22nd of April 1541, he organised a great procession to all the most remarkable churches and stations in the city of Rome, and marched along with it to the Church of St. Paul, outside the walls, and after reading mass he took before the high altar first the third and then the fourth vow, and finally demanded the same four vows

from his associates. After the conclusion of this ceremony began the proper work of the Society. Ignatius allotted to each of his associates his own particular sphere of action, and urged upon every individual the task of being, before everything, most active in the extension and augmentation of the Society. Araoz and Villanouva, two newly-acquired members, he sent to Spain, Rodriguez to Portugal, Xavier to India, Brouet with some others to England, Lejay, Bobadilla, and Le Fevre to Germany, Cordur with fifteen others to France, Laynez and Salmeron as Papal legates to the assembly of the Church at Trient. In short, he apportioned off the world among his associates, while he himself remained in Rome in order thence to conduct the whole affair. The results completely answered the expectations of Ignatius and of the Pope, and even, indeed, surpassed them, for, after the lapse of some years, there arose in the great majority of the university towns Jesuit colleges, in which there was no lack of novices. Wherever there was contention in religious matters, in whatever countries the princes and people were at variance on this account, and, in short, wherever the old faith strove with the new, there now also appeared the ambassadors of Loyola, and the Black Cloaks with their sagacity, their eloquence, their zeal and energy, caused the side which they defended to triumph almost universally, the result being that they obtained for themselves a firm footing.*

While the Pope now derived so much benefit from the new Society, he naturally enough could not prove himself ungrateful, and Ignatius, therefore, easily acquired from him one advantage after another. It was thus that the Jesuit General obtained the two churches, "De la Strata" and "To the Holy Andrew"; as also sufficient space at the foot of Engelsburg for the erection of a splendid "Profess-house" for the members of the Four Vows. He thus succeeded in bringing into existence a number of costly institutions, as, for instance, the "Rosenstift," designed for the protection of young girls, and as a refuge for fallen women. Also schools, where catechising took place, for Jews who had embraced Christianity, as well as orphanages for parentless boys and girls who were destitute. The chief thing, however, which occasioned Ignatius to rejoice, was the amplification of the privileges for his

* The particulars regarding all this are to be found in detail in the second book of this work.

Order under Paul III., for without such proofs of favour the Society of Jesus could never have been able to raise itself to that height of splendour which, as history teaches us, it succeeded in attaining.

Already, in 1543, two years only after the foundation of the Order, it became apparent that the number of sixty members, which was at first determined on by the Pope, had been found to be far too limited, as in such an uncommonly large field of labour which the Jesuits occupied, what could be accomplished by sixty members only! On that account Paul III. issued a new Bull on the 14th of March 1543, which, by the words with which it commences, *Injunctum nobis*, gives to Ignatius the power to take as many members as he wishes, a privilege of which advantage was, naturally enough, at once taken. What was even a still more valuable addition for the Order, contained in the same Bull, was an authorisation the effect of which was in fact immeasurable, and such as no order could hitherto boast. It was no less than that Loyola, as well as all future Generals of the Order, could, with the sanction of the most distinguished members in council, alter, expunge, or make additions to the laws of the Society, or create entirely new regulations, according as it appeared under the circumstances to be most advantageous; and it was decreed that these altered and newly-framed statutes, even in the case when the Roman Chair had no knowledge of them, should have the same validity as if the Pope himself had confirmed them. Although it seems almost madness that a Pope should impart a privilege of this description to any General of any Order, it thus stands verbally written in the Bull *Injunctum nobis*. It, in fact, made the individual in question thereby almost independent of the Papal chair, and at the same time a despot of such extraordinary power that it was calculated to render all States distrustful of him. For instance, does not every Government, solicitous for the welfare of its subjects and for its own stability, require that the rules and constitution of all such societies as that of the Jesuits should be submitted for its acceptance and toleration? Would it not carefully examine beforehand the contents of the same to ascertain exactly whether they were in accordance with the laws of the country, or whether there might be any possibility that the weal of the State might be undermined thereby? Certainly every wise Government

would naturally thus act, and the Jesuits, therefore, as well as all other Orders in the different countries into which they had penetrated, had to submit their constitution for approval. How would it be, then, if the General, after permission being granted, was pleased to alter its constitution, and incorporate among its rules some resolution, perhaps, highly dangerous to the State? Truly the above-described authorisation might well startle and be a warning to any State in allowing the Order of Jesuits to become rooted among them, while this Papal Bull made it indeed a chameleon whereby every succeeding General might be able to give a new colour to the rules, so that consequently no trust could be placed at all in them.

Ignatius then obtained a new privilege, through another decree, published on the 5th of June 1545, which also contributed not a little to the power of the new Order. The Pope thereby conferred on the Jesuits the right to ascend any pulpit wherever they went, to teach in all places, and to establish Professorial chairs everywhere; to hear confessions, and grant absolution for every sin, even for such as the Papal Chair had reserved for itself to consider; to exempt from all Church penalties and curses; to dispense with vows and pilgrimages, and to order, as well, other good works; to read mass in all places and at all hours; to administer the sacraments without necessarily having the acquiescence of the local priesthood, or even the bishop of the place.

This was once more an enormous advantage for the Jesuits over rival Orders, none of whom ever possessed such extensive privileges; and, indeed, it caused them to burst with envy. What embittered the ordinary priesthood still more against the Black Cloaks was that in granting absolution they never imposed any very severe punishment, even for grave sins, thereby snatching from their rivals many penitents, and consequently depriving them of no inconsiderable part of their income and influence. But indignation was of no avail to them, and even the complaints of distinguished bishops had no weight with the Pope, who entertained a particular affection for the Jesuits, and, in very truth, on good grounds.

Moreover, about a year afterwards, a further extension of the Order occurred. Hitherto there had existed only two classes of the same, novices and professed members; that is to

say, such as had taken upon themselves the four vows, and such as had been received into the holy colleges as pupils, in order that they might be properly brought up as regular Jesuits. The latter were as yet not members, properly speaking, but only aspirants or candidates, who might easily be again dismissed at pleasure, on being found unsuitable. It was now, however, indispensably requisite, if the Order, as Loyola designed it, was to be spread over the whole world, that the number of instruments should be increased, as with the hundred or hundred and twenty which there were in the year 1546 the claims upon them could not be by any means fully satisfied. How, then, was this evil to be remedied? In the first place it was requisite, some way or other, that a greater number should be made to take the four vows, becoming thereby professed members. Loyola, indeed, had the power of doing this through the Bull *Injunctum nobis*, but was it advisable? The professed members formed, so to speak, the privy councillors of the General, and without their consent the constitution of the Order could not be altered. A large conclave, however, would make unanimity difficult, according to the old proverb, "Many heads many minds." Some plan for preventing this must be found, as it would be unwise to trust a large body of men with the innermost thoughts and ideas of the Order, for there must always be a greater number of scabbed sheep in a large flock than in a small one. Thus prudence, certainly, strongly forbade that thousands should be promoted to be professed members, and Loyola, as well as his associates, held the opinion that the number of Jesuits proper, that is to say, of professed members, should be limited as much as practicable.* While, therefore, no assistance could well be gained in this direction, more instruments must, in some way or other, be found at any price.

It then entered into the mind of Loyola to create a third class of members, who might be of as much use to the Order as the professed members, without, however, having the rights of the same. This class he designated "Coadjutors," and he at once divided them into two subdivisions, "the secular and spiritual

* In the year 1715, when the Order had attained its highest state of prosperity, when it possessed over 700 colleges and numbered more than 22,000 members, there existed only twenty-four profess-houses, in none of which lived more than ten professed members. Proof sufficient that the principle above stated remained a fixed rule.

coadjutors." The Pope, also, at once sanctioned this new arrangement, in a special Bull, which was signed on the 5th of June 1546.

In this way the Order of Jesuits had the following organisation. The novices formed the lowest grade, out of which the proper stock might be recruited. The most talented and highly educated youths were selected and first brought into the "Trial House" (*domus probationis*), where the novice master (*magister novitiorum*) kept them under observation and watched over them with an assistant during a period of twenty days. Should they then continue firm in their determination of entering the Order, and should this inspection prove favourable to them, *i.e.* should they be found to be fit and suitable subjects, they were then promoted to be true noviciates, and came into the Noviciate House, where they had to remain during two years. In the first year they had to undergo all the degrees of self-denial, they had to castigate their flesh, and had to nurse in the hospitals the most filthy and disgusting patients; they were also kept at the occupation of begging and other low employments, besides which they were practised by the master in frequent confessions, and compelled to lay open all their most secret thoughts and desires daily, with the most blind obedience. In the second year, when they had proved their humility and submission to authority, they were assigned more intellectual than corporeal employments, and were exercised especially in preaching, catechising, and in other things concerning the welfare of the soul. But at the same time, care was taken against fatiguing them too much, in order that the next stage should not be rendered disagreeable to them, and several amusements even were not denied them, as, for instance, attending prosecutions of the Inquisition and other similar sights. On their having completed the two years of noviciate successfully, then the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience were administered to them, and they were promoted to be spiritual coadjutors. As such, during the first two years, they were only so-called scholastics, that is to say, proved pupils who might be employed in the colleges, or, also, as assistants in missions. When, however, they had acquired sufficient experience to render them more independently useful, they were advanced, according to their talents and ability, to be professors, rectors, preachers, confessors, &c., and were now designated *coadjutores formati, i.e.* true assistants.

Besides them, there were secular assistants, or *coadjutores sæculares*, who acted, so to speak, as lay brethren, and without having received any higher ordination were charged with the house-keeping duties in colleges, missions, and profess-houses. They had nothing to do with the priesthood, *i.e.* with the cure of souls, or with education, and, as they had to perform menial services, were held in but trifling esteem.

The superior lay brethren, however, not infrequently received the title of secular coadjutors, to distinguish them, on account of their true services to the Order, and then such undertook no definite functions, but continued to remain rather in their hitherto worldly position. They were merely confederates, or "affiliates"; they were also called, derisively, short-coated Jesuits, or *Jesuits in voto*; and the pupils of Loyola boasted that even crowned heads belonged to this class of the Order, in the persons of the Emperor Ferdinand II. and King Louis XIV.

Lastly, the professed members formed the highest grade and proper heart and soul of the Society, *i.e.* those who had taken the four vows upon them, and consequently gave implicit obedience to the Pope, and such were selected from the class of coadjutors distinguished among their brethren for their worldly wisdom, knowledge, fidelity, and experience. To these only were entrusted by the General the highest offices and most important posts, as he could depend upon them in every respect. They seldom, therefore, lived at ease in the profess-houses, only, indeed, when unwell or temporarily unemployed from some other cause; one would serve as a missionary among the heathen, another as a warrior of God against the heretics, a third as a ruler of some colony in a distant quarter of the globe, a fourth as father confessor of some prince or lady of distinction, a fifth as Resident of the Order in some locality where it had not as yet possessed a college, a sixth as legate of the Pope in some special mission, a seventh, eighth, or ninth, as assistant to the General in Rome, or as supreme leader in some particular province, as provincial or as superior of a profess-house, or as rector of a college. Under these circumstances, as none can at the same time serve two masters, they were for the time quite exempt from the obligation as to the instruction of youth, which last duty was left entirely to the coadjutors. On the other hand, the professed members had from time to time to make their appear-

ance in Rome, at general chapters, or meetings, in order to take a part in consultations regarding any proposed change in the statutes, and it was they also who elected from amongst their number the General when that office happened to become vacant.

From the time Loyola conceived the idea of calling the class of coadjutors into existence, the interior economy of the Order was in this manner henceforth arranged, and one may perceive now that the fixed regulations were much more important than at first sight appeared.

In the same year, 1546, in which the new classification of the Order of Jesuits was effected, Loyola gained still another important victory. It happened, namely, that King Ferdinand, brother of the Emperor Charles V., came to form so high an opinion of Lejay, who, as we have seen above, laboured for the Order in Germany, that he wished him to be made Bishop of Triest. He wrote on this account to the Pope, who was naturally quite ready to confer a favour on the great man. The Society of Jesus also hoped to consolidate its power through the elevation to such rank of a member of their Order, as the remaining Orders, such as the Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines, or whatever else they may be designated, always courted such dignities, and were in the highest degree proud whenever anyone of their body gained an important Church preferment as Bishop or Archbishop. One might easily, therefore, suppose that this would be the case with Ignatius Loyola, and that he would be ready to clutch with both hands the contemplated honour for one of his associates, more especially as to the Bishopric of Triest a considerable income was attached. To the great astonishment, then, of the Pope and King Ferdinand, Loyola took quite a different view, and opposed the elevation of Lejay, through thick and thin, as soon as he received news of the same. "We members of the Society of Jesus," said he to the Pope, as he afterwards wrote in quite similar terms to the King, "are warriors of Christ, and must therefore possess all the characteristics of good soldiers. We must be always ready to advance against the enemy, and be always prepared to harass him or to fall upon him, and on that account we must not venture to tie ourselves to any particular place. How could we else, at the first hint from your Holiness, which is certainly our duty above everything, fly from one town or city to another,

or from one end of the world to another? Besides, the lowly character of our Order forbids that one of us should accept a high Church preferment, and we must be most careful not to awaken again the jealousy of the other Orders as we have before done." It was in this sense that Loyola spoke, and it may be that he was in earnest in giving the arguments he advanced as the cause of his dissent; but, at any rate, such were not the only reasons, but besides them he had still others in the background, and, indeed, much more weighty ones. Why, truly, was it not much more probable, as, indeed, it became in the future the rule, that the most ambitious among the Jesuits never would remain quiet until they had secured for themselves places of great honour? We know now that the Order was almost deprived of its highest glory, and its transcendant powers were taken away, owing to this cause. Independent of this, too, how would it be with the rigorous monarchy in the Order, with the omnipotence of the General, and the subordination of the members, were there a possibility of the power of the Grand Master being in any way diminished? Could there be any longer a question that the Bishops or Archbishops, and, together with them, the Prince of the kingdom in which they lived, would not remain in such subjection to the General of the Order as had previously been the case? It would not be possible, even if it were wished, because a prince must necessarily fulfil his required obligations, against which orders from Rome would be of no avail.

All this said Loyola to himself; therefore, as the Pope and King Ferdinand did not on the instant assent to his representations, he, without any more ceremony, finally forbad Lejay to accept the proffered appointment. Indeed, this was not enough for him; but he made it from this time an irrefragable law, that a member of the Society of Jesus should never on any account accept an episcopal chair, and for this reason he himself declined the office of Cardinal which was offered to him.

What did the "I" signify to himself, or what did the "I" matter to his associates? His only pride and pleasure was the success and prosperity of the Society he had founded. Along with the continuously increasing extension of the Order of Jesus their wishes, as may well be imagined, kept pace; for although individual members were obliged, for themselves, to take the vow of poverty, as has been above explained, they still retained the

right of accepting all they could get for the use of the colleges they had founded, and of this right, indeed, they made the most extensive use. They also showed themselves, from the very first, not at all scrupulous in regard to the means they took to acquire this or that possession, and as a proof of this, I will now give the reader an instance.

In the year 1542, Laynez, who was at that time working for the Order in Venice, caused a rich old nobleman, of the name of Andreas Lippomani, to make over the house and property which he possessed in Padua to the Jesuit Order on behoof of a college to be founded; and as this present was of considerable value, the whole farm being estimated to be worth 40,000 ducats, Loyola rejoiced exceedingly. He felt it, however, to be all the more disagreeable, when on the death of Andreas, the rightful heir disputed the will and brought an action before the Venetian Senate, within whose jurisdiction the matter rested. At the commencement it seemed doubtful which party would gain the cause, and the balance of justice for some time oscillated considerably backwards and forwards undecidedly; in the end, however, it appeared tolerably clear that the Senate would decide in favour of the legitimate heir, as he proved that his deceased relative, at the time the deed was drawn up, had become imbecile from old age, and had not his clear wits about him. This news drove Loyola into despair, and in his agitation he promised to the Virgin three thousand masses, and if that was not sufficient, two thousand more, provided that she would win over the minds of the senators to his side. At the same time, however, as he made this appeal to Mary, which might possibly prove ineffectual, he did not forget to claim, also, human assistance, and forthwith he secured for himself the powerful aid of a Cardinal who had great influence with the Venetian Senate. He was doubtless very well aware that he had no right to gain the cause, and had nothing to expect from justice; he, therefore, had recourse to influence from another quarter, quite unconcerned and indifferent that he was thereby cheating the legitimate heir out of his property. But Laynez, his principal aider in founding the Order and its statutes, went a step further; for as soon as he discovered that the Doge, to whose pipe—if I may be allowed to use a popular expression—all the Senate danced, possessed a mistress who exercised great influence over

him, he filled his pockets with gold, and therewith had not much difficulty in gaining over the mercenary woman to his side, the result being that the final decision of the Senate turned out to be in favour of the Jesus Association, and the rightful heir, in spite of his strong claims, was non-suited; but the conscience of Loyola on that account did not in the least appear to trouble him.

The same diligence that was exercised in the acquisition of riches, was, also, employed wherever the question was to win over substantial, influential, and powerful men of high standing, to be patrons and abettors of the Order, if not, indeed, members of the same; and in this respect, in fact, several of Loyola's desciples rendered signal service. Among the foremost who distinguished himself in this particular, was Aroz, the delegate to Spain, as he was successful in inducing Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, and a grandee of Spain, as, also, formerly Viceroy of Catalonia—a very weak man, however, in mental capacity—to take up the cause of Jesuitism; so much so, that this nobleman was the first person in Europe who founded a Jesuit College for the education of youth. He shortly afterwards, too, in the year 1546, endowed a University, with all privileges. Overjoyed at this, Loyola commenced a correspondence with the Duke, and the result of these letters was that Borgia became so enamoured with the Society of Jesus, that he at length came to the firm determination of joining it as a true member; in fact, notwithstanding his already being considerably advanced in years, he forthwith put off the purple, and began the study of theology. His progress therein, however, advanced but slowly, and consequently Loyola allowed him to take the four vows without being previously well versed in theology, or even having gone through the course of exercises required of noviciates. Thus the Duke of Gandia became Pater Franciscus Borgia, and the newly-made member showed great zeal for the Society. He, however, did not at once enter a profess-house, and still less was he employed in the service of the Order; Ignatius, indeed, permitted him to live in the world during a period of fully four years, in order that the newly-acquired brother might be able to settle his worldly affairs, and conveniently make arrangements for the maintenance of his children. It was natural enough that such a highly-born man as Pater Borgia should not be treated exactly like an ordinary member.

I have already spoken of the privileges which the Pope granted to the Order, even in the first year of its existence; but what did these prerogatives signify compared with those which Paul III. conceded to the Society of Jesus on the 18th October 1549. One would, indeed, be perfectly correct in calling the Bull which refers to them the "Magna Charta" of the Jesuits; and they themselves admitted as much when they conceived such a designation for this decree as "the great sea of their privileges."

If one should inquire what could have been the reasons which actuated the Pope in bestowing such conspicuous favours on the the new Order, they are to be found in the preamble of the Bull, which terms the Society a fruitful acre, which, effecting much for the increase of the kingdom of God and the faith—that is to say, the exaltation of the Papacy and the suppression of heresy—through instruction and example, therefore well deserves to be rewarded with special favours; and, in fact, favours of quite a peculiar description were given them, as the reader will sufficiently understand from the following extracts:—

1. "The General of the Order, as soon as he is nominated, shall have complete power as to the government of the Society, and especially also over the whole members of the same, wheresoever these latter may reside, and with whatsoever office or dignity they may be endowed. His power shall indeed be so unlimited, that should he deem it necessary for the honour of God, he shall even be able to send back, or in other directions, those who have come direct from the Popes."*

Thus, from this paragraph, his own power is placed over that of the Pope. How does it fare, then, with the four vows?

2. "No General, without the consent of the General Convention, and no member of the Society, without the express consent of the General, shall accept a bishopric, archbishopric, or any similar dignity; and whoever may have attempted in any way to obtain any such place, shall be considered so unworthy of

* In this first paragraph there is also a question regarding the deposition of the General, which could be pronounced by a general chapter of professed members, whenever he could be proved guilty of heresy or of leading a life of vice, or was useless on account of mental derangement, &c., but as long as the Society existed there never was an instance of a General being charged before a general chapter, and still less deposed. He might, in fact, do whatever he chose. I should like to see the person who would dare to bring an accusation against such a complete despot as was the General.

the Society of Jesus, that he shall never more be employed in any important commission, office, or business."*

3. "In order that discipline may be quite strictly maintained, there shall be no appeal against the rules of the Order to any judge or other official whatever; much less can any member be released from his vows by any person." Even the keys of Peter, therefore, can have no power over a Jesuit, and it was the Pope himself who pronounced this!

4. "Neither the General nor the high officials of the Society shall be bound to hand over any member of the Order for the service of the Church to any prelate of the Church, be he patriarch, archbishop, or merely bishop, even when the said prelate shall have given strict orders regarding the matter; should, however, such cession be voluntarily desired, then those whose services are lent are still to be considered under the power of their superiors, and can be recalled by the General at any moment." Thus the power of even the highest dignitary of the Church is inferior to that of the General of the Jesuits!

5. "The General, or those who may be ordered by him, shall have the power to grant absolution for all and every kind of sin, whether committed before or after entrance into the Order, and from all ecclesiastical and secular censures and penalties (those few cases excepted which are set forth in the Bull of Pope Sixtus IV. as appertaining solely to the Roman Chair), to all members of the Order, as well as to all such as may express a wish to enter the Order as novices, or to serve as lay brethren; should, however, anyone not hitherto a member, who in this manner obtains absolution and dispensation, not immediately thereafter join the Order, the indulgence and dispensation shall become of no effect." That is an unheard-of privilege, as even

* The reader will, no doubt, see that this paragraph has the above-mentioned "Affaire Lejay" to thank for its origin. It was also soon seen that the same rule was quite in its place, and by its strict maintenance protected the Society from much injury. The Emperor Charles V. saw with displeasure that the Duke of Gandia had laid down his title and entered the Jesuit Order as a simple professed member, as he considered such a position much too low and humiliating for a prince. He had on this account wished the Pope to raise Pater Borgia to the dignity of cardinal, and his Holiness declared himself prepared to do so. But what a loss would this have been for the Order! This proceeding of Borgia's might serve as an example to the most noble and most distinguished; and, moreover, his opulence would be such an excellent thing for the Society! No, it would never do to allow him to be snatched away; and it was simply in allusion to the above paragraph that the former Prince Loyola was induced to refuse at once a cardinal's hat.

the worst criminals may, in this way, escape with impunity as soon as they enter the Jesuit Order; that great advantage should have been taken of this privilege can well be imagined!

6. "No member of the Order shall confess his sins to any other than the General, or to those whom the General may have nominated, especially to any priest or monk of any other Order. Much less can anyone who has once joined the Order, be he called novice, coadjutor, or profess, quit the Order again except with the express consent of the General; nor can he go over into any other Order, that of the Carthusians alone excepted. Should anyone infringe this command, the General has the power to prosecute such fugitives, either in person or through authorised agents, to excommunicate them, to seize them, and to put them in prison, and with this object the assistance of the secular authorities may be invoked." By this command the secrets of the Society of Jesus are prevented from ever being betrayed, and the means adopted have proved themselves indeed to be very efficacious. I may here remark, with respect to the permission to enter the Carthusian Order, that, as far as is known, no Jesuit ever took advantage thereof, owing to the extreme strictness of that sect. Who can be ignorant of the command of perpetual silence? This has been generally reported to be one of the rules, and no doubt Loyola allowed the exception, as regards the Carthusians, on this ground alone.

7. "The whole members of the Society, as well as the goods, incomes, and possessions of the Order, are exempt from the jurisdiction, supervision, and control of the bishops and archbishops, and shall be taken under the special protection of the Papal Chair." The Jesuits might, so to speak, do anything they chose, and no Church prelate could dare, on any account, to say even an unpleasant word to them.

8. "Those members of the Order consecrated to the priesthood, consequently all the professed, may, wherever they reside, have their own houses of prayer, or erect an altar in any other suitable locality, and may, even at the time of a Papal interdict, say mass there with closed doors, and administer the sacrament, after having excluded all excommunicants and heretics. Also, in all places bound by interdict or excommunication, the young men and servants in the employment of

the Jesuits, as, also, all the laity belonging to them, as procurators, labourers, and officers, are exempt from excommunication and interdict."

9. "No bishop or prelate shall have the power of imposing upon any member of the Order, or any layman friendly to the Society, an excommunication or other Church penalty, and if any presume to do so it shall be null and void."

10. "It shall be quite free to all Christian believers to attend the worship and preaching of the members of the Society of Jesus, as well as to receive the sacrament and absolution, after confession, from them, without being in any way liable to interference by the ordinary clergy."

11. "Every bishop or archbishop is bound to consecrate members of the Society of Jesus presented to him who are not already priests, without any payment whatever, or promise of any such."

12. "The members of the Society of Jesus, with the permission of their General, have the right to settle in the countries and cities of the excommunicated and schismastics, as well as of heretics and unbelievers, and to hold intercourse with the same."

13. "They shall not be bound to allow themselves to be employed in the visitation of cloisters, or in inquisitions and other church functions, as, also, when they desire it, they are to be exempt from the supervision or conscience-keeping of nuns."

14. "They shall not be required to pay tithes on their estates or possessions, by whatever names they may be called, not even excepting Papal holdings; in short, they are not to pay any taxes or dues whatever."

15. "The donation of houses, churches, and colleges built, founded, or bequeathed by princes, counts, &c., shall be considered from the moment of delivery as confirmed by the Pope, without any special deed of ratification being required to be drawn up."

16. "All their churches and places of interment are to be forthwith consecrated by the bishop of the diocese without any hesitation; should such bishop, however, delay doing so for more than four months, the ceremony may be performed by the fittest prelate at hand. Also, all archbishops, bishops, prelates, and ordinaries, as well especially as all ecclesiastical and secular authorities, are strictly prohibited from hindering the erection

and occupation of such buildings and possessions by the Society of Jesus."

17. "The General, and, with his approval, the provincials and their vicars, have the right to receive into the Order all and sundry, even should they be the offspring of adultery or incest, as also all burdened with any description of sin (with the exception of murder and bigamy), and the mutilated, to consecrate them as priests, and to employ them in all duties and offices appertaining to the Society."

18. "Whoever during the year has for once visited any particular church or other holy place, fixed on by the General, for purposes of devotion, on any individual day, also determined by the General, obtains for himself dispensation from all his sins, exactly as at the time of the Jubilee in Rome; but whoever does so on any other day obtains remission for seven years, or seven *quadragenen*, that is to say, seven times forty fast days."

19. "The General is empowered to send to any favourite University such as he deems fit, in order to deliver lectures on Theology and other sciences, without having previously obtained the permission of anyone whomsoever." This was a more than unheard-of infringement of the rights of the Universities, as well as of the secular governments, and consequently entangled the Jesuits in the most bitter of strifes.

20. "Those who sojourn in countries belonging to unbelievers have the right, as missionaries, to grant absolution for such sins and crimes as the Papal Chair has reserved for itself, according to the Bull *In coena Domini*, so called from the words with which it commences; and, moreover, it rests with them to perform all episcopal duties till such time as the Pope shall have installed there a true bishop."

21. "The General is empowered to admit into the Order as many coadjutors as may seem to him to be desirable. He can also grant permission that the taking of the fourth vow—that is, the admission of professed members—may be made outside Rome."

22. "Lastly, all clerical and secular powers, by whatever name they may be called, are admonished to take great care not to hinder, harass, or disturb the Society of Jesus in the exercise of the above privileges and liberties, under the penalty, indeed,

of excommunication, as also by the aid of secular power being invoked in case of necessity."

Such is the great charter of the Jesuits, their "Magna Charta," as I have above termed it; and, so armed, was it to be wondered that the Society soon attained to enormous power? The whole world lay open before them and all their proceedings; and even upon the most violent and unjust of them, by order of the Supreme Ruler of the Church, could no restraint whatever be put. Pope Paul III., the great patron of the Society of Jesus, died in the self-same year in which he proclaimed the Magna Charta Bull, but his successor, Julius III., formerly Cardinal John Maria del Monte, who acted as Papal legate at the Council of Trent, and who had there become well acquainted with the utility of the Jesuits, followed exactly in his footsteps, and forthwith confirmed all the prerogatives hitherto accorded to them. He, too, approved of the establishment of a large new college in Rome, as also of a new profess-house, to both of which the former Duke of Gandia, now Pater Borgia, gave 10,000 ducats. His Holiness, too, on the 22nd October 1552, promulgated, although after a considerable amount of pressure exercised by Loyola, a Bull, in which the rights of the Jesuits were still further enlarged. In what, however, did this enlargement consist? In nothing else than the extensive decree that the students of the Jesuit colleges, if the rectors of the universities in which the colleges were situated hesitated to promote them to be doctors of philosophy and theology, might be promoted by the General himself, or by any provincial or rector of a college under his authority, with the assistance of three doctors, and that such graduates should have the same honours, rights, advantages, and privileges as those promoted by the universities themselves. In addition to this, so proceeds the Bull, the same privileges were held to belong to those colleges situated in places where no universities exist; and in order to obtain the highest degree of distinction in philosophical and theological science, it was decreed unnecessary to enter an university, but all this might be equally well attained in a Jesuit college. In this way these institutions were almost completely put on an equal footing with the universities, and the rectors of the former made to rank with those of the latter. While, too, only universally accomplished teachers taught in the high schools,

those who did so in the Jesuit colleges, as may be easily understood, were only such as had received their education and spiritual bias entirely in the Jesuit colleges themselves! It was impossible, therefore, for the latter to accomplish, even approximately, what the former offered to do, and Julius III. must naturally have been well aware of this; but was it to be expected that Popes should consider themselves bound to know anything about science? The chief thing was that the Jesuits should attain their great object—to get, as much as possible, the sole education of the young into their own hands in all Catholic states, and the surest way of doing this was, no doubt, by means of a Bull. Thus the whole educational institutions of the Jesuits, namely the colleges in which philosophy and theology (*studia superiora*), as well as the seminaries and schools in which Latin, grammar, and rhetoric as preparatory knowledge were taught, now began to increase in numbers in an enormously rapid manner, while all zealous Catholics hastened to gain heaven by giving a small contribution towards their establishment, and there was soon no country, or rather no province, throughout the Catholic world, where several members of the Society of Jesus were not established more or less as teachers. What the tendency of those institutions was became most clearly apparent from the *Collegium Germanicum*, a German college which Loyola himself founded in the city of Rome immediately on the accession of Julius III. to the government—a very peculiar name will the reader say, a German college in the capital of Italy! What can that signify? We shall soon see. Already, before the foundation of the Order of Jesuits, there was no want of educational institutions, for their number was simply legion. This did not prevent, however, the Society of Jesus, as we have already stated, from establishing a college also, and in truth a very magnificent one, as well in regard to its internal arrangements as to its external appearance. It was called *Collegium Romanum*, and the best educational instructors which Loyola could find were engaged for it; but so many rooms were available in it, that it could satisfy every claim. And in spite of all, a new college? Certainly; and, forsooth, for very cogent reasons. The *Collegium Romanum* was in the first place established for Romans, in a wider sense for Italians, and as the Italian language was alone employed in it, none

consequently could join it who were not acquainted with that tongue. Now, however, in Germany heresy acquired the upper hand more and more, and the Romish Church was daily losing ground. Envoys must therefore be despatched there who could combat with this heresy, and such, be it understood, as could discourse in the German language with the Germans. Whence, however, could Loyola take these? By far the greater part of his scholars belonged to the Spanish, Italian, and French-speaking nationalities, and only a very small portion understood German—merely one or two here and there. Thus the country in which, above all others, the presence of Jesuits was most needed, in which lay the widest sphere of duty, and where action must be taken with as little delay as possible, seeing that the complete loss of the Romish position must otherwise take place, was beyond the reach of Loyola when the necessary forces were wanting. Here, then, help must be obtained at any price, and that help was to come through the *Collegium Germanicum*. Loyola gave the order, therefore, to those members who were operating in Germany to send to Rome from among those youths who were desirous of joining the Jesuit Order a couple of dozen of the aptest and most zealous, and at the same time he induced two rich cardinals, Morano and San Cruce, to place at his disposal a large roomy dwelling in which to lodge the youths. He then placed teachers there, who were required to bring them on in the Italian language. As soon, however, as the students were sufficiently advanced in it, they now had to turn their attention to theology, as may be well understood, and, above all, to the *Theologia Polemica*, along with the art of disputation. The object, then, which he now placed before himself became clearly apparent. The *Collegium Germanicum* was to become a nursery for such as in future should be placed at the head of the combatants for the Romish faith in Germany. In other words, the pupils of the college, as soon as they were sufficiently accomplished, should be sent back again to their own country, in order there to conduct, as speaking German, the great controversy on religion, and to re-establish there the unlimited authority of the Pope and his officers. This was Loyola's object—he completely attained it.

Pope Julius III., as soon as he had assured himself of Loyola's ultimate design, assigned a large income to the new

college, and the latter thereby progressed so quickly that it was enabled to take in twenty-four German pupils during the first year. On the accession to the Papal throne of John Peter Carafa, Cardinal of Theate, who, as Pope, took the name of Paul IV., Loyola was inclined to augur not much good for his Order, as he felt convinced that the same would favour above all the others the Order of Theate; but this apprehension soon proved to be groundless, at least, as long as Ignatius lived,* for Paul IV. was much too sagacious to injure an institution which had proved so useful to the Romish Chair. Besides, the Order was now already so firmly rooted that it would have been difficult to have overturned it, and if the Pope had ventured to attempt doing so, the Society of Jesus would have been able to have offered such a strenuous resistance that he would soon have been compelled to desist.

The General, from his seat in Rome, now ruled with almost unlimited power the whole body of his subjects, who were trained to honour him as the visible Saviour, while all placed their entire services at his disposal, and allowed themselves to be guided by him as willing puppets. Thus writes a far-travelled and distinguished author of a history of the Jesuits not by any means inimical to the same:—"He appointed and discharged all the higher officials; he disposed of the rank and efficiency of all belonging to the Order, who must act exactly according to his will. He regulated everything as appeared to him most necessary and useful for the well-being, discipline, and improvement of the Society; he manipulated the privileges, prerogatives, fundamental principles, and constitution obtained from the Holy Chair, which he took upon himself to accentuate, abate, or disavow without scruple; he frequented and regulated the general convents; he decided, in short, all the principal affairs of the community." This latter, however, possessed, on the other hand, four assessors or assistants, to check any abuse of the

* Shortly after his death, in the year 1558, an attack was certainly made by Paul IV., which affected the Jesuits rather closely, in that he required they should perform equally all religious exercises, chorus singing, &c., which duty had hitherto fallen upon the other ecclesiastics and priesthood, and from which, owing to their many other employments, they had up to this time been exempt; but he soon withdrew again this request, and the sons of Loyola continued as before, and were not in any way obliged to lose their time in lazy stupor, praying and singing. Such a monk's life would have ill accorded truly with their aim and object.

patriarchal supreme power.* These were elected by the great electoral college, a description of deputies or ministers, whose duty it was to support the General in all matters of difficulty with their advice and assistance, and to call his attention to this or that error. Indeed, they might even go so far as remonstrance and warning, but this last proceeded from the mouth of the admonitor, or spiritual adviser, who was chosen by every General. The provincials, or heads of circles, as they might also be called, acted as leading officials of the Order, while the whole Catholic world was divided by the General into smaller or larger circles—provinces—over each of which he placed a vicegerent. Again, to each provincial were assigned four assistants and an admonitor, who ruled in a small way as the General did in Rome in a larger way, only in all weighty matters such person was required to make previous reference, and was himself responsible in even the very smallest transactions. He had the right of proposal of the so-called *Præpositi studiorum*, that is, the supervision of the stewards of the colleges, and it lay with him to inspect carefully, at least once a year, the condition of the whole circle as regards houses, persons, incomes, &c. He supervised in the colleges and other educational institutions the diligence of teachers as well as pupils, and also the course of instruction and discipline, and he remained the whole year at his post, unless sent elsewhere by the General. Immediately below him came the superiors, that is, the heads of the profess-houses, in which resided the brethren sworn to observe all the four vows, and their duties were to supervise discipline, devotions, and other affairs. The rectors coming next under them—that is to say, the heads of colleges—had equally to supervise the individual teachers as well as scholars, and to hold once a week a principal examination. In short, all was well ordered, down to even the lowest menial, and there was no State in the world which could exhibit a more regular or more uniform government. The thing, however, which first put the seal upon it, was the constant correspondence which united all circles and provinces, all lower and higher officials, partly among each other and partly with the General. The rectors, for instance, as well as the superiors, sent in a weekly report to the provincial, and the latter replied thereto every month. To the

* The four first Jesuits, on whom devolved the duty of assistant, were Jerom Natalis, John of Polanco, Gonçalez de Camara, and Christofal of Madrid.

General himself the whole of the provincials wrote once a month, and the rectors and superiors once in three months. This, however, was still insufficient, for the rectors and superiors had to send in a report every fourteen days to the provincial, as well as every month to the General. Likewise it was incumbent on the assistants of the provincials to transmit sealed letters twice a year respecting their provincials for the time being. In short, it was a regular system of reciprocal supervision, or, rather, it might be regarded as a legal espionage entering into the smallest details, as well from above downwards as from below upwards, and in this way it was made impossible for any member to overstep the prescribed boundary lines of obedience. The General, by this means, knew from each individual what he thought and did, and while all the wires of the entire machinery ran together into his cabinet in Rome, he could guide to a nicety by leading strings, in the blindest subjection, individuals as well as the whole fabric!

Ignatius Loyola had now brought his matters so far, steeped, forsooth, in nothing else than worldly pleasure and vanity; but the future warrior, having accomplished this much, found that the time had now arrived when he must pay to nature its usual tribute. The former extravagant punishments he had inflicted on his body, the many cares and vexations he had to encounter in the formation of his Order, and, lastly, the frightful anxiety inseparable from the duties of so gigantic an office as that of a Jesuit General, gradually weakened his naturally very strong constitution, and he found himself at the commencement of the year 1556 obliged to hand over the greater part of the business to Pater Jerom Natalis, who had been elected to be his vicar by those professed members present at that time in Rome. He himself withdrew to a country house near Rome, which had been presented to him by a rich patron of the name of Louis Mendoza,* in order to attend to the state of his health, but the weakness increased so much during the summer that he caused himself to be brought back again to Rome, as he had a desire to die in the profess-house among his own people. Towards the end of July he there dictated his will, took leave of the world and his

* The same was situated close to the picturesque ruins of the Villa of Mercena, and was not only beautifully constructed, but also surrounded by a charming park. In this way the good Ignatius, at the end of his life, did not seem to observe very closely the vow of poverty.

companions, and departed this life on Friday, 31st July, an hour before sunset, in his sixty-fifth year, consequently, thirty-five years after the date of his being wounded, and of his conversion; his death happened, notwithstanding the declaration of his surgeon, the celebrated Dr. Alexander Petronius, that there was nothing particularly dangerous in his condition.

Only four of his first colleagues were present at the time, Rodriguez, Salmeron, Laynez, and Bobadilla; the remainder were prosecuting their calling in far distant lands, or had already been overtaken by death, as in the case of Lejay and Le Fevre. But from the nine original associates thousands had already sprung up, and the Order had established itself in no less than twelve countries—Italy, Portugal, Sicily, Germany, the Netherlands, France, Arragon, Castile, Andalusia, India, Ethiopia, and Brazil.* Incredible things had been accomplished by Loyola in a comparatively short space of time, but not so much, assuredly, through his wisdom and understanding. In this respect he had not particularly distinguished himself, at all events not remarkably. Laynez, however, had made up for his deficiencies more than three or four-fold, and the genius of a Salmeron and a Le Fevre was not to be despised. But his success was due rather to his energy, his perseverance, his ambition, his iron will, his glowing zeal, and, lastly, through his heroic soldierly boldness, which infused quite a peculiar spirit into the Order he had founded. Still, whether on that account he was really a great man; whether, as the Jesuits contend, he deserved to be placed in line with the most distinguished persons which the world has produced, I leave the reader himself to form a judgment.† I myself,

* The details respecting this will be found in the next book, to which I must refer those curious on the matter.

† How extremely high the Jesuits placed their founder is proved by the inscription on the monument which the Dutch members erected to his memory in the year 1640.

Cujus animus
Vastissimo coerceri non potuit unius orbis ambitu,
Ejus Corpus
Humili hoc angustoque tumulo continetur.
Qui magnum aut *Pompejum*, aut *Caesarem*, aut *Alexandrum* cogitas,
Aperi oculos veritati,
Majorem his omnibus leges
IGNATIUM.
Non coerceri maximo, contineri tamen a minimo, divinum est.
IGNATIO
Virtute maximo, submissione minimo
Totius orbis locus angustus est.

for my own part, am contented with referring to what happened respecting Ignatius after his death, as I presume the reader

Hinc animum gerens mundo majorem
Plus ultra unius orbis et aevi terminos saepe quaesivit,
Quo opera suae pietatis extenderet:
Inde de se cogitationem habens minimo minorem,
Minus citra communis sepulcri latebras semper optavit,
Quo inhumati corporis pondus abjiceret.
Coelum animo, Roma corpori
Illi ad majorem Dei gloriam summa spectanti
Aliquid summo majus attribuit:
Huic ad majorem sui objectionem ima spectanti,
Modum posuit mediumque virtutis.
Anno M.CD.XCI. in arce LOJOLAE loco apud *Cantabros* illustri
Mortalium plane bona et juvantis hominibus vere natus,
Suae primum gloriae cupidus, in aula et campo Catholici regis,
Naturae dedit, quod dein divinae tantum gloriae studiosus,
Sanctioribus in castris, saluti et gratiae consecraret.
Cum hostes adversus innumeros unus prope *Pompejopolim* tueretur,
Idem Sauli instar et Pauli, vi, non virtute, victus
Ita cecidit, ut optandus fuisse casus, non fugiendus,
Etiam IGNATIO, videretur: arcem perdidit; servavit ecclesiam.
Ex eo non jam suus,
Sed ejus, qui stantem tormento perculit,
Ut prodigio fulciret abjectum
Sacramentum, quod mundo dixerat, Christo dedit.
Per militiae sanctioris asperrima rudimenta,
Per insidias daemonum, per oppugnationes hominum,
Per conjurata in unum omnia
Factus Dux e milite, ex tirone veteranus,
Jesu nomine, non suo,
Legionem in ecclesiam Dei fortissimum conscripsit,
Quae vitam pro divini cultus incremento paciscens
In Romani Pontificis verba juraret.
Hic ille est, in quo ostendit Deus,
Quantum ei curae sit ecclesiae securitas,
In quo miserantis, Dei bonitatem atque potentiam
Ecclesia catholica veneratur.
Quem prostratum tamquam Paulum erexit Deus,
Ut nomen suum coram gentibus populisque portaret:
Quem praelegit Dominus, ut eorum Dux foret,
Qui sui in terris Vicarii authoritatem defenderent,
Et Rebelles haereticos ad unitatem fidei revocarent.
Quem suo *Jesu* commendavit Pater aeternus;
Cui ipse *Jesus* se propitium fore promisit,
Quem spiritus sanctus omnium virtutum genere decoravit:
Quem praesens toties et propitia virgo Mater dilexit ut filium,
Erudivit ut alumnum, defendit ut clientem.
Qui Dei amans, non coeli, osor mundi, non hominum,
Paratus pro his excludi gloria, pro illo damnari poena;
Mortalis apud homines vitae non prodigus, sed contemtor
Vitalis apud inferos mortis non metuens, sed securus,
Profuit vivus mortuis, quos revocavit ad vitam;
Mortuus vivis, quos servavit a morte;
Utrisque se partem exhibens;
Dignus haberi potuit *Jesu* nomine,
Qui praeter Dei gloriam et salutem hominum nil quaesivit.
Anno M.D.LVI. prid. Kalendas Augustas
Nutu summi Imperatoris jussus a statione decedere,
Curam mortalium, quam vivus habuerat,
Etiam mortuus non amisit.

would have no small interest therein; and it may be truly said that there are not too many men who have a history after death.

Ignatius had frequently expressed a strong wish that on his decease his corpse might be thrown into a flaying place, in order that it might be torn and picked to pieces by birds of prey and wild animals, as the same was no longer anything else than a lump of clay, a mere heap of refuse. In this respect, however, his associates did not obey him. They buried him, on the contrary, with great pomp, on Saturday, the 1st of August, in the church of Maria da Strada, which belonged to them, and there the coffin remained until the year 1587, when, by order of the General Aquaviva, it was conveyed with still greater pomp into the splendid Jesuit church then newly built by the Cardinal Alexander Farnese. As on the occasion of this latter removal of the coffin several wonders took place, and as after it a number of sick men who called upon his name were restored to health, Paul V., in the year 1609, pronounced the deceased to be holy; and in the year 1622, thirteen years afterwards, he was translated among the saints by Gregory XV. Since that time a number of altars have been dedicated to him, on the whole, more than 2,000; and, besides, not less than half a hundred churches, of which some, especially that erected, in the year 1626, by the Cardinal Ludovico in Rome, close to the Collegium Romanum,

Coelo transscriptus, sed propensus in terras;
Animarum avidus, etiam cum Deo plenus:
Ecclesiae triumphantis socius, pro militante solicitus,
Quod unum potuit
Corpus suum pignus animi fideique depositum hic reliquit;
Cui ne quid decesset ad gloriam,
Non semel angelicos inter cantus submissa de Coelo lumina micuerunt.
Age, quisquis haec leges,
Beatos immortalis viri et patris communis omnium cineres venerare,
Hos tu, cum videris, religiose cole,
Cum habueris, pie complectere;
Et latere sub his, etiam nunc, suam ignem,
Hoc est, servientem humanae vitae et saluti
IGNATIUM deprehendes.
Vivit annis quinque et sexaginta inter mortales,
Octoginta quatuor inter immortales,
A Gregorio XV, Catholicis aris solenniter additus anno hujus Saec. XXII.
A Deo perinni gloria coelitum ultra omne saeculum feliciter cumulandus.
Hoc sui animi et venerationis perpetuae monumentum
Non structum auro vel marmore;
Sed tenaci grataque memoria consecratum
Optimo Maximoque, post Deum, Patri
Minima *Jesu* Societas
M.D.C.XL. Anno suo Saeculari primo posuit, dedicavit.

are truly elegant buildings. An object of particularly great veneration, too, was the altar in the church of Aspeitia before which he was baptized; and still more esteemed was the ancient castle of Loyola, upon which, after they had received it as a present from the Queen of Spain, who purchased it with this object in the year 1695, the Jesuits bestowed the name of Santa Casa, or holy house. The Jesuits, however, were still not satisfied, but, in addition to their more than foolish religious worship, they declared afresh that their holy Ignatius was equal to the Apostles in worth, and that in heaven he would hold intercourse with no one except with Popes, as the holy Peter, with empresses, as the Virgin Mary, and with sovereign monarchs, as God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ. Such great honour fell to the lot of Ignatius Loyola after his death, an honour which was truly regarded by many as the offspring of madness!

BOOK II.

THE SHREWDNESS OF THE JESUITS;

AND

THE GIGANTIC PROGRESS OF THEIR GROWTH.

Figlia son d' un soldato, odio la place:
Naqui fra l' armi, ho la pieta sbandita.
Mi fu Madre crudel una ferita.
Onde la Morte ed il sangue d' altrui mi piace.
Son barbara, son cruda, e son rapace,
E nell' armi avezzai l' alma in fierita.
E se in mezzo alle stragi ebbi la Vita
Porto vo unque men vado, e ferro e foce.
Non conosco altro Dio, ch' il proprio orgoglio.
L' issesse Monarchie per me son dome,
E nel hipocrisia ho quel che voglio.
Deludo il Monat ognor; Me si sa come
Compagnia di Giesu, chiamarmi foglio
E non ho di Giesu, ch' il nudo nome.

CHAPTER I.

THE JESUIT MISSIONS IN DISTANT REGIONS OF THE WORLD.

I.—The Jesuit Missions in Asia.

According to tradition, it was the Apostle Thomas who first spread Christianity in India; others, however, ascribe this honour to a rich merchant of the name of Max Thomas, who, in the 6th century, lived in the time of the great Emperor, Ceram Perumal, the founder of Calicut; and, through his great mercantile transactions, which extended even as far as Constantinople, became acquainted with the teaching of Jesus Christ. Let this be as it may, this much is certain, that the Portuguese, as they became possessed of the whole of Malabar, along with Goa, Ceylon, Malacca, and the Sunda Islands, under the celebrated Alfonso Albuquerque, their great naval hero, and, for a long period, Viceroy of India, had already found their way to Asia round the Cape of Good Hope, under the guidance of Vasco de Gama, about the same time as the discovery of America, and had met with persons of the Christian faith, although not Christians "according to the Roman Catholic views of the 15th century." On the contrary, much of what is heathen, both as regards their customs and faith, was so mixed up with it, that the good Catholic ruler of Portugal at that time, being much shocked with such a kind of Christianity, sent Franciscan monks to Goa—this latter city being at that time the central point, and the capital of their East Indian possessions—in order that the true, that is to say, the Roman Catholic faith, might be

promulgated in these regions. The Franciscans proved themselves to be but very ill adapted for this kind of work, and showed that "conversion," or, as it was more correctly expressed, "the mission to the heathen," was not their *forte*, although the Governor and Viceroy placed the bayonets of his military force entirely at their disposal. The progress they made was, therefore, quite insignificant, and, with the exception of Goa itself, where the Bishopric was founded, the Catholic faith took no root to any great extent. The Indians continued to be just the same as before, and to worship their gods according to the fashion of their fathers and ancestors; and although some few, through military compulsion, nominally became Papists, the great mass of the worshippers of Bramah and Vishnu still showed themselves to be as stiff-necked as ever. This state of things did not at all give satisfaction to the Kings of Portugal, and John III., who reigned from 1521 to 1557, was particularly shocked at it, as he was not only an extraordinarily pious adorer of Rome and the Papacy, but believed that the inhabitants of his newly-acquired possessions, could not become good Portuguese subjects until they had prostrated themselves at the same cross before which the Portuguese knelt. It was now that the said John heard of the new Order, instituted by the conception of Ignatius Loyola at Rome—an order whose great aim and object was said to be "the conversion of unbelievers"—and he, therefore, soon proffered a request to Loyola to send out to India a sufficient number of missionaries. Indeed, he would gladly have seen the founder of the Society of Jesus proceed thither himself, *propria persona*, as he entertained the firm belief that "the warriors of Christ could have no other design than the Christianising of all the idol-worshippers in the world." Loyola, however, was not at all of this opinion, and not only remained in Rome himself, but explained to the King that he was only in a position to send forth two of his associates, Rodriguez and Francis Xavier, and that "he required the remainder for other purposes."

This took place in the summer of 1540, and the two above-named men made their way to Lisbon, where the monarch received them most kindly. They could not, however, proceed at once to India, as the fleet, destined to proceed there annually, had already weighed anchor; but they would have been very

wrong not to have blessed most heartily this adverse incident, as they won the favour of John III. to such a high degree, that the latter was quite unwilling again to part with them. He, in truth, carried this out to a certain extent, inasmuch as, with the permission naturally of Loyola, he retained one of them, Rodriguez, who took up his permanent abode in Lisbon.

Francis Xavier, however, in whom the zeal for conversion overcame every other consideration, was not to be diverted from the journey to India. The monarch provided him in the best way with Papal briefs which he obtained from Paul III., as also with letters of full powers made out by himself. By one of these letters Francis Xavier acquired the position of "*Nuntius Apostolicus*"; that is to say, representative of the Pope for the whole of India; in a second, in virtue of the right assigned to him for the conversion of the heathen, he had authority to claim all secular influence of the Portuguese officials in the Asiatic colonies; lastly, in a third writing, King John himself recommended him most earnestly to all the chiefs, princes, and governments, from the Cape of Good Hope to the Ganges. Thus, well provided, Francis Xavier proceeded to India on the 7th of April 1541, with the royal fleet destined thither from Lisbon, and his heart swelled with gladdening hopes at the prospect of victory which he wished to gain for the banner of Christ over the unbelievers. He had forgotten one thing, however, and that, in my opinion, the chief one indeed; he had not thought it worth the trouble to make himself acquainted in the least degree with the language of the populations which he had set out to convert. "God gives his own in sleep," thought he. And might not, then, the Holy Ghost be so favourable to him as to work a miracle?

The voyage to India was a very slow one, and, while they were compelled to make an involuntary halt of six months in Mozambique, they only arrived in the harbour of Goa after a lapse of thirteen months, on the 6th of May 1542. This made Francis Xavier all the more zealous in respect to the task he had to fulfil; and although a royal equipage and princely residence were placed at his disposal by the governor of the city, his first care was to betake himself at once to the hospital, in order there to nurse the sick himself, and to get his own means of support from the public alms. Little or nothing, however, was in this way done

for his proper object, the conversion of the heathen, and consequently, after a little time, he presented himself to the Bishop of Goa, in order to produce before that prelate the full powers which he had brought along with him, and humbly at once to crave permission to set about the conversion of the heathen. For him this authority was, indeed, certainly not requisite, since as Pope's nuncio, he superseded the bishop; but it was of consequence to him to make sure of the favour of the latter, named Don Juan d'Albuquerque, descended from one of the very highest families, and possessing great influence as well in Goa as in Portugal itself. He, in fact, completely succeeded in winning over Don Juan to his views, and consequently the work of conversion might now commence without further delay. But, O Lord, what a misfortune! The stupid natives did not understand one single word of what Xavier chattered to them, and the Holy Ghost did not render him any assistance "with the gift of tongues." He arrived at the conviction, at last, that nothing could be done as long as he had no knowledge of the language of the country, and he consequently at once set about the study of Hindustani with the greatest zeal. Along with this task, however, he by no means forgot to exercise further activity in his calling as a Jesuit, and proved it by the clever way in which he at once set about establishing a college, the first in the heathen world.

The pair of Franciscan monks, who were already established in Goa, had a seminary in which they instructed a few of the native youths in the Roman Catholic religion, and it at once struck Xavier that their building, which appeared quite well adapted for the purpose, might be made available for his future plans. He addressed himself, therefore, to the superior of the institution, Brother James Borbona, produced before him his Papal briefs, and urged him so much that he not only gave over the house, with everything appertaining to it, to the Society of Jesus, but also, in his own person, became a member of the same. It is true that he did not act thus from entirely disinterested motives, as he made the condition that he should continue to be the rector of the institution for life. But what did that matter to Xavier? He had now, in this way, got rid of competition, and, at the same time, had the glory of converting the seminary hitherto denominated "Santa Fé," into the college of Holy

Paul. He, moreover, took care to turn the school, hitherto small and poor, into an educational institution of the richest and most brilliant description, not so much, however, by means of voluntary gifts obtained by begging, but rather in this way, that by the aid of the vice-regal troops he pulled down the heathen temples in the neighbourhood of Goa, and appropriated their very considerable property for the use and benefit of the new college.

As soon, now, as Xavier had made sufficient progress in the Hindustani and Malay languages to enable him to make himself in some degree understood, he left Goa in order to preach the gospel in the so-called "pearl coast" of Malabar, the whole of which country had been brought into subjection by the Portuguese, and as, besides, they possessed many valuable settlements there, the inhabitants of which were sunk in the grossest kind of heathenism, it would be possible, for that reason, to bring about some considerable result, if the thing were but skilfully managed. In what way, then, did Xavier proceed? In a truly most remarkable manner, which the missionaries of the present day might be inclined not a little to despise. He took along with him a bell, armed with which he ran about the streets ringing it in broad mid-day, until he succeeded in drawing after him a troop of boys and others, attracted by curiosity, who greeted him with jeers and laughter. When he had thus got together a considerable auditory, placing himself on some large stone, he forthwith began his sermon, which was delivered in the language of the country interlarded with fragments of Latin, Spanish, Italian, and French, to which he added much gesticulation with both hands and feet. He then finally produced a large cross, which he piously kissed, and required the crowd to do likewise, presenting each one who complied with a beautiful rosary, thousands of which he had brought with him from Portugal. This, however, was only the first part of his method of conversion. The second was much more effectual, and consisted in pulling down, with the assistance of the Portuguese troops, which he called into requisition, the native temples, and breaking in pieces the idols found therein, not, however, without replacing them by Christian chapels, with the image of the crucified Jesus, and erecting in the neighbourhood a handsome building constructed of bamboo canes, for the instruction of the

young. He already knew, from experience, what an impression a solemn service, with the sacrifice of the mass, made upon the fanciful imaginations of Orientals, and he also knew that in order to render the work of conversion lasting, it was necessary to win over to the new faith the growing youth, the foundation of the population. For this reason, he threw himself, with great zeal, into the matter of education, and, partly by means of friendly presents, and partly by fear of the Portuguese soldiery, who had destroyed the heathen temples, succeeded in inducing many of the native boys and girls to attend his schools. It was but an easy matter, however, from a missionary point of view, as, far from making them acquainted with the principles of Christianity, he merely contented himself in teaching them to say the Lord's Prayer, along with the Creed, and causing them to understand the same, as also to cross the arms with humility over the breast. After getting them on as far as this, Xavier now accepted them as Christians through the performance of a solemn baptismal service, and he soon managed in this way to acquire a pretty considerable number of souls for the kingdom of Heaven. In spite of all this, the business of conversion went on much too slowly to please him, and, on that account, even in the first year of his residence in India, he wrote to his General, requesting him to send out a number of assistants. Loyola complied most willingly with this demand, and sent him more than twenty of them, almost all being Portuguese whom Rodriguez had recently gained over for the Order; amongst them were the Paters Anton Criminal, Anton Gomez, Casper Bergäus, Paulus Camerti, Alonzo Cyprius, Melchior Gonzales, and Franciscus Peren, who all, more or less, subsequently distinguished themselves. He was now able to carry on the work of conversion in a wholesale manner, and, during the next six years, in almost every place where the Portuguese flag waved, and especially in Ceylon, Cochin, Negapatam, Meliapur, Malacca, and Ternate, he succeeded in establishing schools, small and large. The principal seminary, however, which served as a nursery for the education of native missionaries, was the college in Goa, into which, immediately on the arrival of the assistants from Europe, Xavier at once drove before him 120 sons of the Hindu gentry, by means of a military force, in order that they might be brought up in future for the purpose of converting their fellow-country-

men; and there could be no question that the power of the Portuguese bayonets, and still more, the fear engendered by the same, contributed in no small degree to the great results which Francis Xavier and his associates obtained,* and this circumstance diminished not a little the glory of the great apostolic hero, who was often so thoroughly tired at night from the exertion of baptising, that he was hardly able to move his arms. Still more injury, however, was done to this glory by the circumstance that the baptised, or converted, were, as a matter of fact, not real Christians, but remained heathens just as much as before. It is certainly true that they could repeat the Creed, and that the water of Christian baptism had been thrown over them, as, also, that they were taught to have some sort of understanding of the matter, that they took part in processions, and could sing some hymns, and join in other external observances. In truth, however, they still retained all their old manners, customs, usages, and notions, and when the Padri, as the Christian missionaries were denominated, withdrew from one converted neighbourhood, being of the opinion that it had been completely won over to Christianity, and proceeded elsewhere in order to prosecute the work of conversion, it so happened that the native priests, the Brahmins, had not the least difficulty in bringing the people back again to the religion in which they had been born and bred. This was now, indeed, an embarrassing dilemma, and one of Xavier's companions, Anton Criminal, who had gained proselytes at Cape Comorin, became so furious on that account against the Brahmins that he persecuted them with the most inhuman cruelties. They, however, in their despair, at once appealed for aid against this Criminal and his handful of soldiers obtained from the Governor of Goa, which he had brought along with him, to a tribe of people which had not as yet come under subjection to the Portuguese, the latter being, in fact, in point of numbers, in a very small minority. A battle thereupon ensued, in which all the Portuguese, Criminal himself not excepted, were massacred.†

* It was thus, for example, that the King of Condi, in Ceylon, was compelled by force of arms to receive the Cross, also was constrained *by order of Xavier to be baptised*, by whose directions also his lieutenants and governors of provinces who offered any resistance to the baptismal ceremony were threatened with confiscation of their property. It was easy in this way to gain over thousands daily to Christianity.

† There were no less than four lance-wounds through the heart of Criminal, and, when dead, he was so hated by the Brahmins that they cut

Some time now elapsed before any other missionary attempted to show himself. The Brahmins, however, did not by any means improve their position by their strenuous resistance, but, on the contrary, rather made it worse, for Francis Xavier took occasion on this account to institute in Goa a religious tribunal, after the pattern of the Spanish Inquisition, over which he ruled without opposition,* and, being aided by the Portuguese arms, he proceeded, with the most frightful severity, against all those who offered any hindrance to the spread of Christianity, or who also dared to beguile the baptised natives back again to their old idol-worship. In this way, then, innumerable Brahmins, and more particularly the richest among them, lost their lives by the executioner's hands, or, at least, were exiled from their country in order that their property might be seized for the benefit of the Society, and thus, by degrees, all opposition to the reception of the Christian religion presently ceased throughout the whole of the countries under subjection to the Portuguese. As a matter of course, the effeminate Hindus now pressed forward to have themselves baptised, rather than make acquaintance with the prisons of the Inquisition, or run the risk of being roasted alive over a slow fire! After this fashion did Francis Xavier and his associates conduct themselves in India, and the consequence was that Jesuit colleges sprang up in all suitable places, being enriched by the property of the slaughtered and banished heretics. And still more numerous were the churches which were erected, as they no longer hesitated to destroy, with fire and sword, all the heathen temples which they were able to get at, and, indeed, it almost seemed as if the Jesuits had taken for their example the cruel conduct of Charles the Great against the Saxons. Xavier now, after he had carried things to this height, thought it was time to extend still further his Christian conquests, and this he did by an acquaintance he had made, in 1549, with an inhabitant of Japan. The

his head off. The Jesuits, on the other hand, made him out to be the first martyr of the Order, and there was but little wanting that he should have been placed in the category of saints.

* The Portuguese governors and lieutenants rendered every assistance on that account to the great converter of the heathen, because they knew very well that they would otherwise be denounced to King John III., and that whoever was in this way singled out might rest assured that he would be certain to lose his appointment and be recalled to Lisbon to render an account of his actions.

latter, a rather cunning fellow, but springing from a good family, called Anger, who had at least one murder on his conscience, directed the attention of Xavier to the infinite resources of Japan, so much so, indeed, that he at once determined to convert the great Empire, with its millions of inhabitants, and to claim possession of its enormous riches for the benefit of the Order of Jesus. He first began, then, by baptising Anger, the same thereby receiving the name of "Paul de Saint Foi," and at once proceeded to Goa to make sure that things there might not get into disorder during his absence. After he had accomplished this, and had nominated Paul Camerti as his representative, under the title of General Superior, and Anton Gomez as Rector of the now very important college of the "Holy Paul," he embarked in the summer of 1549, and, in company with Anger and the very zealous Pater Come de Torrez, proceeded to Japan, where he landed, on the 15th of August, in the harbour of Canxawa, or Cang Xuma, the capital of the kingdom of Sazuma, or Hsuma; this happened in the fifteenth year, to the very day, from the taking of the vows at Montmartre.

In those days Japan formed, as it does now, nominally one single monarchy, or, indeed, an empire, with its capital, Miako, in which the Emperor, under the name of a Dairi, or Mikado, sat on the throne. At the same time the whole was divided into several provinces or kingdoms, the rulers of which reigned quite independently; amongst the number was the kingdom of Hsuma. It now so happened that the above-mentioned Anger had formerly been on fairly friendly terms with the ruler of Hsuma, in consequence of which Francis Xavier, was not only hospitably received at Court, but at once obtained permission, from the very tolerant king, to preach the Christian religion. Xavier, as we may well imagine, immediately took advantage of this privilege, but unfortunately not with the result he had promised himself, as his preaching was almost unintelligible to his hearers, while the little Japanese that he had picked up from his intercourse with Anger, was mixed up with a variegated jargon of Spanish, Italian, and Latin, to say nothing of his peculiar manners. Bell in hand he collected the people together as he had done before in Goa and its neighbourhood, a proceeding which, to the Japanese of a rather higher degree of

cultivation, conveyed the impression of charlatanism and absurdity. This Xavier himself, after the lapse of some little time, felt but too plainly; and, seeing that it was impossible for him to gain his end in this way, he shortly resolved to alter his mode of operation, and from a Jesuit to become a Bonze. A Bonze? asks the astonished reader; but he will cease to be astonished when he calls to remembrance that the Bonzes are nothing more than the higher priests of Buddhism, which is by far the most widely diffused religion of Japan, and that this Buddhism itself has many points of resemblance to the Roman Catholic faith. In one, as in the other, there are, cloisters with nuns and monks, and even hermits are not wanting. The Buddhists, like the Roman Catholics, have connected with their worship pictures and relics, as well as processions, pilgrimages, and holy proclamations. Both make use of rosaries in saying their prayers. and chastise their bodies with fasting and other similar privations. The Bonzes or Lamas, as they are called in Tibet, shave their heads exactly as the Roman priests do, and both are dedicated to celibacy. Further, both are regarded by the people with much reverence, and exercise a decided influence over them. Such is the state of matters which obtains in Japan, and it cannot therefore be wondered at that Xavier determined, under these circumstances, to become a Bonze so far as clothing, habits, manner of life, and customs went. As plain Jesuit he had as yet only rendered himself offensive. As Bonze, however, he hoped to gain influence as much as his heathen colleagues, and then might be able to insinuate Christian doctrine underhand in place of Buddhist polytheism. It was perceived that his design was good, and therefore there was not the least difficulty raised as to the dishonesty of the means adopted, as the Jesuits were never scrupulous in this respect; but still this artifice did not lead him to the attainment of his aim. The legitimate Bonzes, to wit, began to move heaven and earth in order that the obtrusive new comer should be sent about his business, and represented to the king that the greatest danger would threaten the kingdom were he to allow a miserable stranger to throw ridicule on the old tutelary gods of Japan, and introduce in their stead a new and hitherto quite unknown God, whom no neighbouring deity might endure. They also added a warning to this representation, threatening

to call upon the other kings of Japan for assistance, if Xavier were not expelled from the kingdom; and, indeed, little was wanting for the breaking out of a great revolution at their instigation. Under such circumstances the king now resolved to abandon the principle of toleration, which he had hitherto followed, and issued a decree in which he forbad the acceptance of Christianity to all his subjects, under the penalty of death, and advised Francis Xavier that, if he put any value upon his life, he must leave his dominions in the shortest space of time.

There was, of course, now nothing else for the great heathen-converter to do but to obey instantly this order, and he quitted the city of Canxawa, after a residence in it of nearly one year, without having accomplished anything whatever. But where was he now to bend his steps? Was he to return again to Goa? or, at the risk of meeting with the same kind of treatment as he had experienced at Hsuma, to try some other Japanese kingdom? He did not require to remain long undecided, as there happened to be at that time, as he immediately ascertained, several Portuguese ships in the harbour of Ferando, the capital of a neighbouring province of the same name, and, as he naturally thought it possible that he might meet with a more friendly reception, under the protection of these ships, from the King of Ferando than he had done from the ruler of Hsuma, he therefore at once made his way to the above-mentioned sea-port. Nor did he deceive himself in this respect, the less so that there happened to subsist a deadly feud at that time between the Kings of Ferando and Hsuma, and consequently permission was at once granted to him to make as many proselytes as he was able to find. He therefore turned this permission to such good use that he effected more baptisms within a period of twenty days in Ferando than during the whole year that he had been in Hsuma. So, at least, it is reported by his biographer, and we leave it to be determined whether this be the case or not. The fact, however, was that he still despaired of effecting anything of much consequence until he had converted the Dairi himself, in his capital of Miako, or had at least got from the latter permission to proselytise; so on that account he himself cleared the way, after a residence of some weeks, for the further operations of Come de Torrez,

whom he left behind. He did not, however, proceed alone, but took along with him two newly-converted Japanese, called Matthias and Bernhard, as also an interpreter of the name of Fernandez. After meeting with many dangers in trying to make proselytes on the way, he was more than once nearly stoned. It seems to be clear, from the report of his most intimate followers, that he was only allowed to escape owing to his being looked upon as a description of fool, which, in the east, is a better protection than any other weapon.

He at last arrived in the great capital of Japan in February 1551, and at once betook himself to the largest public place with the object of proclaiming the Gospel to the people. But what kind of a sermon was it that he preached? O Lord! one can hardly believe it possible that any man of the least common sense could think that he could, in such a way, convert anyone to his opinion. He certainly, indeed, did not allow himself to repeat the *hocus pocus* of Goa, but he preached by means of his interpreter, as he still was so badly acquainted with the Japanese language that he was unable to put two consecutive sentences together.* It can be readily surmised, then, how laughable was the situation! as one may further easily imagine that Fernandez understood Spanish badly, and consequently that all that Xavier said was expounded in complete confusion. It was truly, then, no wonder that the religion which Xavier preached was received with general misunderstanding, and that he could nowhere make his appearance in public without being followed by the street boys, who looked upon him as a sort of half-witted fool.

In spite of all this, he had the audacity to request an audience with the Emperor, which, however, was refused with disdain and derision by the imperial *employés*; consequently nothing else remained for the zealous missionary to do, but to seek for good fortune elsewhere, and he betook himself to Amanguchi, the capital of the kingdom or province of Mangate. Unfortunately, however, he met there with no better success, although he was careful enough to make his appearance attired

* Xavier thus wrote verbatim to Ignatius Loyola:—"If I but understood their language (Japanese) I have no doubt that many unbelievers would accept the Christian religion. Would to God that I had sooner acquired knowledge of it! for I might then have hoped to render some service to the Church. At present we are only like statues which cannot talk. They speak much to us, but we cannot reply, as we do not know what they say to us."

in rich Bonze vestments, and took the precaution of sending beforehand certain presents to the King, as, for instance, a beautiful repeating watch, a musical instrument of good tone, and other such trifles.

The Japanese, however, still continued to look upon the foreign Bonze as a fool, and considered their own established religion to be much more sensible than that preached by such a ninny. As Xavier now, however, learned that this said religion originated, properly speaking, in China, and as he was of opinion that it would be an easy matter to Christianise the Japanese Empire after he had first of all converted the mother country, he forthwith determined to make a descent upon the Celestial Empire.

The way thither brought him to the sea-port of Bungo, the residence of another Japanese king, and at that time there happened to lie several Portuguese ships at anchor, commanded by Edward de Gama, a descendant of the renowned Vasca de Gama. This was for him a fortunate circumstance, as Edward de Gama was aware of the favour in which the missionary stood with John III., and he was not the less conscious that political wisdom demanded the encouragement of missionary enterprise, as the only way by which it was possible to open up to European trade this carefully-closed kingdom. On that account it appeared to him necessary that Xavier should be received with marks of the greatest honour, amid the thunder of cannon; the consequence being that the ruler of Bungo wished to know what was the reason of all these salutes. He was duly informed that all this parade was in honour of a holy European Bonze, who had come on board the Admiral's ship; and, in reply to the Prince's question, whether he might not be afforded an opportunity of seeing and becoming acquainted with this distinguished individual, he was told that the latter had the intention of paying his respects to His Majesty very shortly.

This interview, in fact, took place; not, however, in any ordinary manner, but with every degree of pomp that it was possible to observe. The entire line of ships hoisted their pennants, and salutes were fired, the whole of the crews participating on the occasion, and all the officers being decked out in the greatest gala.* In a word, everything was done to impress upon the

* The whole train proceeded to the land in three boats, decorated as for a *fête*, an ornamental awning being spread, and the benches being covered

inhabitants, as well as the King, that Francis Xavier was a man worthy of the highest consideration, and he was consequently not only received by the whole standing army as the great Bonze of Europe, but welcomed with much distinction by the Regent himself. He, moreover, at once obtained leave to proceed with his work of conversion to Christianity, wherever he chose, and he, naturally enough, took the fullest advantage of this permission.

Matters, however, soon took a different turn, as the native Bonzes, fearing to lose their influence, sought to stir up the people against the "Bonze of Chemachicogin," as they called Portugal, and, moreover, represented to the King, before heaven and hell, how dangerous the new teaching was to the State. Now, as the King did not at once yield to their solicitations, being desirous of not giving offence to the Chinese, he called together a sort of Bonze council in the city of Bungo; at this appeared about three thousand heathen priests, who called upon the stranger to defend his doctrines before the assembled council.

This religious conference, in fact, which took place, led, as may be easily imagined, to no result. In other words, each party ascribed the victory to itself, and each had reason for so doing, as neither of them in any way understood each other. The people, however, sided entirely with the native priests, and such a commotion ensued that the Portuguese themselves compelled Xavier to withdraw, fearing that a revolution might be the consequence.

The upshot of the matter was, that the missionary quitted the city of Bungo, after a residence in it of forty-seven days, on

with the most beautiful Persian carpets, each boat also having its own particular band of music, which played the most beautiful airs, while the cannon thundered away and the whole of the sailors shouted out hurrahs! On arriving on shore Edward de Gama, with uncovered brow and his marshal's staff in his hand, placed himself at their head, and then followed after him five of the Portuguese of the greatest distinction, who, also uncovered, bore the presents destined for the King of Bungo, to wit, an ornamented sceptre of chisled gold, a richly-bound Bible, a pair of black slippers embroidered with pearls, a picture of the Virgin Mary painted in oil colours, and a beautiful umbrella. Then came Francis Xavier himself, attired in a choir shirt of Indian muslin studded with precious stones, as also a stole of gold brocade ornamented with diamonds, and surrounded by thirty richly-clothed naval officers, all of them of noble birth and adorned with gold chains and precious stones. The procession was closed by the sailors and marines, all, of course, decked out in their Sunday clothes, marching along with hat in hand, as in order to show sufficient respect to Francis Xavier it was necessary for their heads to be uncovered.

November 20th, 1551, not, however, without leaving behind him a shepherd for the small flock which he had collected together, and sailed away in a ship placed at his disposal by the Admiral, for the city of Canton, which was the nearest place in the Chinese Empire.

A storm, however, compelled him to land on a small island on the way, and here he was informed by certain Portuguese merchants that it was not permitted for any stranger to cross the frontier of China unless he came in the capacity of an ambassador. He, therefore, caused the ship, thus detained by the storm, to direct its course back again to Goa instead of to Canton, and, on his arriving there, urgently solicited the Viceroy —now Don Alphonso de Norogna—to despatch an embassy to Peking, under whose auspices he might be able to penetrate into this empire, so closed against the outer world.

At first the Viceroy was unwilling to entertain this project, but in the end he allowed himself to be persuaded into it by a rich merchant of the name of Jaques Pereira, who was anxious to speculate in Chinese wares; on him he conferred the patent of an ambassador, and Francis Xavier, along with some other members of the Society of Jesus whom he selected from the College, accompanied him, leaving on the 14th of April 1552.

The route lay *viâ* Malacca, where a landing was first made, but it would have been better for them had they passed on without stopping. It appeared to the Portuguese governor here, a proud noble, called Don Alvarez d'Atayde, that it was a perfectly preposterous thing that a common *bourgeois* merchant should be sent as an ambassador to one of the greatest monarchs of Asia, and he, therefore, declared that the Embassy could not be allowed to proceed until he had received further intelligence from the Viceroy of Goa. Francis Xavier protested against this detention, and excommunicated Don Alvarez, as the latter would not in any way acquiesce in his wishes. This, however, did not improve matters in the slightest, but, on the contrary, the proud man felt so provoked, that he forthwith put the whole ambassadorial fleet into arrest until something further was heard about the affair. This circumstance drove Francis Xavier almost frantic, and he made his escape in a small barque, leaving behind him most of his companions in Malacca, his destination being the island of Sancian.

The said island being situated on the southern coast of China not far from Canton, he hoped to be able to smuggle himself from it with ease into the Celestial Empire; and with the assistance of a Chinese merchant whom he had bribed, would no doubt have succeeded, had not the providence of God ordained it otherwise for him. He had hardly landed, after a stormy passage of nearly one month's duration, when he was laid up with a violent fever, and, being treated by an unskilful doctor, he succumbed to the disease twelve days afterwards, on the 2nd of December 1552, at the comparatively early age of forty-six years.*

Such was the end of a man who underwent the greatest dangers in order to spread in distant lands what he called the Christian religion—of a man whose courage and constancy could not be daunted or overcome, even by the greatest of misfortunes, and who, on that account, had the right to range himself side by side with the most valorous of soldiers; but also of a man who was never in the service of mankind, but merely in that of the Papacy, and who, from his more than unwise zeal, never hesitated in the least to render the teaching of Christianity, in truth, really laughable, and to bring down upon it the ridicule of unbelievers. His Order, however, had much for which to thank him, as he laid the foundation of many establishments in India, China, and Japan, in which only a few decades afterwards it might well rejoice; and, without his animating example, his followers in missionary undertaking could, certainly, never have accomplished what they eventually notoriously brought about to the astonishment of the world. On that account he was most highly honoured and revered by his fellow Jesuits, who, after the lapse of two years, conveyed his corpse, which at the time of his death had been buried with quite sufficient ceremony at Sancian, to Goa, in order that it should be deposited with great pomp and solemnity in the College of the Holy Paul. There, later on, also, they erected a splendid mausoleum for him in the Jesuits' church, and a similar monument was also raised to his memory in the Jesuits' Church in Rome, where, by the command of the General of the Order, Claudius Aquaviva, an arm of Xavier was brought. The principal thing, however, was that the Pope, Paul V., pronounced the apostle of India, as Francis

* He was born in the year 1506, at the Castle of Xaviero, in Navarre, at the foot of the Pyrenees.

Xavier was designated after his death, to be holy, and Gregory XV., on the 12th of March 1622, translated him into the category of saints, an act which, however, was only announced to Christendom on the 6th of August of the year following by Pope Urban VIII. Still later, in the year 1747, Pope Benedict XIV. bestowed upon him the honourable title of "Protector of India," and kings as well as queens hastened to erect churches to his honour, which were, of course, named after him.

I have dilated, I admit, very considerably on the work of Francis Xavier in Asia, as he was in fact a much too interesting personage to be passed over in a short description. In regard, however, to his successors in office—I allude to the associates and soldiers of Christ, who after him carried on the missionary work in Japan, China, and the East Indies, and the different fates they met with—I will content myself with a much shorter description, and rather look to the results upon which they ultimately had to congratulate themselves.

In East India, Xavier had completely paved the way for them, as in all places of any consequence which had become subject to the Portuguese, Jesuit establishments—by whatever name they were called, be it colleges, residences, or missions—were founded, and it only remained to increase their number, as also to enlarge those already existing. For the sons of Loyola it was always everywhere an easy matter to succeed in doing so, as, in the first place, the Portuguese governors (Don Alvarez d'Altayde being almost a solitary exception), by order of the king, played into their hands; and as, secondly, they could get the better of any opposition to their projects very easily with the assistance of the tribunals of the Inquisition, established by themselves. To increase, too, the number of missions was by no means difficult, as in every place, wherever the Portuguese or other European despoilers had penetrated, the Jesuit missionaries pressed forward, and, by very simple means, contrived to plant their feet firmly, as well as to form Christian communities. In what, then, did these simple means consist? The mode was nothing else than this: these missionaries attired themselves as Indian priests or Brahmins (throughout all India the Brahminical religion prevailed), in order that, before the Indians, who entertained a strong inborn repugnance to foreigners, they might pass themselves off as natives, while they, at the same time, actually

amalgamated the Christianity which they taught with the already subsisting heathenish views and customs of the inhabitants. The good Hindus (or native Indians) might thus still continue to be Hindus as long as they merely submitted to be baptised and to bear the name of "Christians!" It was, indeed, not even necessary to adopt a Christian name in baptism, as the people might retain their own heathenish ones, as St. Paul himself said, "one should be all things to all men!" It would, of course, be very easy for me to form a complete list of all the Jesuits who, as Brahmins, travelled about the country, and who, if they did not exactly trample on the Cross of Christ, at all events denied the same. But I will content myself in noting merely two of them, hoping from these examples to give to the reader a clear notion as to the nature of Jesuit work and proceedings in India. One of them, namely, Pater Constantino Beschi, who had most carefully studied the Hindi language, as well as Sanscrit, imitated the customs and manners, no less than the mode of life of the Brahmins so correctly that the people of the Dekkan, where he for a long time resided, actually began to honour him as a saint—as a saint, however, be it well understood, in the heathen heaven; and, as he published, besides, popular poems in the native language, he thus became celebrated throughout all lands. What was, then, the consequence of this? The ruler of the Dekkan, in the belief that he was a true Brahmin, raised him to be his first court official and minister, and Constantino Beschi did not trouble himself in the least to explain the mistake. On the contrary, the worthy Pater, henceforth completely renouncing all European customs and origin, attired in a fine oriental costume, appeared in public riding upon a richly-caparisoned horse, or carried in a palankeen by slaves, and always accompanied by a numerous escort on horseback, who cleared the way for the great man, proclaiming his going and coming at the same time with a flourish of trumpets. No one could have supposed that he was in reality a European, and much less a baptised Christian. A Jesuit, however, he still remained to the end of his days, and his companions of the Order were not a little proud of him.

A perfectly different character was presented in the very worthy Pater Barthelemi Acosta, the second example which I now bring to notice, as he did not frequent the society of the

great ones of the land, but rather contented himself with mixing among the very lowest dregs of the people; influenced, of course, by the same aim and object as that of Constantino Beschi, the Prime Minister and Grand Vizier. He sought out, namely, the ill-famed dwellings of the public dancing girls and courtesans, and the huts of those called "Bayaders," being well aware that, always ready, at any day and hour, to sacrifice to the god of love, they thereby possessed great influence over the male sex, and he thus soon found himself on the most intimate terms with them. He was in the habit of playing with them, as well as dancing and drinking with them, by which means he become their dearest friend and confidant. The poor creatures were quite delighted with him, and desired nothing better than to become translated into heaven at the hands of him who made the matter so easy for them. One thing only stood in the way of their embracing the Christian religion, which was that they had been told that Christian priests condemned, as a sinful vice, the trade by which they lived, and, consequently, they delayed from hour to hour to receive the sacrament of baptism. What, then, did the worthy father do? He taught them that they might become Christians and still, without committing sin, might continue to devote themselves to the god of love, provided they dedicated a portion of their gains to the Christian church, and, at all events, did their best endeavour to convert those persons to whom they were in the habit of yielding their charms. By these, and other similar ways, the Jesuits contrived to insinuate themselves everywhere throughout the whole extent of India, and, as long as the dominion of the Portuguese lasted, they made themselves absolute masters of the soil; that is to say, they found themselves all alone at liberty to despoil the whole of the enormous territory, without being interfered with by other Orders, making proselytes, or founding colleges and residences, as they were beloved almost beyond all measure by the King of Portugal, as we shall hereafter see. But how was it after the lapse of a century? When other sea-faring nations also came forward, especially the French, Dutch, and English, to participate in the great hunt after the riches of India, and, as by degrees the power of the first despoiler collapsed on all sides, then came also the downfall of the Jesuit dominion. As I shall hereafter, in the fourth, fifth,

and seventh books of this work, come to speak of the way in which the Jesuits conducted themselves during the height of their glory in India it is sufficient for us to know at present that, during the period of a hundred years, the Society of Jesus was the sole ruler in India in matters connected with religion and the Church.

They were also quite as fortunate in Japan, although with much greater trouble than in India, and so far back as the year 1573, only twenty years after the death of Xavier, they were able to congratulate themselves on the possession of large establishments in about half of the hundred small kingdoms into which the great Empire was divided. Moreover it was a fact, that already at that time more than two hundred thousand Japanese, exclusive of women and children, had come under their banner, and it may be considered no exaggeration at all to say that the Popes of Rome exulted over this circumstance, declaring that they would never rest satisfied until they had brought the whole of Japan under the dominion of Christendom. But what had the Jesuits to thank for this result? Simply and solely their own cunning, and the circumstance that Japan formed no single and entire sovereignty ruled over by one single monarch. It had from the first, become obvious to Xavier that, in order to gain over the Japanese to his opinions, it would be necessary for him to mix himself up with theirs also, and on that account, as we have already seen, he commenced his operations as a Bonze. The associates he had left behind him in Japan, namely Come de Torrez, Juan Fernandez, Cosmos, or whatever might be their names, adopted the same convenient system of morality, and each took good care of himself, as it is said, to get into the house by the door. The place, thought they, cannot be carried by storm, but by quite gently creeping on all fours; and protected by trenches, the holy fathers made their advances, and placed before the garrison such easy and agreeable conditions that they could hardly fail to yield. After conversion the Jesuit fathers still allowed their followers, although they had received the sacrament of baptism, to frequent the heathen pagodas, and to pray on their knees before their gods Jebischu, Daitotu, Fatziman, Fottei, or by whatever other names they might be called, if they in thought only transferred their worship and adoration to Christ! Still their

conquest would not have been so easy, nor would it have certainly been extended within so wide a circle, had it not been assisted in a large measure by the breaking up of the great empire. Each of their different smaller kings merely sought, indeed, his own aggrandizement, and not that of the common fatherland; a continual jealousy consequently reigned amongst all, and an ever-enduring envy and hatred prevailed among the rivals. To none of them was anything else at heart than the depreciation and disparagement of their neighbour, and every means that tended thereto was hailed with hearty welcome. Especially several of these petty despots believed that great advantages would accrue to them, if they entered into commercial relationship with a seafaring nation such as the Portuguese, or if they succeeded in forming an alliance with those brave men who had, just at that time, despoiled India. By what means could they attain this object more easily than through intercourse with the Jesuits? I have already apprised the reader of the reception given to Francis Xavier by Edward de Gama in the seaport of Bungo; and, as the Jesuits were universally met by the Portuguese sailors with servile submission, wherever a Portuguese ship lay at anchor in a Japanese harbour, the sons of Loyola might indeed be certain that their captain would be sure to place the men at their disposal, as, at the same time, their Order was all powerful at the Court of Lisbon. Not a few, accordingly, of those minor kings made haste to make themselves as friendly as possible with the Loyolites, and, on the principle that "one hand washes the other," gave them as much assistance as they possibly could. Some of them, indeed, even allowed themselves to be baptised, by which example their subjects were naturally led to do the like, and then, conjoined to the act of baptism, for the most part a liberal donation of lands was at the same time given to the Jesuits, upon which, after becoming settled, they might erect their respective colleges and residences. We learn, for instance, respecting the King of Omura, that, in the year 1562, he assigned to the Jesuits, for their own particular use, the town of Vocoziura, with all the villages within a radius of five miles; and if other princes did not go quite so far as this, they, at least, presented the missionaries with all the cloisters for which they had occasion. The Jesuits then, in short, after a few decades, acquired a most extraordinary influence in Japan,

and even in Miako, the seat of the Dairi, they succeeded in establishing a college along with a noviciate; and, as they were once before known to do, even made use of their power to threaten therewith the rulers inimical to them. What do I say—to threaten! That is by far too mild an expression, as, from threatening they often came to action; that is to say, the Black Cloaks beguiled the converted princes into making an attack on the unconverted, and exerted their whole power and influence, in this way, to obtain a victory for the former.

Many volumes might be written concerning these everlasting machinations, excitations, and houndings on of the Japanese one against the other, the consequence being that the history of Japan at that time consisted in nothing else than a constant catalogue of insurrections, rebellions, conspiracies, wars, and massacres; each of these fraternal feuds, however, and each of these rebellions, &c., ever aided the Jesuits to a new triumph, and at last to such a pitch did matters come that, in the year 1585, three of the converted kings, namely, those of Bungo, Arima, and Omura, organised under their guidance a brilliant embassy to the then reigning Pope, Gregory XIII., in order to render homage to the head of Christendom.

This was glory, indeed! Truly such splendid results could hardly have been brought about by all the other Orders put together; but the Pope himself, also, showed himself grateful, and forthwith, through a Special Bull, forbade for the future all monks or other ecclesiastics from going to Japan, with the object of exercising any ecclesiastical function whatever, without his express permission, under the penalty of being subjected to the greater excommunication.

In this manner was Japan given over to the unrestrained spoliation of the Jesuits, and one may easily imagine that they well knew how to make full use of their opportunity. In what respect, however, did Christianity gain by this? Certainly in none whatever, but, on the contrary, it was simply hurtful to it, as the Christianity which was taught by the Jesuits in Japan had nothing whatever of its character but the name, not even its tenor, as it soon became evident that the Jesuits, in fact, fabricated a life of Christ especially adapted to meet the ideas of the Japanese, in which they represented the son of the wife of the carpenter as coming into the world arrayed in

purple, governing as King of Judah, and dying on his bed of state in all the glory of a monarch. Still less was done for the education of the baptised Japanese; on the contrary, they were allowed designedly to retain all their old superstitions along with their depraved habits and vices of sensuality.*

It was much more difficult, however, for the Jesuits to penetrate into China than into Japan, as at that time the former empire was completely closed against all foreigners, and the strong door could not be opened either by force or artifice. Francis Xavier, as we have already been made aware, died within sight of its inviting coasts; nor did it fare any better with others of his Order, more especially with brethren Michael Ruggieri, and Pazzio, who, coming one from Goa, the other from Macao, attempted for thirty years to climb the Chinese rocks, as Father Valigno expresses himself. This difficult problem was, however, at last solved by one of them, no other than the celebrated Mathias Ricci.

Born in the same year in which Xavier died, to wit, on the 6th of October 1552, his birth-place was the town of Macerata, in the district of Ancona. He, at a very early age, showed great capabilities, and, after acquiring to some extent the old languages, he proceeded to Rome in the year 1568, in order there to study law. He then became acquainted with the Jesuit fathers, and more especially with Laynez and Salmeron, and their persevering efforts at length succeeded in winning over the highly-gifted young man to their Order. At the age of nineteen, he entered as a novice into the Collegium Romanum, and began to go through the ordinary course in it; but Pater Balignano, who at that time was the head of the Novice-House, soon discovered that young Mathias possessed an extraordinary talent for mathematics and mechanics. Who could have been more rejoiced at this than the Jesuit fathers? For several years had they endeavoured in vain to get hold of someone possessed of this talent.

* In the years 1633–35 the pious ecclesiastics, Antoninus de St. Maria, Francis Almeda, and Jean Baptist, travelled all over the East by order of the Pope, and from their statements it is apparent, as is allowed by the Jesuits, that the Japanese continued still to carry on all their old idol ceremonies, and only practised that of Christianity secretly. The Jesuits themselves do not at all deny this, but on the contrary admit it. The Apostles had employed the same means towards the converted Jews and heathens.

As soon as it had been brought to the knowledge of the General, through the reports current in India and Japan, that the Chinese of distinction had an especially great leaning to the cultivation of the so-called exact sciences, as, for example, mathematics, chemistry, and astronomy, as well also of the mechanical arts, and that anyone who distinguished himself in those paths would be highly esteemed by them, it was determined to send into the "Empire of the Centre," in the garb of a Chinese *savant*, a well-armed Jesuit, deeply instructed in such knowledge, and it was not unnatural therefore that the Chief of the Order should rejoice in having at last found the long-sought-for talent.

The pursuit of theology was consequently instantly thrown aside by Ricci, in order, on the other hand, to prosecute his studies in mathematics, chemistry, and astronomy, and with this object the most celebrated teachers and professors of those sciences available at the period in Rome were had in requisition for him. This young man was at the same time instructed in mechanical learning, and more especially in the art of making physical instruments, that of watch-making not being neglected. Ricci acquired a knowledge of all these branches with wonderful acumen, as well in practice as in theory. It nevertheless took him fully eight years before he had entirely perfected himself.

He now embarked for the East, not, however, immediately for China, but for Goa, the head and central point of the Asiatic mission. It was here, in the College of the Holy Paul, that the finishing touches were given to his education, and, more particularly, he there acquired a knowledge of the Chinese language so perfectly, that he was quite capable of being taken for a native of the Celestial Empire. He applied himself to it with untiring zeal, and at last, after four years more, he was now considered to be perfect in this respect.

Nothing further was now wanting to hinder him from proceeding to his destination, and he therefore embarked in September 1583, in the attire of a Lama, or Fo priest, for China, where he presently landed in a small sea-port town called Tschao-tcheu. Fo is only another term for Buddha, and a Lama, or Fo Priest, thus signifies the same in China as Bonze does in Japan. He did not dare, at first, indeed, to approach

Canton or any of the other large cities, for fear of being recognised as a European; he held it to be more prudent to work quietly from below upwards, and on that account had he, indeed, dressed himself in the modest attire of a Lama. He advanced so far during the first year as to give instruction to the young in mathematics and the other sciences, and thus soon won confidence for himself in the neighbourhood. He also succeeded in interesting in himself several of the superior officials, or mandarins, as they are called in China, by executing a geographical chart of the Celestial Empire, a thing unheard of before in China. For his main object, however, that is the conversion of the Chinese to the Christian religion, he dared not at first attempt much, at all events in public, but he contented himself in this respect rather by insinuating in the intervals of his teaching some points of Christian doctrines, but only such as did not appear to be in contradiction to the religious views of the Chinese.

There existed at that time in this large Empire, and there now, indeed, are to be found, two systems of religion,* which maintain themselves side by side without being inimical to each other, both possessing an equal right to flourish, both having equal support from the Emperor and his officials. Regarding the one, the Buddhist religion, or, as it is called in China, the religion of Fo, we already know something in Japan, consequently I have nothing further to say of it here than this, that its followers are, for the most part, to be found among the lower classes of the people; it is polytheism, with its monks and nuns, its cloisters, its miracles, and its superstitions. The other religious system was that established by Confucius, or more correctly Kung-fu-tse, and which, as I have already remarked, and now repeat, consists merely in a pure morality having much resemblance to Christianity. The followers of this latter system, also, to whom belong all the educated classes, along with the whole Court and body of Mandarins from the lowest to the highest grade, bestow upon the founder of it divine honour, although they admit that he was a mere man;

* A third religious system was not also uncommon, the Tao faith, or, as it was called the "Religion of the right way." This system, however, has long been almost completely amalgamated with Buddhism; it is on that account not necessary to make any particular mention of it.

they reject all polytheism, along with miracles, and, further, heathenish religious pomp and decoration.

Under such circumstances as these it was easy for Ricci to insinuate into his teaching the moral fundamental truths of Christianity, without coming into collision with the Chinese, and he was thus, indeed, enabled, without showing any antagonism to them, to proceed so far "as to compose expressly for the Chinese a Christian catechism," as everything in this little book harmonised with the teaching of Confucius. On the other hand, he carefully avoided all mention to any of his scholars of the doctrine of the Trinity, of the birth and ascension of Christ, of the Redemption, or of any other Christian mystery, and, in the said catechism all such matters were omitted. One thus sees that he advanced stealthily with double craftiness, in that in the first place he merely here and there insinuated something of Christianity, and, secondly, he adapted such Christianity to Chinese ideas; in other words, he re-modelled it to suit China. After that Ricci had thus carried on his operations for some years in the neighbourhood of Tschao-tcheu, and made himself otherwise thoroughly master of Chinese manners and customs, he went on into the neighbouring kingdom of Kiang-Sy, and, somewhat later on, into Nanking, where he passed himself off as a literary savant of the religion of Confucius, in the rich attire worn by such, whilst he, at the same time, practised as a physician. In the latter capacity he became acquainted with a mandarin of very high rank, who called him in on account of the illness of a sick son, who had been badly treated by the Chinese medical practitioners, and, as he was successful in bringing him round, the mandarin invited him to Peking, the capital of the Chinese empire. This was precisely what Ricci had for a long time striven to accomplish, and he therefore responded to the call in the year 1595 with the most joyful feeling of zeal. He soon came also to get acquainted with the higher classes of the community among the Fetisches of his highly-conditioned patron, and everyone was amazed at the wonderful knowledge which he brought to light. He, moreover, strove especially to make friends at Court, in order that he might obtain an introduction to the Emperor himself, and, that he might the more easily attain his object, he approached even the lowest Court officials with the most cringing flattery, while

he tried others, according to their dispositions, with presents and bribes. He finally, in the year 1601, caused himself to be so much talked about among those immediately surrounding the Emperor Van-Lie, that the latter, hearing of the wonders produced by the learned Ricci, especially concerning a self-striking clock, became curious to inspect the apparatus, and ordered the possessor of it to be brought before him. Ricci presented himself before the monarch, and not only brought with him the "self-striking clock," made by himself, which had a very fine appearance, but also several other mechanical curiosities which had hitherto been unknown in China. Of course, he brought these not alone to exhibit them, but to lay them, as presents, at the feet of the Emperor, who was so delighted with them, and especially with the clock, that, after the dismissal of the disguised Jesuit, he spent several hours in watching the action of the works, the revolution of the indicator, as well as the means for striking. Not contented with this, His Majesty required that his wives, along with the Empress mother, should also be brought to inspect this marvellous production. But, alas! what with the constant manipulation, making it perpetually strike, and winding it up, it happened that it suddenly got out of order and stopped, whereupon Van-Lie became inconsolable at this "extinguished life," and with a complaining expression exclaimed to Ricci, who had been quickly summoned, "She is dead." The Jesuit, however, comforting him with these words, "She shall soon live again, if the Son of Heaven [the title given to the Emperor] orders it," took the clock home with him, and put it all right again in the course of a few hours without much trouble. From this time forth Ricci had, as may be said, the game in his own hands, as the Emperor could now no longer do without him, or, rather, Ricci contrived to render himself indispensable to His Majesty. He knew at once how so to make use of the monarch's weakness for machinery, to obtain a commission from him for a whole quantity of clocks and watches, and, as they were procured from Goa, they were, of course, accompanied by other Fathers, and he naturally was himself appointed to be supervisor of clocks, as who, besides him, was capable of keeping the numerous works in order? Then, again, this Father Mathias, as it appears, engaged in another of the favourite sciences of the Emperor, namely, in that

of astronomy, and, lastly, the wily Jesuit managed to show his acquaintance as well with chemistry and mathematics. Such uncommon endowments as these certainly deserved recognition, and, consequently, Van-Lie could no longer refrain from bestowing upon the Father the distinction of Court Mandarin, consisting in the position of a superior Court official. Moreover, he made him the present of a large house in the city, in order to establish a college, and endowed it with an enormous income, as in it astronomers, mathematicians, chemists, opticians, and other artists of every description were to be educated. It was, thus, no Christian college, nor in any respect an educational institution for future priests of any particular denomination, but merely a high scientific institution where the chief inhabitants of Peking might send their sons, in order that they might be instructed and made as skilful as Mathias Ricci and his newly-arrived associates. Of course, Christian instruction was not altogether excluded from the place, but it was only of such a nature as not to rouse against it the opposition of the young nobility and their Mandarin parents. On the contrary, Ricci and his associates only taught what Confucius had taught before, and what had won for that religious founder his well-merited place in Heaven. They avoided either attacking Chinese habits and customs, or even making but slight objections to them, but on the other hand, they rather just allowed their pupils to live on quietly in the way they had been accustomed to do. They might continue, for instance, to pray as before to their household gods, if they had any. They might, as before, attend their lantern-feasts, and soul-feasts, the fête of Phelo, and all similar Chinese religious festivities. They might sacrifice at the graves of deceased relatives, and, when sick, might provide themselves with the "Luin," that is, with the prescribed Passe-par-tout, which the Lama priests require as an entrance into the other world; they might, on arriving at the age of puberty, observe the custom of the plurality of wives, and take to themselves as many spouses and concubines as they desired; they might even take to wife their own sisters, should they wish it, and, moreover, relationship of any kind formed no impediment to marriage. They might do all this, and still more, if they would only allow themselves to be baptised, and just declare their wish to become Christians;

so, with the view of avoiding any opposition,* the Jesuit Fathers carried out to the fullest extent all such customs and ceremonies. It was thus certainly made as easy and convenient for them as it reasonably could be! and as little as possible was demanded in return. On the other hand, such immense advantages were promised them, that it would have been indeed a perfect marvel had they not been entrapped. All the science of Europe was freely offered them for the present life, and by means of such knowledge they might thus be enabled to surpass all their fellow-countrymen, so that, for the future, the Emperor would only select from their number his governors, generals, and ministers. As regards the life to come, too, they might thus secure for themselves such an eternally enduring happiness, and a glorious place in Tien, *i.e.* heaven, that all the rest, and even the souls of those who were burning in hell-fire, must on that account greatly envy them, and all this might be attained for nothing more of a sacrifice than merely a declaration of the desire of being henceforth called Christians. No, indeed, nothing more, I repeat, than this; but along with this declaration, be it well understood, was the obligation conjoined of having no other spiritual advisers than the Jesuit Fathers. Herein lay the point, for when the Fathers became, first of all, the confessors and spiritual advisers of a family, it was as much as if all the members of the family had sworn allegiance to them.

In this manner Ricci succeeded in securing an extremely influential position at the Court of Pekin, and the consequence was that he was not only permitted to build a church adjoining the college, but he was enabled also to establish colleges and churches in other towns in the great Empire, by means of his associates, of whom he constantly obtained an accession in numbers from Goa. It must not be believed, however, that he

* This is reported in a letter from the Jesuit Ignatius Lobo, dated 12th September 1635, to the Franciscan Father, Antonio de Saint Marie. I may especially mention, once for all, that what is related here concerning the Christian teaching of the Jesuits in China is but an extract taken from the reports of the Jesuits themselves. As, for instance, from the great work on China by Du Halde, from the memoranda of Fathers Le Conte and Martini, from the report of Father Boym, as also from the posthumous writings of Ricci himself; allusion is not made to the false imputations emanating from enemies to the Jesuits, but to facts confirmed by the Jesuit missionaries themselves.

had no difficulties to contend with in this respect. On the contrary, the priests of the Fo religion, in particular, did everything in their power to throw suspicion on him and his associates, and succeeded so far at Canton, in the year 1608, that the Governor there ordered Franz Martinez to be bastinadoed, to which punishment he succumbed, and yielded up the ghost. Father Longobardi, also, nearly shared the same fate, and even Ricci himself was within an ace of being overthrown by a cabal got up against him by the great Bonze of Peking. He contrived, however, to make such good use of the friendship which the Emperor entertained towards him, that he came off at last triumphant, and the blow intended for him and his associates fell back upon his enemies.* On the whole, therefore, his mission had been so marvellously successful that, in 1610, when death overtook him, it might be correctly boasted concerning him that he had effected, during his twenty-seven years' operations in China, as much, if not more than Francis Xavier had done in India and Japan; not, however, had he effected anything of consequence for Christianity, for what he taught certainly had but little more than just the name of Christianity, and totally deviated from the religious principles of the Roman Catholic faith. But so far as his Order was concerned, he opened up for it the largest empire in the world, in which was to be gained an immensity of power, riches and glory; in this respect things had been properly handled.†

Not long after the death of Ricci, his great protector and patron the Emperor Van-Lie also died, and under his successor, Tien-ki, who also did not reign long, the native priests fre-

* The Court intrigue to which I have alluded above was occasioned by a master-stroke of ignominy, in that the Emperor was made to suspect the Grand Bonze by means of a libel, circulated through the Court of Peking, a document probably having Ricci for its author, being not only spread about but also clearly fabricated. The Governor of Canton, too, who had so maltreated Father Martinez, came off badly, as, for his officiousness, he was removed from his government to one of less importance, and must have held himself to have been fortunate in escaping with so mild a punishment.

† The best proof of how Ricci troubled himself about Christianity lies in the fact of his literary activity. He wrote for the Chinese and the support of his mission, among others, the following works:—(1) The Practical Mathematics of Clavius, (2) the six first books of Euclid, (3) the Spheres of Euclid, (4) a Treatise on Physics, (5) a Method of Making Sun Dials, (6) the Art of Employing Astrolobiums, (7) on the Use of the Spinet, (8) a Catechism of Moral Philosophy—the same in which he develops his Chinese Christianity. From these posthumous publications I think we can best form a judgment respecting the "Apostle of China."

quently renewed their endeavours to obtain a decree prohibiting the proceedings of the intruding foreigners. Intrigue followed intrigue, calumniation calumniation, complaint complaint, while at one time this party, at another that party, appeared likely to get the upper hand.

It would naturally be of but little interest to the reader were I to enter more fully into detail regarding these matters, and I will, therefore, only remark that the Jesuits were at one time on the point of being completely foiled. The Governor of the kingdom of Kiang-Nan, for example, who, in the year 1615, resided in Nanking, declared himself to be their particular enemy, and not only published a circumstantial decree against them, which he transmitted to the Court, but also actually commenced to expel them, even without waiting for the approval and sanction of higher authority. The Governor of the neighbouring province of Quang Tong now followed his example in this respect, and in these portions of the enormous empire the Jesuits suffered the most cruel persecution. Their colleges were closed and their churches pulled down; they were themselves thrown into the closest prison, bastinadoed, and then packed into a ship like bales of goods, and transported out of the country to Macao. The authorities ought, however, to have waited a little before acting thus, lest the Court of Peking might possibly interfere, seeing that the Jesuits still remained in the highest repute there, as mathematicians, astronomers, chemists, musicians, and mechanicians. This interference, however, did not take place, and the Nanking decree of expulsion was, on the contrary, immediately confirmed, probably from the fact of the memorandum of the Governor of Kiang obtaining unanswerable support on the points of complaint. And it may be remarked that the Jesuits themselves observed unbroken silence regarding this circumstance in their hitherto most detailed reports on China.

Political events now, however, occurred, which had the effect of bringing the pious Fathers into higher honour than they had ever before enjoyed. The Tartars, a numerous and brave race of people, whose home lay in the northern frontier of the empire, had for a long time past given rise to frightful trouble to the Emperor of China, who had been only able to repel the inroads of these nomad hordes by mustering his whole forces against them. It was an inroad of this description that took

place in the year 1618, and the Khan of Tartary, called by the Chinese historians the thief "Thien-Min," penetrated almost to the very walls of Peking. The Emperor was now in great straits, as his cowardly people fought badly, and it was much to be feared that even Peking itself might fall into the hands of the enemy. Then, again, Mandarin Seu, one of the highest officials of the Empire, whom the Jesuits, through his pious daughter, Kandide, who had been baptised by them, and solemnly proclaimed to be a saint, had got completely into their power, counselled the Emperor to solicit the pious Fathers to obtain the assistance of Portuguese officers and, in particular, artillerists, in order that, from their superior attainments in the art of war, the enemy might be driven back. The Emperor with great joy welcomed this counsel. The Jesuits, of course, most readily complied with his wishes, not, however, except under certain conditions, among which were included naturally the solemn abrogation of the Nanking decree of expulsion. The result was that after the successful defeat of the Tartars the Emperor fell completely into the hands of the Jesuits, who at the same time in this way obtained the keys of government. Full power was then again accorded to them to erect colleges in all the cities of the Empire, and also churches as well in connection with the former; and it cannot be doubted that they made the most unrestrained use of this privilege.

The incursions of the Tartars did not by any means cease with the defeat of Thien-Min, but were still renewed more than ever during the reign of the Emperor Hoai-tsong, the successor of Tien-ki. Matters, however, became still worse when Prince Li-tse-tching raised a rebellion, and with the aid of 70,000 Tartar cavalry advanced on Peking. There could not be any question of long resistance, and in despair Hoai-tsong along with all his wives committed suicide in his Palace, whereupon Li-tse-tching took possession of the throne. But if the capital paid him homage, it did not thereupon follow, as a necessary consequence, that the whole province should do so likewise, and such infinite confusion ensued throughout the Chinese Empire that shortly no one could distinguish between a cook and a butler. Deep was the misery that reigned among all the friends of the fatherland, and still more dire were the necessities of the people. The Jesuits, however, on the other hand, rubbed

their hands with joy, well knowing how to fish in troubled waters, and to each of the different pretenders who were striving with each other for the mastery they promised mountains of gold in return for certain advantages. The two Fathers, Cofler and Schall, made themselves more particularly conspicuous in this respect, and it is really worth while to look a little more closely into their conduct, whilst both of them—not on their own account, it is true, but by the order of their General in Rome, who held all the threads of the machinery—operated in entirely opposite camps. Thus, while Tum-Lie, a grandson of the Emperor Van-Lie, allowed himself to be proclaimed Emperor in the province of Chan Sy, Father Cofler at once attached himself to his side, bringing along with him Doctor Lucca, a good engineer officer, and, still better, Jesuit, besides several other Fathers among whom was Martin Boym. Moreover, besides those mentioned were several lay Portuguese, all of them being officers, who were sent to him by the Governor of Macao, to be attached to his suite, so that, consequently, he could make an appearance with some ostentation. Cofler thus acting, Tum-Lie was thereby soon brought to the conviction that it would now be no difficult matter, while the Christians had ranged themselves on his side, to bring the whole of China under subjection. Here was, then, already an influential party, and Cofler promised their unanimous support as soon as the Prince had been himself baptised, along with his wives and children. The latter considered a little, as he did not quite know at this time whether he might not, by so acting, give too much offence to the great mass of the Chinese people; but, in the meantime, as news came of the defeat of his forces by the enemy, he consented to allow his wives and children at least to be publicly baptised, though he himself did not "outwardly" recognise Christianity. In return for this concession, it was agreed that Peter Cofler should create a Christian army, under the command of Lucca. Both of these events took place, that is, the baptism and the commencement of the assembling together by Lucca of a small army. The two spouses of Tum-Lie received the names of Helena and Anna; these, first of all, were immediately required to send to the Pope Alexander VII., through Pater Michael Boym, autograph letters, dated 4th December 1650, wherein they assured the Holy Father, the representative of Christ upon

earth, that the whole of China had subjected itself to him with the most profound devotion.* The heir to the throne, however, Tum-Tym, was christened "Constantine," and Cofler drew up his horoscope in the following words: "The child born at midnight, like the Son of God, shall be fortunate in everything, and resemble a sun which will overspread all China with good fortune." Considering all this, then, one would have naturally been inclined now to come to the conviction that the Jesuits had thoroughly sided with the pretender Tum-Lie, and had collectively worked to procure for him the victory over all his opponents for the throne. It was not so, however, for they played quite the same kind of game, besides, with another of the pretenders; seeing that, without doubt, one or other of these must eventually succeed in carrying off the palm. To wit, then, after that Li-tse-tching had seized upon Peking, Osan-Quei, a brother of the deceased Emperor, collecting in Mantchuria a large army by means of the treasure which he had brought along with him, placed himself at the head thereof, and, entering China, laid siege at once to Peking, and compelled Li-tse-tching to abdicate the throne.

He, however, immediately after this, died, and bequeathed the inheritance to his only son, Schun-tchin, who forthwith armed himself with his whole power in order to subjugate also the remaining provinces of China, and put an end thereby to all other pretenders to the throne. He was known to be a brave commander, and as he could place confidence in his well-exercised army, he did not allow himself to doubt for a moment that the result of the coming struggle would turn out anything else than favourable for him. Nevertheless, while he, like so many brave warriors before and after him, was wedded to belief in the influence of the stars, before commencing operations he determined to consult them and ascertain what was to be his fate. He therefore ordered Adam Schall, the Jesuit who at that time held the position of astronomer to the Peking College, to consult the heavens nightly. Schall, like another Seui, did what was demanded of him, and foretold to the valiant Schun-tchin

* This document also, to which the Jesuits attach not a little importance, as it was a proof of the high estimation in which they were held at the Court, can be read *in extenso* in Du Halde's *Description de la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 301.

that he would not only obtain a most glorious victory, but that he should also secure for himself and his posterity easy possession of the whole celestial empire. Schun-tchin now advanced with his army, conquering one province after another, and ended by overthrowing Tum-Lie. He took him prisoner, indeed, along with his whole family, and caused all the members thereof, including his firstborn, Tam-Tym, to whom Andreas Xavier Cofler had predicted such a glorious future, to be miserably strangled. Nothing, however, happened to the Jesuits who had been hitherto working at the Court of the conquered one, as they came over in a body, by order of Schall, into the camp of the conqueror, he having all this time the patent of Vicar-General of the China Mission in his pocket, given to him by the General of the Order. It turned out, then, that the Jesuits had been working at the same time in each of the two hostile camps, and, no doubt, had the goddess of fortune shown herself favourable to Tum-Lie, they would likewise have come over just the same to him. They now, however, extolled immensely the mighty Schun-tchin, and he proved himself to be so gracious to them that, at the time of his death, in 1661, although not more than eighty years from the advent of Ricci in the country, they possessed no fewer than thirty-eight colleges and residences, along with 151 churches. Moreover, Pater Adam Schall carried matters to such an extreme extent that his most gracious monarch actually bestowed upon him the dignity of a mandarin of the first rank, nominating him also, at the same time, supreme head of the European Bonzes and president of the Tribunal of Mathematics of the Celestial Empire. This was one of the highest and most influential positions in China, and Adam Schall was no longer to be seen in public unless attired in the richest stuffs, covered all over with precious stones, sitting in a palankin borne by twelve slaves, and escorted by a squadron of his own body-guard, being protected from the rays of the sun by an enormous umbrella, under which he was continually fanned by numerous attendants, and regarded with the utmost respect by crowds of people, who made way for him obsequiously in order to escape being driven aside by blows from bamboo staves. Moreover, the great Emperor, besides loading him with riches, presented him with a large palace in the immediate neighbourhood of his residence, and on more than twenty occasions visited

him personally, whilst it is well known that in China the etiquette is for the sovereign never to cross the threshold of a subject. To put a crown upon the matter, indeed, he gave him permission to address the throne directly on all matters, whereas, in the instance of all other Crown and Court officials, it had to be approached only through the Tribunal of Petitions; and, lastly, he entrusted to him the education of his firstborn son and successor!

Such was the magnificent position accorded to the Jesuit Adam Schall at the Court of Peking, and no less splendid was the position of the successor to his post, given after his death by the General of the Order to the venerable Pater Verbiest, who was also a grand mandarin and president of the Tribunal of Mathematics, and who obtained, moreover, the title of Ma-Fa, stepping along, not as an humble preacher of the Christian faith, but as a grand dignitary of the great Chinese empire. What was, then, in those glorious days, done in respect to the colleges which the Jesuits conducted? Much, as regards mathematical instruments, pianos, watches, astronomical tables, and all such studies, but, as regards the progress of the Christian religion, nothing at all. They turned out, it is true, a number of architects, painters, geographers, musicians, astronomers, mathematicians, mechanics, physicians, and even diplomatists.* But as for Christian theologians and preachers, none were produced. Verily, a cannon-foundry was erected by the worthy Fathers, under the supervision of the venerable Verbiest, close to the Peking college, and the guns made there proved to be much more perfect than those manufactured by the Chinese. Nothing was heard or understood, however, about what the Fathers did as regarded the diffusion of the spirit of God among the Chinese people.

II.—The Jesuit Mission in Africa.

We have above seen how greatly extended had become the Jesuit missions in Asia; so much so, indeed, that it was hardly possible to comprehend all within anything like a narrow compass. Entirely different, however, was this the case as to the Jesuit mission in Africa, which was limited to a single locality and to a comparatively very short space of time.

* The Jesuits were also employed by the Emperor Kang-hi (the same as had been educated by Schall) especially in the latter capacity, as it was they who, in the year 1689, concluded treaties with Russia, regulating the boundaries between Siberia and Mantchuria.

When embarking on the Nile in Egypt, with the view of proceeding to the frontier, as soon as the latter is passed, one reaches Nubia, which has now become a province of Egypt; but on proceeding still further south, there are extensive highlands, which reach out between the great plain of Kordofan and the Red Sea, whose waters separate them from the peninsula of Arabia. This region figures in geographical works under the names of Abyssinia (or Habesch) and Ethiopia.

These fertile lands, in which are the sources of the great neighbouring river Nile, as well as other fine streams, and in which the fruits of the south flourish along with those of more temperate regions, formed, at one time, during the 1st century of our era, a mighty kingdom, called Azumitia, after its great capital Azum, while Byzantine authors inform us, respecting the same, that its rulers had extended their conquests as far as Yemen and Saba in Arabia, and on its frontiers, more especially, had shattered the power of both Romans and Parthians. At the time these events took place, the heathen religion was there naturally prevalent, and we read, for instance, that the valiant King Aizanes, who reigned at the commencement of the 4th century, after having gained a glorious victory, erected, in the year 333, some statues in honour of Aries and Mars. Immediately after this, however, about the year 340, two wandering missionaries, named Frumentius and Adesius, afterwards designated the Apostles of Ethiopia, coming from the direction of Egypt, began to preach the doctrines of Christianity, and, as King Aizanes himself was one of the first to be baptised, their doctrines found such great favour with high and low, that in less than ten years' time two-thirds of all the heathen temples were converted into Christian churches. In addition to which, numbers of cloisters and hermitages were established, as a matter of course, after the pattern of the Egyptian ones, as Egypt supplied hundreds of secular priests who were required for the performance of divine worship, and, as may well be supposed, the entire ritual was no other than that customary in the mother country. In order, however, to put a seal upon the whole affair, the Patriarch of Alexandria consecrated the missionary Frumentius to be the first bishop of the newly-converted country, and, from that time forth, it became the privilege of the Patriarch to nominate the "Abuna" as the

primate bishop was designated. It was thus that Ethiopia became the most remote bulwark of Christianity in Africa, and many attempts were then made to gain a footing for this faith even in Arabia; but, the religion of Mahomet starting into existence in the 7th century, a completely different complexion was given to the whole matter. Mahomedanism, which, as is well known, made proselytes sword in hand, seized not only upon Arabia, along with all the coasts bordering upon the Red Sea, comprehending therein the territory of the Kings of Azum, but also subjected Egypt up to the frontiers of Nubia, thereby rendering Abyssinia, as it were, a Christian oasis in the midst of countries now become Mahomedan. Not contented, indeed, with this, the Khalifs (Mahomet's successors) sought to penetrate into Abyssinia itself, and not merely weakened it much by successive aggressive raids, but continued their efforts until they had gained over to Islam a portion of the population. What was still worse, they gradually excluded the country, both by sea and land, from all intercourse with other nations in such a way as to draw a cordon round it; so isolated, indeed, did it thus become that for centuries nothing was heard of it in Europe. It was not till the Middle Ages that a tradition sprang up regarding the lost Christian monarchy, when much was talked of respecting a certain "Priester John" who governed this kingdom, and who was said to be the lineal descendant of King Solomon. Still no one could give any very distinct information about the matter, and many thought it to be a myth and an idle dream, until the end of the year 1483, when an Abyssinian made his appearance at the Council of Florence, giving himself out to be an ambassador from the ruler of that country, Za Yacub by name. He disappeared again, however, immediately after it was brought to a close, and then no more was again heard of the kingdom than previously. As the Portuguese, in one of their expeditions to the east coast of Africa, in the year 1484, learned, through an embassy to the negro State of Benin, that, twenty months' journey beyond the latter, a powerful king of the name of Za-Ogano reigned, and as they, with reason, thought that this Christian kingdom could be no other than that of the mythical "Preste Jono," they fitted out an expedition at once, under the supreme command of Pero de Covilha, which should proceed through Egypt and the Red

Sea to the east coast of Africa. Covilha accomplished his commission in the most brilliant manner, and after a three years' search, found that for which he was instructed to look, namely, the Christian State of Habesch, in the midst of a surrounding partly heathenish and partly Mahomedan. The great problem was at last solved, and the reward of the Portuguese was that they obtained permission from the ruler of the State mentioned, the Negus Za-Densal ("Negus" is in Abyssinia the equivalent of "King") to trade at their pleasure, and to found therein commercial establishments; for which privilege they were, however, required to give effectual assistance against the Mahomedans, who made their incursions even as far as from Aden, as also, later on, against the Gallas, a wild tribe of people who had their home south of Abyssinia.

So far, all was right between them, and the two nationalities agreed very well together, especially after becoming known to each other, partly through the aid of interpreters, and partly by conversing through the medium of their respective languages.

The Pope of Rome now made a discovery which might suddenly have the effect of interrupting at once the continuance of a lasting good understanding. And in what did this discovery, indeed, consist? Simply in this, that the Abyssinians proved themselves to be no true Roman Catholic Christians, but, on the other hand, heretics of the class of so-called Monophysites. so they must at once be converted to the only true Catholic Church. The Pope was right to a certain extent from his own stand-point, that is, that the Abyssinians adhered to the same faith as the Christians in Egypt (the so-called Kopts), contending that in Christ were united two natures in one person, the human and divine without admixture, transmutation, or separation. Besides which, they deviated also in some other respects from the practice of the Latin or Roman Catholic ritual, as for instance in that of baptism, which was always preceded with them by circumcision; as also in the observance of the Sabbath, and in that of fasting, which they extended always to sunset, while the Romish Christians abstained from food only up to mid-day. But the principal difficulty did not consist, by any means, merely in these two externals, which signified next

to nothing as regards the Oriental Christian ritual, but in this, that the Abyssinian clergy did not look upon the Pope of Rome as their supreme Church authority, preferring rather the Patriarch of Alexandria, and they could not be prevailed upon to yield on this point, in spite of all Roman argument. This was clearly nothing but open heresy, and must be opposed with the greatest energy. But whom should the Popes nominate as executors of their will and pleasure? No other, of course, than the Order of the Jesuits, which had already taken upon itself the task of contending with heresy all over the world, and in re-establishing the Papal supremacy everywhere. And had not the sons of Loyola already given proof of their zeal and energy in Japan and China? What were they not capable of doing, and if *they* could not bring about the Romanising of the Abyssinians, no one else, assuredly, would be likely to succeed in so doing. What now took place can well be imagined, and I will just allude to it in a very few words.

The Jesuits first of all, as usual, sought to establish themselves in the country by means of founding colleges, in which they succeeded with the assistance of their friends the Portuguese, in whose ships they reached Abyssinia. They then directed their attention to the great men of the kingdom, in order to bring them over to their views, and with this object left untried no means, including flattery and even bribery, to mould them to their wishes. At length, after ten years of undermining and agitation, it fell to the lot of Father Paez, who gave promise of becoming another Ricci, to succeed in bringing over to his side, at the end of the 16th century, Socinius, successor to the throne, and the same made a vow, in his spiritual weakness, as soon as he should succeed to power, to do his utmost that the "unity of the Church" might be re-established; this was the bait of which the Jesuits made use. In fact, he kept his word; and, in the year 1603, as soon as he became King, he immediately, along with his whole family, abjured the previous heresy of Monophysism, at the same time making a solemn declaration that he would henceforth recognise the Pope alone as Spiritual Lord of the Kingdom. As may be easily imagined, his example was at once followed by a number of the courtiers; and, as the favour of the ruler must, as a matter of course, have been renounced by all those who adhered to the old faith, most of

the provincial governors also, after a short time, espoused the side of the Jesuits. It seemed, in fact, to be a settled affair that the latter had gained the victory, and thus it was represented to Pope Gregory XV., who was induced thereby to nominate one of their number, Alfonso Mendez, under the title of Patriarch of Abyssinia, to be supreme bishop of the country, with all proper dictatorial power in matters of faith; while, at the same time, the weak-minded Negus Socinius was induced to declare himself ready to carry out, with his wordly weapons and despotic power, all that was required by the Latin Patriarch. There now commenced, as may be well imagined, a cruel time for the hitherto happy land of Abyssinia—a period of such frightful strife, persecution, and affliction, that the pen almost refuses to describe the inhuman cruelties which were enforced by the Jesuits against the refractory believers in the old faith; but it was just this very blood-thirsty barbarity and torture for conscience' sake, this inexorable passion with which the cause of Rome was prosecuted, that snatched the victory from the sons of Loyola. Abyssinia, for example, contained a very numerous body of clergy, consisting of "kasis," or parsons, "debteraten," or deacons, "komosaten," or prelates, besides, lastly, an "Abuna," or metropolitan bishop, of whom I have already made mention; there were, moreover, of monks and nuns almost more than enough in number; all of these priests and cowl-wearers, however, clung with invincible tenacity to their rites and customs which they had for centuries observed, and would especially have nothing whatever to do with the Pope of Rome, who wished to be dominant over all bishops and patriarchs in the world. The Jesuits could not thus conceal from themselves that the innovations which they desired to introduce would raise up against them many adversaries, the number of such being all the greater in that the Abyssinian priests exercised great influence over the minds of the people, and especially held unlimited power over the wills of their confessants belonging to the lower orders; they could not well help seeing that it could only be by a slow process of undermining religious convictions, patiently continued for many years, that anything of consequence could be effected; the alternative was that a whole race of people could be coerced by force. They determined, then, in their impetuosity and

arrogance, to adopt the latter course, and thought that they would be able to attain their end with the rabble as readily as they had already done with the Indians and Japanese. They, therefore, incited the King to issue orders to his governors to proceed against the refractory priests with the greatest severity. But, behold! now it soon became apparent that the Abyssinians were not going to show themselves so effeminate as tamely to submit, with humble submission, to an order from superior authority, like mindless slaves and degraded creatures. Such was not the case; on the contrary, led by their priests, they declared in thousands, by vigorous petitions to the throne, that they would not yield, and that they were, moreover, prepared to live or die for their faith.

What did it now signify, if the King's officials, at the desire of the Jesuits, sought to overcome this opposition of the people by means of cudgelling and sword-cuts? What did it matter now that some of the governors, and among them one especially, called Zela, and bearing the nickname of Christ, distinguished himself by consigning to the gallows all those priests who preferred that alternative to conversion? The people rose in rebellion, the storm broke loose, and the agitation became so universal, that, in order that all might not be lost, King Socinius was compelled to abdicate in favour of his son Facilidas, who, at once turning completely round, reverted to the old religion, and drove the Portuguese, along with the Jesuits, entirely out of the country. He caused, indeed, some of the Fathers, who endeavoured to raise a counter revolution, to be publicly executed, and promulgated a decree, by which all the Black Cloaks were prohibited for the future from crossing the frontiers, under pain of death.

Thus terminated the short domination of the Jesuits in Habesch, and by the energetic action of Negus Facilidas these were so completely cured of their rage for conversion in this part of the world, that they never again made any further attempt; neither did they even so much as think of trying to settle in any other places in Africa, but, on the contrary, at once renounced all idea of attempting to form any other permanent settlements, as well in Egypt, among the headstrong and obstinate Kopts, as on the Congo among the half-savage blacks, probably because in their opinion the field did not give promise of any productive harvest

Thus vanished in the African sands every trace of the Jesuits, and if, later on, agents of the Society did from time to time occasionally make their appearance in the Portuguese settlements on the west coast of Africa, they did not come there to preach the Christian doctrine, or to make any permanent settlement, but merely to purchase cargoes of blacks, and to ship them off as slaves to their colonies in America.

III.—The Jesuit Missions in America.

With the Portuguese the Jesuits came into Asia, with the same people they also came into Africa, and still again the Jesuits came with them into America. In the last-mentioned quarter of the globe that nation already possessed an enormous extent of territory, which is now known under the name of Brazil, and in the year 1549 King John III. of Portugal sent a fleet of ships containing a number of emigrants, who founded the city of San Salvador, in the Gulf of Bahia, on the east coast of Central America.

As the missionary work of Francis Xavier had been so extraordinarily successful among the populations of Asia, who had thus been converted into good subjects of the King, he requested Loyola, the Jesuit General in Rome, to supply him with some missionaries for America also, in the hope that the long-cloaked Fathers might get on as well with the inhabitants of the West Indies as they had done with those of the East Indies; and Loyola at first sight recognising the importance of this mission, at once consigned to him six members of his Order. Those six, among whom was Emanuel Rodrega, who, by his untiring energy, as well as by his superior sagacity, was highly esteemed by Jesuit historians, and not without reason, at once built a house for themselves at San Salvador—that is to say, a residence—and thence commenced their efforts, in order to see what could be effected with the natives in the interior of the country. It soon was apparent, however, that the latter manifested a very different disposition from the degraded and enervated Hindoos, and under the oppressions and tortures inflicted on them by the Europeans they, if possible, became still more savage and cruel than they had previously been. The Jesuit Fathers, therefore, were not received with anything like a good

welcome, and could not in consequence do much with them—at all events at first, as they were not yet at all acquainted with the language of the Indians, as the natives of America were commonly called. They lived, moreover, in constant fear of being murdered by the savages, who, being cannibals, entertained an irresistible longing for the taste of human flesh. They had so much to endure, besides, from oppression during their wanderings, that it was indeed surprising that any of them escaped, under the circumstances, in their zealous efforts. Nevertheless they soon found their exertions crowned with a certain amount of success, as the Indians allowed all the unfortunates who were condemned to be eaten, and who were, for the most part, prisoners taken during their constant feuds with other tribes, to be baptised previous to their being slaughtered.* Besides this, they met with some success among the Indian females—at least, with those tribes who had pitched their camp in the neighbourhood of European settlements—and induced the same to accept of rosaries and Agnus Dei. Through the women they obtained some influence, too, over the men, and the result was that the conversion always terminated with the rite of baptism, although those baptised had not, indeed, the slightest conception of Christianity.

The Jesuits at length brought the matter so far, that most of the whites in the Portuguese settlements, as well as the half-castes, or progeny of whites and Indian women, accepted them as father confessors—the great thing, however, being that they obtained large tracts of extensive territory in the way of presents, in order to build thereon residences and colleges. This took place all over the country wherever it was at all possible, and there soon flourished in San Salvador, Pernambuco, and Rio Janeiro three magnificent and very numerously attended educational institutions.

Not long after this—less than twenty years subsequent to their first landing—the Jesuits had already overstepped the boundaries of Brazil and penetrated Peru, where in Lima, La Paz, and Cusco they also established colleges. Later on—after another

* Not infrequently, moreover, the Indians recalled the permission for the baptism of the human victims, because they entertained the prejudice that flesh lost its good flavour by the act in question. They looked upon baptism then as a description of magic, and the Jesuits were careful to avoid removing the superstition which they entertained.

twenty years—however, they possessed settlements in every part of South and Central America, wherever the banners of Portugal or Spain waved, as, for instance, in Chili, Mexico, Tukuman, and Maranham, and their agents and missionaries permeated throughout the whole of that enormous continent, which extend from the Isthmus of Panama to the Straits of Magellan, as on the other hand from Panama upwards to the Rio del Norde. They, indeed, penetrated even into Canada, and the banners of Ignatius proudly waved wherever the white flag with the three lilies protected it. When, however, that country came to be given over from the French to the English, the Jesuits had to take their departure, and fly precipitately to the south, as neither the English nor Dutch, and not even the Danes, tolerated Jesuit settlements in their American colonies.

Great, however, as was the power and possessions which the Jesuits obtained in the individual countries of America, this splendour was almost entirely eclipsed by another grand acquisition which they encompassed in this same land, where they got possession of a complete empire, over which they ruled as absolute monarchs—a dominion, indeed, even twice as large as Italy. This country was called Paraguay, and, since it has never before come to pass that a purely ecclesiastical Order has elevated itself to the position of a sovereign king, on that account it is well worth the trouble of going into the matter a little more in detail.

The Paraguay of the present day, one of the smallest free states of South America, is bounded on the west by the river Paraguay, on the east and north by Brazil, and on the south by the territory of Parana, having an extent of only 4,175 square miles. The Paraguay, however, of the 16th and 17th centuries was, on the contrary, of infinitely larger proportions, and embraced nearly all the land now included in the states of La Plata and the Banda-oriental. The same comprehends almost uninterruptedly a large continuous plain, with but a few ranges of hills of not more than a few thousand feet in height, and is watered by a number of delightful streams, especially the rivers called Paraguay and Uruguay, which discharge themselves entirely into the Parana, which, after its union with the Uruguay, assumes the name of Rio de la Plata. Its climate is semi-tropical, and on that account its soil surpasses in fertility

that of almost any other country in the world; consequently, not only do all the ordinary descriptions of fruit which are made use of for food by man thrive and prosper, but also such plants as tobacco, cotton, and sugar can be grown there with advantage. Of not less importance, but perhaps, indeed, much more so, is the condition of the animal creation therein. On the one hand, there are to be found enormous troops of all descriptions of wild animals, such as swine, stags, and different kinds of deer; while, on the other, domesticated animals, more especially horses and other cattle, abound in herds. Nothing, however, surpasses the magnificence of the forests, and the so-called Barrigudos, of no less than three fathoms in circumference, as also palm-trees of 180 feet in height, are by no means uncommonly to be met with. In short, it is indeed a wonderfully delightful country, being the only region, perhaps, which can be made available for such opposite uses, as it happens that enormous tracts, during the rainy season, disappear under water. The first discoverer of this superb territory was the Spaniard, Juan Diaz de Solis, Grand Pilot of Castile, who, in the year 1516, entered into the Rio de la Plata, and was killed by the natives. He was afterwards eaten by them within sight of his ships' crews. Three years after this, Don Martin de Sosa, Captain-General of Brazil, sent Alexis Garcia, along with four other Portuguese, all brave and powerful men, to the Rio de la Plata, in order that they might endeavour to penetrate thence into the gold and silver coasts of Peru, which, at that time, belonged to the Spaniards, and this adventurous journey was indeed effected. On the return journey, Garcia and two of his companions were massacred by the savages, and the two remaining ones alone succeeded in reaching alive the town of Bahia, or San Salvador.

The expedition of George Sedano terminated in a result quite as unfortunate. He, with sixty other Portuguese, set out likewise from Bahia for the Parana, and they also, through the treacherous cunning of the Indians, all found their graves in the same river. At last, the Emperor Charles V., in the year 1525, sent his grand pilot, Cabot, with five ships, to the river Plate, and this distinguished mariner succeeded in ascending it until he arrived at Paraguay, and, consequently, no one but him can be thanked for the first correct information concerning that

country. He took possession, also, of the whole territory of Parana, or Paraguay, for the Spanish crown, and erected, at the confluence of the Rio Ticero with the Parana, a tower known afterwards by the name of Cabot's tower. The first settlement, however, properly so called, namely, the city of Buenos Ayres, was only founded ten years later by Don Pedro de Mendoza, who, in 1530, by order of Charles V., set sail from Seville, also for the Rio de la Plata, with fourteen ships and a crew of nearly 30,000 men; and two years after this, at the confluence of the Pilco Mayo with the Parana, the city of Assumption, which is situated equi-distant from the boundaries of Peru and Brazil, was established. From this time forth began the actual appropriation of the country, as well as its gradual colonisation, by the Spaniards, and thence arose the vice-royalty of La Plata, over which, in the name of the King, ruled one of those so-called Adelantade, or Captains-General. Still, after the lapse of some time, other cities were again founded, as, for instance, in the year 1557, Ciudad Real, at the junction of the Piquiry with the Parana; and in 1570, Santa Fé, on the Rio de Salado; thus one must not keep out of sight that all these settlements lay on the great rivers of the country, while, on the contrary, not a single colony was established on the mainland; consequently, they were considerably apart from the several commercial arteries which served instead of roads. On the other hand, the said mainland continued to be quite uncolonised, completely unconquered, and thus thoroughly unknown to the Spaniards, who, in the provinces subdued by them, only troubled themselves about the search for gold and silver, and had no desire to know anything concerning agriculture and the breeding of cattle, or, indeed, industry and trade, proving themselves here, as throughout the whole of America, to have but a bad talent for colonisation. Everyone of them who embarked for America desired only to live like a nobleman, regarding it as derogatory to engage himself in labour of the very slightest kind! Under such circumstances, the Captains-General must, very shortly, have come to the conclusion that the provinces entrusted to them could never attain to any degree of development, or arrive at any prosperity or order, unless the natives of the country, the indigenous Indians, could be induced to become efficient citizens. These, indeed, formed by far the greater majority of the popu

lation, and from them could alone be obtained the labour which was wanted most imperatively. How, then, was this desirable object to be accomplished? The answer to this was simply by making Christians of them, as along with the Christian religion they would involuntarily also acquire, at the same time, Christian manners, Christian culture, and a Christian mode of living. Charles V. had not at the time sufficiently impressed upon the Captains-General whom he had sent out to La Plata, that the ecclesiastics and monks taken with them were intended for the conversion of the native Indians; neither did Philip II. see to this. The Captains-General, too, were in this respect very remiss in their duty as to the orders they gave. They brought out to Paraguay, it is true, several Franciscan monks, among whom Francis Solano and Ludwig de Bolanjos were notably distinguished. Moreover, to the province of Paraguay was given a bishop, in the person of John de Barras, also a Franciscan monk, and the city of Assumption was raised to be his See, into which he himself made a solemn entry in the year 1554. He had, however, no great desire to prosecute with vigour the introduction of Christianity, for two equally weighty reasons. In the first place, on account of the behaviour of the Spaniards, which displayed the strongest contrast to the teaching of mildness and benevolence indoctrinated by the gospel, as it is notorious with what unmerciful severity and cruelty the proud and insatiable conquerors treated the poor oppressed natives; and, in the second place, there was no desire on the part of the latter to embrace the religion acknowledged by their tormentors, as, on the contrary, they disliked this religion as much as the Spaniards hated them, and if, here and there, in order to escape oppression, they allowed themselves to be baptised, they immediately, as soon as a favourable opportunity presented itself, reverted to their original faith. Then, again, there was a complete dearth of priests, and there existed whole districts where there was not a single member of the fraternity to be seen, no one to baptise and marry, no one to instruct the young, no one to tender extreme unction to the dying on their way to eternity; should, however, an isolated spot happen to be so fortunate as to possess one or, at most, two ecclesiastics, they were practically of no avail among this vast extent of territory; and on account of this want of power, but much more even from the

circumstance that few were acquainted with the language of the Indians, it became evident that all attempts to convert the unbelievers must be abandoned. And whence arose this great want? Simply from this, that Paraguay was still completely devoid of civilisation, and, lying as it did beyond the sphere of traffic in the commercial world, it could offer no powers of attraction to the Catholic priesthood, accustomed to enjoyment of every description; and on this account it was that even the begging monks of the lowest grade looked upon this distant land as a kind of penal exile, having as yet but the attributes of a wilderness, with which no one could have any desire to become acquainted.

During seventy years, therefore, the conversion and civilisation of the Indians made but little progress in Paraguay, that is to say, up to the year 1586. It then occurred to Don Franciscus de Victoria, the newly-appointed bishop of the Province Tukuman, adjoining Chili, in the whole of whose extensive diocese there did not exist even a couple of dozen priests, whether it would not be well to crave assistance for them from the Society of Jesus. The want, indeed, must have been very urgent, otherwise Don Franciscus, who belonged himself to the Order of the Dominicans, would not certainly have entertained any such idea. Be this as it may, it pleased the first bishop of Tukuman to call in the aid of the Jesuits, for the reason that, by this time, good service had been done by them in the neighbouring states of Brazil and Peru, in the way of conversion; he at once, then, in the year 1586, wrote to the Provincials of both of the above-named states, the Fathers Anchieta and Atiensa, who, indeed, at once complied with his wishes and immediately sent him, to begin with, eight members of the Order; promising, at the same time, that more would follow if they were needed.* This was, indeed, hardly required, as they were no ordinary Fathers, skilled merely in the dispensing of the sacraments and the singing of masses, but persons who likewise understood something of what

* As a matter of curiosity I will here give the names of these eight Jesuits. They were called Franciscus Angulo, Alphonso Barsana, Juan Villegas, Emanuel de Ortega, Stephan Grao (properly Grau, who was a German), Juan Salonio, Thomas Field (a Scotchman), and Paulo Arminio. All of these were Fathers, and, consequently, for this reason were authorised to conduct all kinds of divine service. Father Arminio, however, acted as the superior or head of them all.

monks, intended to act as missionaries, had not hitherto studied, namely, the language of the natives, concerning which much zealous attention had been bestowed in all of the Jesuit colleges of Brazil and Peru; and, consequently, they could come to a good understanding with the natives from the commencement. This was the foundation of the Jesuit settlement in this part of America, a very modest and innocent beginning, as one sees; but after a few years both modesty and innocence were lost, and an entirely different condition of affairs came into play. From the town of Tukuman and its provinces, the Fathers visited the remaining cities of the country one after the other, especially Cordua and Assumption, along with the extensive province of Guayra, which latter was selected as the sphere of duty for Fathers Ortega and Fields, who were more especially versed in the Guayraian language, and who the longer they regarded the territory the more they were pleased with it. They tried, above everything, to make themselves at home in their settlement, exactly the same as they had done in India, Japan, and China; it still required, however, fully three years before they obtained their first possession, then, indeed, but a very modest one, so much so, that it might almost be called mean, as it consisted merely of a small dwelling-house, with an equally small chapel, in the small town of Villarica. From this time forward progress, as may be said, went on at a galloping pace, and, in accordance with the idea originally entertained, a large number of new members were sent to their assistance from Peru and Brazil, and among them several Fathers of distinction; as for instance, Romero, Caspar de Monroy, Juan Viana, and Marcel Lorenzana; so that, after the lapse of two years, as may be supposed, they were able to found a college. This took place in the year 1593, in the city of Assumption, the capital of Paraguay; and the Spanish inhabitants of it, including the Governor and principal nobility, taxed themselves to such a considerable extent, that they were enabled to erect quite a beautiful building adjoining the church. In the year 1599, this building was followed by the erection of a mission-house in Cordua, with a magnificent cathedral; and there was every appearance that very shortly similar establishments might also be founded in Santa Fe, as well as in other towns. This, however, did not prove to be the case, as in the year 1602 the whole tenure of the Jesuits in

Paraguay assumed a totally new aspect. Up to this time they had worked as true missionaries; and, indeed, as we have seen, they had, acquired here and there landed property, and even built a college, or a mission-house, whilst they were at the same time occupied in travelling about from one district to another, and from one tribe to another, in order to proclaim everywhere the cross of Christ. This constant journeying backwards and forwards, however, owing to the great distances at which the settlements lay from one another, gave rise to great difficulties. Moreover, they could not reckon that the Indians, as soon as the missionaries had turned their backs, would not revert to their heathenish practices; consequently, it appeared evident to them that, if any permanent impression was to be made among the natives, it would be necessary to give up this system of travelling about, and take up a permanent abode among them. This was one discovery which, up to this date, had been made. A second consisted in this, that the Jesuits by this time had become aware exactly how the enormous territory that went under the name of Paraguay was situated, while this still remained a secret to the Spaniards in general, beyond the couple of towns and their immediate neighbourhood lying on the great rivers. The latter, for instance, had not gone further into the country than up to the first waterfall, and they continued to be in great ignorance respecting the vast territory which lay between the Uruguay and the Parana, as well as between the latter and the Paraguay river; they had not taken the least trouble to become acquainted with the different tribes inhabiting these reigons, or to gain their friendship; but their whole plans had consisted in laying the severest possible yoke upon all such nations as they had been able to subjugate, and to keep them on their plantations, or "commands," as these were designated in Paraguay, at the most slavish work. All this, and indeed much more, was known to the Jesuits operating in Paraguay, only too well, and they, of course, made an accurate report of the true state of matters to their General in Rome. And who was he but the same Claudius Aquaviva? a man endowed with extraordinary mental capacity, and, at the same time, most actively energetic; who at once devised a mode by which the greatest portion of Paraguay should fall completely into the hands of the Society of Jesus, beyond all interference from any secular

power. This plan was arranged with the most infinite skill and cunning, and the carrying out of it was entrusted to a no less skilful individual than the Father Stephan Paez, whom Aquaviva had despatched to Paraguay as visitor of all the houses of the Order in the new world. This same Father arrived, in the year 1602, in the town of Salta, and at once ordered all the professed Jesuits to appear before him. He then took each one of them separately to task, and questioned him in regard to all details most particularly, in order that everything essential appertaining to the future organisation of the Order in Paraguay might be extracted; lastly, assembling all those present, he made a long speech to them, communicating to them the orders of their General. These were to the effect, as already indicated, that a proper and distinct Christian State must be constituted in Paraguay, over which the Jesuit General in Rome should rule as absolute monarch, and, in order to carry out this comprehensive idea, the work each one had to do was assigned to him. From this time forth each step taken by the Jesuits in Paraguay was most carefully considered, and when progress was but slow, and often effected by very roundabout ways, the great aim and object to be attained was never lost sight of. Above everything it was of consequence to conciliate the natives, and the Jesuit missionaries began unanimously and most zealously by severely censuring the frightful oppression under which the Indians groaned. "The commands, upon which the poor redskins work as slaves, are an abomination in the sight of God," cried they, "and a complete extermination of the population must follow if the present system continue." Such and similar expressions aroused the hatred of the Spaniards not a little, and the Jesuit Fathers had, in consequence, during the next two years, to undergo much injustice. They were, indeed, regularly driven out of several of the towns, such as Cordova and San Iago, but they won over all the more retainers among the redskins, and they thus succeeded in converting and making friends of a not inconsiderable portion of the great nation of Guayranas, that is, of the inhabitants of Guayra. Previous to the Spanish conquest, the tribe of Tubinambas Indians was by far the most powerful in Paraguay, being distinguished at the same time for its peculiar ferocity; to them, indeed, may be ascribed the cruelties to which the intruding

whites were subjected. They, the Tubinambas, slaughtered their prisoners; they looked upon human flesh as the most delicious of food under the sun, and they offered resistance to the death against the God of the Christians. As they came to be aware, from many years of warfare, that the weapons of the white men were too much for them, they arrived at the bold resolution of turning their backs on their fatherland, and, at once carrying this resolution into effect, withdrew far away into the wilds of the primeval forests, up to the broad valley of the Marranon, or Amazon river, to a region so distant that they hoped the pale faces would never venture to penetrate there.

The vast plains of Paraguay, Parana, and Uruguay, thus remained abandoned to the other tribes, which had hitherto been in some measure dependent on the Tubinambas, to wit, the Apiatas and Cahivas, the Calchaquis and Lulles, the Frontones and Omacuguakas, as well as, before all of them, the Guayranas, who were more numerous than all the others put together. The latter fact must have directed the attention of the Jesuit missionaries to those in particular, and, furthermore, they had the least wild character of the various tribes of redskins in Paraguay. On the one hand, it was found that they were not shut out from some kind of civilisation, as they lived in villages ruled over by hereditary Kaziken, or heads of clans, and existed almost entirely upon corn and maize, which they planted, while the other tribes led a nomadic life, and shifted about from place to place, regarding the chase as the only employment worthy of man's consideration. On the other hand, there lay upon them the reproach of want of warlike spirit, as well as deficiency in energy, and they tamely submitted, although filled in their inmost soul with the most intense hatred, as all over the Spanish commands they were made use of by the whites as nothing else than beasts of burden, and treated accordingly. Moreover, the number of the tribe who lived in Spanish territories was but small in comparison with the vast multitude of those who inhabited the interior, and who, as I have already mentioned, remained quite unknown to the Spaniards, and it may be affirmed with certainty that fully nine-tenths of the Guayranas had not as yet felt the burden of oppression; but the anxiety caused by the prospect before them of soon being also subjected to this yoke, induced

them to be all the more favourable towards the preaching of the Jesuits against Spanish tyranny.

Such was the state of matters at this time in regard to the Guayranas in Paraguay, when the Jesuits came to the determination of creating a government of their own, and it will consequently not astonish anyone as to how they succeeded in procuring an entrance for Christianity. Having thus so far proceeded, they adopted the following plan of operation; in the districts into which, up to this time, the Spaniards had not penetrated, they induced those who were scattered about in small villages to unite into large communities, which were called Bourgaden or Reductions, that is to say, communities that had been reduced into the Christian faith, and to each of these Reductions were assigned two spiritual shepherds, of whom one, a professed member of long standing in the Order, bore the title of pastor, or spiritual guide; the other, in most instances a younger associate who had just arrived from Europe, being designated vicar.

This was the arrangement, as we shall soon see, as to the foundation of their Christian Republic, or, if one would rather term it, of their theocratic State; and this had such an innocent appearance that, at the commencement at least, it did not meet with any great opposition, either from the side of the Spaniards or that of the Guayranas. The sons of Loyola represented to the Indians that the several small communities which lay scattered about, many miles apart, were but ill-suited for protecting themselves against the attacks of the Spaniards; while if, on the other hand, they were collected together into Bourgaden, or townships, of 8,000 or 10,000 souls, they might readily keep off with ease the marauding white adventurers, and this naturally became clear to the understandings of the redskins. They had, further, no reason to object to the "spiritual shepherds," as they were in this way relieved from the supervision of the Kaziken and superiors under the title of Corregidors, or Alcaldes, and handed over to that of the spiritual guides. In other words, the Indians were enabled to select for themselves their own secular magistracy, as previously, and the Jesuits merely affixed the stipulation that in all the punishments awarded by them, or in all weighty and important decisions, they must first of all obtain the sanction of the said spiritual shepherds. And was this too much to require?

Ah! truly the good Padres treated them in such a fatherly and remarkably kind manner, that they therefore ought to be allowed the right of a father over his children. In addition to this, the Jesuits with perfect honesty represented the state of affairs to their great patron and friend Philip III., the King of Spain, that is to say, they explained to him and his high council for India, in several communications, that the chief obstacle to the speedy and permanent extension of Christianity in Paraguay and La Plata, arose entirely from the recently-arrived Spaniards being, without hardly a single exception, a set of haughty, arrogant, cruel, avaricious, blasphemous, and thoroughly dissolute men, whence it happened that the natives could not do otherwise than entertain a disgust to Christianity itself, on account of the conduct of these bad Christians. Moreover, the Indians were maltreated in such a shameful manner by the royal governors and officials that, on that account, a thorough hatred had sprung up among them against everything of Spanish origin. For this reason, if it was desired that these poor creatures should be received into the bosom of the Church, they should be equally protected from the tyranny of the Governor and the bad example of the Spaniards, and these two desiderata could only be accomplished by the Jesuits being permitted to carry out the long-considered plan for the creation in Paraguay of a Christian Republic.

"In this said Christian Republic, no secular Governor may be allowed to have any control; but, on the other hand, the Indians belonging thereto should, among themselves in community, be allowed to lead a quiet harmonious life, under the Jesuits, after the manner of the early Christians, so that a veritable paradisiacal state of innocency might be established; but, in order that no injury might thereby be occasioned to the King's power, all members of the Christian Republic were bound to recognise him as their supreme lord and master, and every adult must pay to him the tribute of one dollar."

Such was the upright scheme that the Jesuits suggested to the King, Philip III., and as they were at that time almost all-powerful at the Court of Spain, not only was this proposition accepted by that King in the year 1609, but it was also confirmed in all its particulars later on, from the year 1649 to 1663, under the reign of Philip IV., notwithstanding that any sagacious statesman

might well see how the Spanish King's authority was by this Christian Republic in Paraguay reduced to a mere sham.

But at that time the Councillors and Minister of the most Catholic court of the world were as if smitten with blindness, and it was only after the lapse of a century that the scales fell from their eyes. The first Reduction, which received the holy name of Loretto, and was situated at the confluence of the Pirape and the Parana, was founded in 1609, through the exertions of Padres Maceta and Cataldino, who united into one small community somewhere about sixty small Guayrana villages which were in existence thereabouts. Next after Loretto came the Bourgade of St. Ignatius, and subsequently a third and fourth, until at length, after the lapse of a couple of decades, their number amounted to about thirty, with a population of between nine and ten thousand inhabitants. The internal organisation of them all was the same—that is, they were governed each by a Jesuit Father, who was also supported by a vicar as his assistant, and for the purpose of espionage; this Father, again, was under the orders of a superior, who was placed over a diocese of from five to six parishes; the supervision and management of these latter, however, rested with the Provincial, residing in Assumption, who again received his orders direct from the General in Rome.

One sees, then, that the Jesuits did not in any way proceed to work without a plan, but that they were in possession of a Christian Republic as well if not better regulated than the government of any secular monarch. The Indians, too, were not badly off with this system of administration, as they were carefully educated as good citizens, and, moreover, were all accustomed to take up some regular employment. "Idleness is the root of all vices," thought the Jesuit Fathers, and upon this principle they ruled the whole of their subjects, be their age or sex what it might, and they looked to their bodily constitution almost as much as to their aptitude and talent. Agriculture and cattle-breeding naturally came first and foremost as a pursuit, and most of the adult men were thus employed in the fields; into their hands also the elder boys were confided; to the women and girls, on the other hand, a certain quantity of flax and cotton was given out, which they had to spin within a certain prescribed time. Moreover, the different trades and arts were

not neglected, and a Jesuit chronicle upon the state of affairs reports in the following words:—

"In regard to trades, we daily make further progress, and our population becomes always more and more useful. After teaching them the arts of making bricks and burning lime, we build the most beautiful churches and houses, and our carpenters and glaziers know very well how to ornament them internally. Others spin the finest yarns, and weave therefrom the most beautiful cloths and quilts. Some, again, manufacture hats, and employ themselves in shoe-making, or any other like occupation. Even in the weaving of lace they are expert, and when we require in particular fine and broad priestly albs, the women manufacture them after a certain pattern with such skill that no difference could be detected between the copy and the original. One man made an organ after an European pattern, and finished it off in so perfect a manner that I was truly amazed. Another has indited a missal so accurately, after the beautiful Antovfer edition, that the manuscript might pass for a printed copy. They manufacture trumpets, also, and all descriptions of musical instruments. They make the most perfect clocks, and watches for the pocket, and they paint them in a way that leaves nothing to be desired. In a word, they can copy anything that we desire them to do, and show themselves, also, to be equally as teachable as they are diligent as soon as we set them to any particular kind of work."*

There can, therefore, seeing all this, be no question that the Indians, under the rule of the Jesuits, were moulded into thoroughly capable and useful men; and, in regard to this, one certainly cannot withhold one's admiration from the Society of Jesus. But now comes the dark side, which, to a great extent, counterbalanced the bright side of the matter. The Indians, so far as concerns spiritual affairs, were kept in a degree of the profoundest ignorance, and their religion simply consisted in the grossest superstition, whereby the Jesuits represented themselves to be the oracles of God—this same Deity, however, being for the white Padres alone, who formed a superior class of beings; and, on that account, the Guayranas

* All this is to be found, word for word, in the *History of Paraguay*, by Franz Xaver de Charlevoix, part ii. (preface), p. 3, 4.

were obliged, under a severe penalty, to regard the so-called "superior beings," namely, the Jesuits, with the most profound respect—with such respect, indeed, that they were compelled to receive orders from them in a kneeling posture, and it was held to be a high honour to be allowed to kiss the sleeves or hem of the holy Fathers' garments. From such spiritual childhood, however, the Guayranas were never to be emancipated, and the chief means of accomplishing their thraldom was by fear and intimidation. For this reason all the churches were ornamented with holy pictures of the most extraordinary description, and with statues of truly gigantic proportions, of frightful aspect and threatening gesture. These figures, also, were furnished with movable limbs and rolling eyes, all of which filled the poor Indians with mortal terror; and such crazy *nonsense* as this was called by the Jesuits Christianity! As in this manner spiritual liberty was suppressed, even so also was political and social freedom kept under subjection. Not any one of the Jesuit subjects might for a moment think of raising himself, by his talent, energy, or industry, to a higher place in the social grade than that of his fellows, but he continued to be a mere machine in the hands of the Fathers, who assigned this or that employment to each according to their will and pleasure. Likewise, also, there existed in the Guayranian Republic no rights of property whatever, not even of the smallest description; no true communism was, therefore, by any means actually created. On the contrary, every day all the produce of agriculture and other industries was delivered into the hands of the Jesuits, to be deposited in their store-houses, and in return for this the Indians were merely provided with what was absolutely necessary for their daily sustenance. One might well say, then, that the poor subjects of the Jesuits were nothing better than slaves—and slaves, truly, in the fullest acceptation of the term; but this bondage was so uncommonly enveloped in sugar, and exercised with such a degree of fatherly benevolence, that the Guayranas, in their simplicity, desired nothing better. Almost every evening there was a lively dance to the music of a well-instructed band, played by the natives, and the severest labour in the field was at once lightened by the sound of trumpets and fifes taken along with them, whilst, on Sundays and festivals, as well in the churches as out of them, the most lively dances and plays

were the order of the day.* There was thus no lack of enjoyment, but only such kind of amusement was permitted as was calculated to leave the Indians in a state of childhood and simplicity, and none was ever allowed by which they might develop into thinking human beings. On these very grounds great care was taken never to allow any European to set his foot in any of these Jesuit Reductions, as what could more be feared than the pestilential *exposé* which might be made by any such stranger? And more especially the Spaniards were denied an entrance into these Jesuit territories, and on this account the Indians were encouraged to resist by force any attempted intrusion of such visitors, that is to say, all such were turned out of the domain by strength of arms. The Guayranas, with all alacrity, rendered implicit obedience to such appeals as were made to them of this nature, as the Jesuits had instilled the belief into their minds that the Spaniards only came there to take possession of their territories, and to exact the same statute labour from them by which so many thousands of their brethren had been destroyed, owing to over-work. To prevent effectually, however, the approach of any stranger amongst the Guayranas, the

* The Jesuit Father Charlevoix verbally states as follows in his report on this subject:—"It is an old custom in Spain that on *fête* days dances should be conducted by children. The missionaries adopted this laudable custom, and by means of it introduced a system of inducing the heathen to come into their churches. With this object I therefore selected four and twenty of those best suited to carry it out, and in this manner devoted such days to great enjoyment and general edification. At one time they performed such dances in the most approved way, at another they joined in plays of a knight-errant description, partly on horseback and partly on foot. At one time they danced upon stilts six ells in height, at another upon ropes; or they would run at a small ring with lances. On another occasion I caused them to perform small comedies, all of which, although after great trouble to myself, were driven into their thick heads and elegantly represented." Another report upon the operations of one of the Reductions runs as follows:—"After this (namely, after the inspection of the school) I go among the musicians and listen to their melodies; first to the baritones, of whom I have eight; the altos, next in order, of whom there are six; tenors, too, without number; but of basses, however, only six. After these, four trumpeters, eight horns, and four cornets perform their exercises. I then instruct the harpists, of whom there are six, and the organists, of whom four; and, lastly, the flautists, of whom only one. I now took in hand the dancers, and taught them all such dances as occur in comedies. It is of the greatest consequence to attract unbelievers in this way with things of this nature, and by the splendid ceremonies of the Church to create an internal inclination in favour of the Christian religion, on which account small booths are beautifully decorated on all festival days after vespers, and, before high mass, dances are conducted in the church where all are assembled. We also find great advantage from the official processions, just as it happened in olden days before the Venerabile, in the times when David danced before the Ark of the Covenant." (See Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 7, 8, 21, preface.)

only language which was taught in their schools was the Guayrana, and by this means the comprehension of all other tongues was nipped in the bud. Indeed, the Jesuits even went so far as to form, in every Reduction or Bourgade (borough), an armed force, consisting of cavalry as well as infantry; and by means of these troops, well armed and drilled as they were, besides being also provided with artillery, they could easily get the better of any foreign attempt at intrusion, even when made by force, without the boundaries of the Christian Republic in Paraguay. They soon, indeed, succeeded in extending even their own original domains far across the borders of the province of Guayra, so that in a short time their possessions comprehended all the countries to the right and left of Paraguay, even as far as Brazil; but no information, or, at least, very uncertain news, respecting their enormous possessions was allowed to reach Europe, as the country was, so to speak, hermetically sealed, and even the Court of Madrid, although the King was recognised by them as nominal Lord Paramount of Paraguay, was kept in ignorance of all details concerning the proceedings of the Jesuits. I say, emphatically, nominal; as never, from the year 1609 up to the middle of the 18th century, had the King exercised any kind of authority whatsoever in that Republic; and even the head-money, that the Jesuits had contracted to pay annually to the kings of Spain, came in so sparingly that it might be well supposed to have been derived from only some thirty or forty thousand subjects, instead of from at least ten times that number. Still, notwithstanding the excessive power to which the Order of Jesus attained in Southern America, and even the unbounded dominion that placed the General of the Jesuits in Rome on a par with the mightiest monarchs in the world, the reader will learn in the fourth, fifth, and sixth books of this work the principal causes which led to the downfall of this much-dreaded Society in these parts of the globe.

Thus much for the Jesuit missions in the distant regions of the world, or, rather, concerning the gigantic growth of the Society of Jesus in Asia, Africa, and America.

CHAPTER II.

THE POWERFUL INFLUENCE OF THE JESUITS IN EUROPE.

In the preceding chapter I have described in what way, by what means, and with what results the sons of Loyola contrived to spread themselves throughout Asia, Africa, and America. It was otherwise, however, in regard to their extension in Europe, as in this instance they had to deal with professing Christians, and had not to trouble themselves so much with the conversion of unbelievers. They were, at least, unable to establish their power under that insignia. On this account they at once blotted out this motto on their banner, and in its place wrote in large capital letters, Extension and Re-establishment of the True Faith, that is, of the Roman Catholic religion, with the Papacy at its head. Was not this faith, as I have shown in the first book, in so many places most profoundly shaken, and was there not immediate danger of the great Pontiff himself being soon bodily hurled from the almighty throne upon which he had previously sat, and ousted from his hitherto most faithful provinces? In what manner, then, and by what means, did the Jesuits now succeed in their object under the motto that they displayed intended for Europe? It was everywhere, indeed, by the same means and in the same way, namely, by the establishment of educational institutions, by seizure of the confessional stools of kings, by fighting with heresy, by the incorporation of the most powerful forces into their Order, as also by their fanatical influence on the great mass of the people. As regards the

founding of educational institutions, their method of procedure was as follows: They entered into a town by twos and threes, not, indeed, on horseback, or in a carriage, richly and expensively attired, but, on the contrary, on foot, and without shoes and stockings, in mean clothing, and with such a miserable appearance that it was impossible to refuse to give them alms. It was thus that their exampler Ignatius had first made his appearance, and it was thus also that they presented themselves in public. They did not alight at inns, or at the houses of the rich, even when pressingly invited. No; on the contrary, they made their way to the hospital or the poor-house, considering these, the most miserable quarters, to be but too good, indeed, for them; they tended the sick, especially those whom no one else would approach on account of the contagious character of their diseases, and discharged offices of the most menial kind, as if the humility of servants became them. They, at the same time, did not delay in at once attaching to themselves some children of the poor, teaching them to read and write, as well as instructing them in the first principles of the Roman Catholic religion. For this instruction they demanded no return, not even the very slightest, knowing full well that gratuitous teaching formed the great power of attraction for the poor people to induce them to entrust their children to their care. Soon everyone throughout the whole town began to speak of them, and to sing their praises, and the number of their young pupils increased to such an extent that the room where they afforded this instruction became much too small for the purpose. "We would willingly, now," said the good Fathers, "receive more children, had we only more room," and this equally pious as modest wish stirred up the hearts of the people who were rich, to such a pitch that they purchased a small house for the devout instructors, in order to carry on their school therein. Naturally enough, the number of the scholars now went on continually increasing, and thus it became necessary for more Jesuit Fathers to come forward in order to satisfy the demands made upon them. They could not well refuse to receive the children of the richer classes of the community, and those of higher consideration; consequently, the subjects for instruction still continued to extend beyond those required merely for the poor and persons of low degree. But apart

from this, even what was taught enticed always more and more scholars to come to them, and the small house became presently quite insufficient for their purpose. Those inhabitants of the town who were in good circumstances continued to render assistance to them, and after a year, or, at the most, a couple of years, the pious Fathers were enabled to erect a college which, in regard to its external appearance, had more resemblance to a palace than to an educational institution.

This was the usual course of things, and when once the college was founded the Jesuits naturally had the game all in their own hands, as, for the most part, the whole youth of the population flocked to them for education. For, to attain their object, they usually formed in their college three classes, or grades, of instruction: first of all, the elementary school, then the middle school, and, lastly, the higher school. In the elementary school was taught merely the primary groundwork, reading, writing, and, to a certain extent, accounts, but more especially the Faith, that is to say, strict obedience to the teaching and practices of the Roman Catholic Church, as well as abhorrence of all heretical innovations. In the middle school were placed those who were destined to be instructed ordinarily during a period of nine years in the Greek and Latin grammar, and then advanced to a two-years' course of rhetoric; but religious instruction was here, again, the principal topic, and each of the pupils was imbued with a veneration for the Papacy and Catholic priesthood, as well as with hatred against all recreants and heretics,—salient characteristics of the Roman Catholic faith. In the high school the students received a finishing stroke to their studies, during a three-years' course of philosophy, or, more properly speaking, of logic and metaphysics, followed by a four-years' course of theology, regarded by them as the absolute queen of all sciences. As regards medicine and jurisprudence, the sons of Loyola did not usually meddle; but what they regarded as of transcendent importance when they were destined to the priesthood, was readiness in making use of their tongues, as well as dexterous behaviour on being taken suddenly by surprise.

The reader must now, then, readily admit, when things were so far advanced, that the Jesuits must have obtained an enormous influence over the Catholic community in Europe by the establishment of their educational institutions. In religious matters

they taught, indeed, all who were educated by them, whether lay or ecclesiastical, just exactly what suited them, and nothing else; and, afterwards, laymen as well as ecclesiastics worked in their avocations according to their spirit. Not the less effectual for the dominion of the Jesuits in Europe was the acquisition by them of the confessional stools of kings, and none of the other Orders that ever existed, or all the ordinary priesthood put together, effected such great results in this direction as the celebrated Society of Jesus. The institution of confession, concerning which Christ himself does not say a single word, was first of all established in the 2nd or 3rd century of the Christian era, by the public confession of sins being exacted from those who wished to be allowed readmittance into the Church, from which they had been expelled on account of the more grievous description of transgressions; but it was not till the 5th century, under the reign of Pope Leo the Great, that secret confession to priests was declared to be indispensable for the forgiveness of sins, while private oral confession was legally sanctioned by Innocent III. in the year 1215. The Father Confessor, at the commencement, was, as may be readily understood, the parson of the community for the time being, and the greatest of earthly beings knew no other, but had to confess to him, as other Christians did, in the public Church. At the end of the 6th century, on the other hand, there existed in the palace of the Emperor of Constantinople a special chapel with a special confessional stool, as it was held by their Majesties not to be respectable for them to acknowledge their sins in one and the same place as that where their subjects repaired, and this invention of the Court of Constantinople was forthwith imitated by all the other monarchs of the world.

When once, then, a Court chapel was instituted, it followed, as a matter of course, that a Court chaplain should not be wanting; and we find, therefore, such-like priests as early as the time of the French kings Childebert and Clothaire. These said priests belonged originally to the secular priesthood; with the introduction, however, of the monkish Orders, many of the cowl-wearers were to be found among the spiritual advisers of ruling princes and great lords. These offices were more especially filled by Benedictine monks. In this way did the holy Bertin come to perform the office of Father Confessor to

Count Valbert of Flanders; thus also did Martin, a monk in Cornez, officiate as Court chaplain to Charles Martel; as also in a similar manner did Benedict of Aniane act as soul-councillor of Louis the Pious. Later on, the barons and nobles of the times proceeded to follow the customs of the Court, and also built for themselves their own particular chapels; while the begging monks, especially the Franciscans, came to be very favourite Father Confessors among them, probably from the circumstance of their being procurable at a cheap rate. In king's courts, however, the Dominicans were all the fashion, and certainly not to the detriment of their Order. Still there always were, at the same time, many of the ordinary priesthood who aspired to be the soul-councillors of princes, and it cannot in any way be affirmed that the monkish Orders laid claim to a monopoly of the business of Father Confessorships to the higher classes of the community. It was a very different matter, however, when the Order of the Jesuits came into existence, for hardly had the sect been fairly established when at once everyone about the Court who had anything to do in regard to such posts was solicited to use his influence for this Order; and the remaining Orders might contend against them as much as they were able, the latter were certain to be outflanked and completely over-ridden. It would be a very great error to suppose that this was effected by individual Jesuits alone, who had succeeded in ingratiating themselves at particular Courts. No, emphatically no; it was all regularly planned on a peculiar system. Even Loyola himself had vehemently taken to task Jacob Miro, who wished to refuse the proposal of John III. of Portugal to be his Father Confessor, on the plea that such places were not at all suited for an Order whose calling it was to frequent hospitals and devote itself to the instruction of youth sunk in the deepest state of poverty.

"The atmosphere of Courts," wrote the General to his subordinate, "might not prove to be so dangerous, and zeal might well be shown for the welfare of the souls of men in hospitals and in the galleys and prisons, without on that account there being any necessity for shunning the Courts. On the contrary, kings required good priests for their guidance all the more from the circumstance that they had many more allurements to sin than ordinary mortals, and on that account it was his wish that

it should fall to the lot of a member of the Society of Jesus to be the Father Confessor of a king."

This order of Loyola was now carried out so effectually that henceforth no Jesuit perpetrated the pious folly of Jacob Miro, and it did not by any means satisfy his successors in the office of General to be contented with a solitary post, but, on the other hand, directions were in future formally given to members of the Order to seize upon the consciences of kings, and a distinct regulation was made, to which those chosen to act as Father Confessors had to adhere.

"The chief aim"—thus runs the order—"of all our efforts ought to be to procure the confidence and favour of princes and men in places of distinction, to the end that no one might dare to offer opposition to us, but, on the contrary, that all should be subject to us."

Is not this, then, expressed sufficiently distinctly? With equal clearness are the ways and means also indicated, by following which the favour of rulers was to be obtained:

"The favourites of princes, high and low, female as well as male, must be put under obligation through presents, flattery, and favours of all description, so that they may intercede for us with their masters, and give us correct information as to the characters and inclinations of the latter. On the other hand, however, all servants who have shown themselves to be in any way adverse to the Order, should by all manner of means be removed from the surrounding of the monarchs and their councillors, or be gained over to our side by great promises."

Moreover, as a matter of course, it was clearly for the advantage of the Jesuits that they should not only gain the ear of the princes, but also, in accordance with the above instructions, be equally zealous in doing the same in respect to the princesses; the chief aim and object being thus to gain their favour, it was well worth while to bribe the chamber-women, "as through them access may be obtained to the most important family secrets."

The document in question shows not less characteristically how, when favour has once been successfully gained, it is to be retained. "This may best be effected in this way—by laying a cushion under the arms of the sinner, according to the Prophet Ezekiel (chap. xiii. 18);" in other words, not to appear to observe their objectionable proceedings, and, when it

becomes really necessary to make any remarks about these, not to make absolution difficult.

"The conscience of a ruler must be cleared without any ceremony, especially when this has been refused to be done by other ecclesiastics; by this means the princes may abandon our rivals, and become wholly dependent on our councils and guidance. In short, the Jesuit Order looks upon it as their highest aim and object to seize upon the place of Father Confessor at all the different Courts and among all persons of distinction, well knowing that enormous power lies hidden therein; at the same time the making publicly known of this earnest striving after power must be carefully avoided, especially as regards those princes who operate somewhat beneficially by their worldly might. Assurance must often and earnestly be given," proceeds this same above-cited document, "that it is not sought in any way to interfere with the affairs of the State, and it is recommended to those who might be pleased to see themselves at the rudder not to make it evident that they are manifestly in that position. This ought rather to be effected through means of some trusted third party, that then the opinion of the ruler's Father Confessor might be asked; when by this means all appearance of direct interference is avoided, then will be the reality of the influence all the more effectually secured."

After all this, can there be any further evidence required in order to prove that the Jesuits strove by every means in their power to obtain the monopoly of the royal confessionals, and that shortly after the institution of the Order they did actually contrive to acquire possession of them, regarding this as the great lever of their influence?

A third mode of firmly planting their dominion in Europe, was by their perseverance, courage, and skill in combating heresy, and more especially that of Luther and Calvin, well knowing that they in this manner rendered themselves absolutely indispensable for the defence of the Catholic faith.

Whenever, in Germany or other countries, religious disputations, during some dozens of years, took place, did not the Jesuits sustain the principal part? Wherever there happened to be any kind of Church assemblage, or when an Imperial diet was held, was it not that the sons of Loyola were always in

requisition as indispensable? It could not, indeed, well be otherwise; and, in fact, simply on this account that, as it was in those days well known, the rest of the priesthood, when Protestantism had sprung into existence, were very far from being up to a high standard as regards knowledge, information, and culture! whilst the Jesuits, on the other hand, had been brought up in their colleges expressly in the art of disputation, so much so as to be able to cope even with the "God be with us" ones. Moreover, it signified very little to them by what means they slew their enemies; and by no one else in the world was the art of calumniation practised on such a colossal scale, as well as artificial perversion, and, indeed, downright falsehood. Whenever such arts as these, too, failed them, had they not recourse to violence, and, indeed, to the brute force that everywhere prevailed?

Regarding such proceedings, many volumes have been written; but it is here sufficient to give only one example. Concerning the death of Luther, for instance, the following statement is to be read verbatim in a Jesuit report which was given out from the pulpit:—

"I may not make mention of this hellish monster by name, this traitor to the Catholic religion, this fugitive from the cloister, this restorer of all heresy, this hideous wretch before God and man. He died in the eighteenth year of his fall, after having become fearfully intoxicated in partaking of a banquet, when, as was his custom, he had there made a fool of himself; so his vile spirit became a delicious morsel for the devil, who might right well sate himself with such-like tit-bits."

Everyone knows that this account of the death of Luther was nothing but a bare-faced untruth, and the Jesuits themselves were likewise well aware that it was so; but against heretics, according to their principles, all means were allowable, and it was well done to spread abroad the very meanest of calumnies, provided it was only possible to obtain credence for them with the multitude. I am compelled by truth to add, too, that they made use of similar wicked and morally exceptionable artifices, not alone among the illiterate mass of the people, but also among the higher classes; and especially they contrived to persuade and talk over the Catholic monarchs, in such a manner as to make them believe that all revolutionary fermenta-

tions and disturbances among their subjects arose only from the spirit of heresy. In this manner, indeed, the Jesuits wished to make it appear that they alone were to be regarded as the saviours and pillars of the monarchies, and to be treated accordingly, as they were also always at warfare with heresy, and never gave in so as to render it possible for peace to be concluded between the contending parties.

A fourth means by which the Order of Jesuits knew how to raise its power to an important height, lay in the art they possessed of gaining over to their side the best heads of the State, either in fact, as regular and professed members of the Society, or as affiliated and secret members. As regards the first class, there existed, as we know, in the colleges, youths of all conditions, and in their education the best opportunity was afforded for discovering the most conspicuous talents; having thus found out those who were best fitted to become useful subjects for the Order, their object was to entice them over for their purposes. Had not everyone, especially when still young, some more or less weak point in his character which might be fastened upon? and no Father was assuredly selected as rector of a college who had not distinguished himself by a thorough knowledge of human nature, as well as the faculty of attracting to himself the youths under his tuition. In matter of fact it was so brought about, that those young men whom it might be wished to make novices were so trained, by this means or that, that they themselves solicited admission into the Order, and the only obstacle to this plan was that the parents of the young men frequently withheld their consent strenuously to such a step; this difficulty was, however, often got over by causing such scholars to disappear from the scene, while they were brought again into some far distant college. They were there, necessarily, received under an entirely different name, in order to obliterate all trace of their birth; and by this means, and other cunning and forcible devices and measures, the opposing parents, when they even belonged to the richer and higher classes of society, were successfully prevented from snatching their sons out of the Jesuit novitiate. Do whatever they would, the Order retained the youth as belonging to itself, even when an appeal was made for aid to the highest courts of law, the reigning sovereigns, or even, indeed, the Pope himself. It retained them

and brought them up in its own ideas, considering that such members would afterwards be of the greatest use to the fraternity. The so-called affiliated or secret members were almost of still greater importance—those, namely, who had bound themselves by only a single vow, that is to say, to render to the Society of Jesus with true devotion all services that might be demanded of them, and who on that account were allowed to continue to live as people of the world, in the same station and sphere as had been their wont. Those, for the most part, were men of high rank, who would have lost situations as councillors or ministers to princes had they formally and openly joined the Jesuit Order; and herein is seen a great advantage, as such persons, while retaining their former occupations, when they worshipped in the profess-houses might, on receiving a formal dispensation from the General, deny openly their secret admission into the Society of Jesus. Further than this, they might even outwardly make themselves appear to be the enemies of the Order, so as to be enabled all the more surely to spy into matters with which they wished to become acquainted, and on that account there existed affiliated Jesuits even in the Protestant camp itself. Still no one, of course, was aware of their existence there, except the Provincial of the district for the time being, as also the General of the Order in Rome, and the sole private mark by which they might be recognised consisted in a scapular which they wore next their naked breasts, on which was imprinted the letters I. H. S.

The fifth mode by which the Jesuits gained admission all over Europe, was not be sought among the cultivated classes, but, on the contrary, among the *profanum vulgus*, and consisted in a sort of fanaticism into which the pious fathers knew how to work themselves. Thus it was not at all uncommon for two or three of them to be found running through the streets by night or day in a half-naked condition, bawling out loudly that owing to the sins of mankind the end of all things was at hand, on which account they flogged themselves with whips so unmercifully that streams of blood flowed from their bodies. As a matter of course, when such a spectacle was enacted, it was sure to collect a great crowd about them, and while at first some people laughed at their proceedings, and many from disgust turned away from them disdainfully, this disposition at length gave

way to another feeling, namely to that of astonishment, if not, indeed, of admiration. The Padres flogged and chastised their bodies to such an extent that even a stone might have pitied them; should they not, then, be looked upon as holy saints? They, indeed, transgressed all laws of propriety in exhibiting themselves in this half-naked condition, and one often felt inclined to give them a kick, in order to make them understand this; but on being thus treated, they would at once, in the most humble manner, express themselves thankful for the well-deserved punishment, and thereupon present both of their cheeks to the chastiser for fresh blows to be given them. But enough of these silly and ecstatic follies of the Jesuits, which were not, indeed, without effect; the more so that their proceedings became contagious, to an extent that whole troops of people ran after them, similarly flogging themselves and calling out, "Alas, the sinners! Alas, the great sinful city!"

Such were the means adopted by the Jesuits for establishing themselves as a great power in the Catholic countries of Europe; and having now analysed all appertaining thereto, I proceed to enter upon the subject more in detail.

I.—Powerful Influence of the Jesuits in Italy.

The Papal Court of Paul III. in Rome gave to the foundation of the Jesuit Order, as we have already seen, its approval simply on this account, that Ignatius Loyola promised that all his exertions, and those of his associates, should be directed towards defending and upholding the rights of His Holiness, and re-establishing everywhere the then depressed interests of Rome. Ignatius Loyola kept to his word, and on that account gained from Paul III. himself, as well as from his successors, the greatest privileges and favours. The Popes who followed him thought and acted in a similar manner; and how, indeed, could they have done differently, as the sons of Loyola, for nearly 100 years, fulfilled, or, at any rate, appeared to fulfil, the promise of their founder? But in what respect did they carry out this pledge? Who, for example, was it that defended at the Council of Trent, with the greatest zeal, those assumptions and abuses of the Papacy which even good Catholic historians designate as being "extravagant"? Was it not the

Jesuits Laynez, Salmeron, and Couvillon? Who was it that resisted with such skill those ideas of reform in Church matters so unanimously demanded by everyone, and of abuses which caused the Roman Chair to be looked upon everywhere with horror, but they alone, and always they? Who was it that supported before the Congress of Poissy, as well as in all other places in which it was in question, the unlimited omnipotence of the Pope, and placed it above even all other common councils? Who was it that, with similar energy, defended it with such eloquence and such success as the members of the Society of Jesus? It having thus acted, would not the Popes have exhibited the greatest ingratitude had they not done everything that possibly lay in their power towards the elevation of the Order, and the furtherance of the extension of its colleges, seminaries, residences, novitiates, and all its other houses? Would not the Popes, indeed, have been considered to blame had they acted otherwise? as they certainly would not have understood what was evidently for their advantage.

"One hand washes the other," is an old saying, and, not the less true, "Live and let live." Both of these proverbs were, as a rule, observed by the Popes, and thus it came about that after the death of Pius V., in the year 1572, the Order was already in possession of five houses or establishments of some kind in Rome. Gregory XIII., the successor of the above-mentioned Pope, was, again, still more liberal towards them, as he presented them with no less than twenty-five tons (?) of gold, in order to enable them to erect a still more splendid college than that which they already possessed, and, through his example, many great and rich people were induced to accord their favour to the Order. It came to this, in short, that, within the space of a few decades, the Jesuits possessed within their province of Rome (including the state of Tuscany), a profess-house (in Rome itself), two profess-houses or novitiates (in Rome and Florence), six residences, besides not fewer than thirty-four colleges and seminaries; and their possessions throughout the other parts of Italy were in much the same proportion. Thus, for example, in the province of Milan they could boast of the possession of two profess-houses (those of Milan and Genoa), three novitiates (those of Genoa, Arona, and Chiara), besides sixteen colleges and six residences; then, in the province of

Naples they had one profess-house (that of Naples), two novitiates (those of Naples and Atri), one residence and twenty-six colleges; in the province of Sicily they possessed two profess-houses and novitiates (each at Palermo and Messina), ten seminaries, and twelve colleges; and, lastly, in the "province of Sardinia, or Savoy," they owned two profess-houses (those of Saffari and Cagliari), one novitiate (that of Cagliari), besides six colleges. Who, then, could now affirm that the Order had not come to be a great power in Italy? The Fathers did not, indeed, shrink from knocking at all the doors that they thought might be opened to them, and if they failed at first they returned again a second and third time. They especially desired to operate upon the masses, and succeeded only too well, as, in those days, the poorer classes among the Italian people were still in a state of great ignorance and superstition, as well as being very sensitive and excitable, especially in southern Italy. The Jesuits caused, for instance, an enormous disturbance amongst the inhabitants of Gaeta and its environs, as, accompanied with masks, they ran about the streets in despair, the upper parts of their bodies being naked, while, with thorns thrust through their flesh, they called out in a lamentable tone of voice, "Do penance, do penance! hell is for sinners and Paradise for the elect." It was similarly in Naples that they formed bands among the very lowest classes of the people, and whole companies of both male and female flagellators overran both town and country; and I could write a thick volume full of the follies and obscenities carried on by these fanatical gangs, and especially by those of them consisting of females. Here I only content myself with the mere mention that such was the case, as I shall come to speak on this theme more in detail in the third book. I cannot refrain, however, from saying a few words as regards the so-called funeral masquerades, which were carried on in Palermo and Messina, as Death in person was there brought upon the scene, and the people were thereby filled with such fear and horror that it resulted in not a few being driven almost mad. To have a proper idea of these masquerades one must imagine a great procession in a broad street, looked upon by a body of many thousand spectators. At the head of this procession is to be seen a naked body, covered with blood, wrestling with Death, and borne upon an open bier by a troop of men

attired in long talars. On both sides of this bier, as also immediately behind it, walk beautiful boys dressed in white embroidered dalmaticas, and furnished with wings attached to their backs, while each of them carries a cross in his hands. These are intended to represent a choir of angels, who, with clear voices, perform a concert that might not, indeed, be more beautiful in heaven itself. But, unfortunately, while listening to it one is disturbed by seeing a great swarm of ugly black devils, furnished with great claws, flourishing their tails about, wildly raging and roaring in order to harass and impede the angels, and with this object yelling and cursing in such a way as to cause a frightful uproar. The devils also wave about lighted torches, made of pitch, the sickening smoke of which darkens the atmosphere to such an extent as at times to prevent anything from being seen. Now, however, comes the principal object, viz. Death himself, mounted upon a carriage entirely black, and drawn by six black horses. This representation of Death is quite horrible to look at, as it consists of a leaden-coloured skeleton of colossal dimensions, so much so, indeed, that his head reaches up to the upper windows of the houses. In his right hand he carries a colossal scythe, and with the left he drags after him a chain, to which is attached a whole herd of howling ghosts representing every sex, age, and class of society. Those hideous and horrible-looking hobgoblins from time to time utter lamentable cries, while exhibiting, by the contortions of their limbs, the torments of hell which they are suffering. Moreover, despite all this wailing, Death pursues his course, as if deaf and dumb, gnashing his teeth and giving evident signs that nothing would deter him from sweeping away every living thing on earth, and casting them into the abyss of hell. It is, on this account, quite in vain that a choir of mournful repentant psalm-singers following in his train groans out the most doleful airs, exciting thereby, in the highest degree, the anguish and horror of the surrounding bystanders, who can see no escape from eternal perdition. But now, behold! the Jesuits come upon the scene; they look, however, earnest and solemn, but also, at the same time, friendly and celestial, while glancing around them. A magnificent radiant sun, borne by four stalwart lay brethren, is carried along above their heads, indicating the light of eternal blessedness, so that the minds more heavily

oppressed may breathe lightly again, knowing at length where to look for the dispensation of eternal grace. So great was the power to which the Jesuits now attained in Italy, and so easily were they ordinarily enabled to gain the end and aim which they set before them. But it so happened that there was one hindrance to their being able to conquer; and similar difficulties occurred, too, in Milan, Venice, Veltlin, and Savoy. In Milan, from the year 1566 to 1584, there ruled as Archbishop, Count Carlo Borromeo, well-known as one of the most distinguished men of his times, whose diocese, as long as he lived and laboured, might well have served as a model for all others. This Borromeo, in the hope of bringing better order and condition into his hitherto rather lax church discipline, invited the Jesuits to Milan, selecting one from among their ranks as his Father Confessor, and putting a seminary at their disposal in order to establish a splendid educational institution, overloading them at the same time with favours of every description, to such an extent that he even entertained the idea of making over to them the possessions belonging to the Order of the wild "Humiliaten," which it was his wish to suppress. As he carried out, with becoming zeal, the reform of the priesthood, and especially of the monkhood, both of which had become dissolute, the refractory monks brought an accusation against him before the Pope, and at the same time caused him to become an object of suspicion to the Spanish Governor of Milan (Lombardy at that time belonging to the Crown of Spain), making it appear that he entertained the idea of assuming the royal prerogative. In consequence of this accusation the Pope, as well as the Governor, took steps against him, and to all appearance it seemed as if he would succumb to his enemies. The Jesuits also, at whose head Father Mazarini, the Rector of their college in Milan, particularly distinguished himself, were of this way of thinking. Not only did they at once go over with flying colours to the camp of the Spanish Governor, but they reviled their former benefactor, the Archbishop, in the most calumnious manner, in every church which had been given to them by him as a present. They reckoned, however, without their host, in imagining that Count Borromeo must of necessity make room for another, as he victoriously met all the accusations and calumnies which had been brought against him. It now

became the turn of the miserable creatures who up to this time had been open-mouthed against him, to shake in their shoes, and the Jesuits, especially, fully expected nothing else than that the Archbishop would launch out all his fury against them. He, however, a man full of Christian love, contented himself with taking their church and college from them, and expelling them from the city of Milan, but not, however, altogether out of his very extensive diocese. It was, indeed, a very lenient punishment for such base ingratitude as the Jesuits had shown him, and the latter ought to have thanked him with all humility. This they did not do, however; but they thought that they might again establish themselves in the favour of Borromeo by laying all the blame of what had taken place on the shoulders of their Rector, Mazarini. On this account, the then General of the Order, Claudio Aquaviva, expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of Mazarini in a special letter addressed to the Archbishop, forbidding the delinquent, at the same time, from preaching during two years, and ordering him to throw himself humbly at the feet of the offended Borromeo. The Rector, as may be understood, rendered obedience to this order; but the Archbishop did not, however, on this account, rescind his decree of banishment; and his nephew and successor, Count Frederico Borromeo, who held possession of the Archiepiscopal chair from 1595 to 1631, went still further on assuming possession of the government, and took away from the Jesuits the conduct of all the colleges and seminaries which had been established in Lombardy, forbidding all who wished to devote themselves to the priesthood from prosecuting their studies in any Jesuit college, under the penalty of loss of consecration. This injunction continued as long as he lived, and it was only after the year 1631 that the Jesuits ventured to establish themselves again in the territory of Milan. It went even worse than this with them in the city of Venice, which had always shown itself more free-thinking than was agreeable to the Romish priesthood; and it was for this reason that the Jesuits had very early established themselves there, in order to bring about, through their influence, a change in the state of matters. Now, however, Jesuit machinations did not at all meet with the approval of the Venetian Senate, and on this account it decreed a law in 1608 by which neither any new churches nor cloisters could be built

without the permission of the Government, nor any new Order of Monks or societies founded. This was a severe blow to the Romish priesthood, and more especially to the Jesuits, who at that time had entertained the idea of establishing themselves permanently all over the Venetian territories; but still harder was it when, two years after this, the order was publicly promulgated "that no subject of the Venetian Republic should be allowed, without the previous knowledge and permission of the State, to make over or alienate any immovable property, by will or sale, or in any other manner, to the priests or monkish Orders, under no less a penalty than imprisonment, banishment, and confiscation of their property." This constituted an open declaration of war against the Society of Jesus, and thereupon Claudio Aquaviva, their General, took up the matter. He hastened, with his friend Cardinal Bellarmin, to Pope Paul V., and so worked upon the latter that a brief was forthwith addressed by him to the Venetian Senate, in which the Pope demanded an unqualified revocation of both the laws of 1603 and those of 1605. The Senate appealed to their rights, but Paul V., in his hot displeasure, would listen to no statements based on reason, and, in 1606, launched an interdict, without further delay, against the Republic of Venice, hoping that, as by it all churches had to be closed forthwith, and all preaching of the Word of God consequently discontinued, this would give rise to a general insurrection among the people against the Senate. With such thoughts, at least, had Aquaviva and Bellarmin flattered him; but, as will shortly be seen, they found themselves completely in error. The Venetian Senate, forsooth, instantly took up the gauntlet which had been thrown down, and not only forbad the publication of the Papal interdictory Bull in its dominions, but also issued an order to all its clergy to continue divine service as hitherto, or immediately to quit Venetian territory. This edict was obeyed by the whole of the priesthood and monkish Orders; the Jesuits alone hesitated to give respect to it. They were under the impression that as their influence had hitherto been so great they would conquer in spite of every opposition. The Senate, however, remained firm, and intimated to them that they must at once quit Venetian territory, if they wished to avoid forcible expulsion. There now remained for them no other course than to obey, and they, along with the Capuchins, whom

they had contrived to bring over to their side, went in great processions towards the closing of the gates, carrying before them huge crucifixes. Their expectations, however, that such a solemn exodus out of Egypt might give rise to fanatacism among the lower orders of the people, and create, at least, some disturbance, completely failed, even as much as the previous hope entertained by the Pope; for when the masses of the people pressed forward to witness the spectacle, not a single hand was raised in their favour, but, on the contrary, curses were sent after them. After their departure, the Senate confiscated all their houses, and now some very strange discoveries were made. Besides leaving their riches in gold and silver, they fled also, in all haste, with the greatest portion of their books and manuscripts, to deposit them with the Spanish Ambassador, as well as with some private friends; but sufficient letters of theirs were found from which it was plain that they had devoted themselves much more to things temporal than to things spiritual, and suspicions arose that they had an understanding with the Spanish Court, which had for a long time striven to obtain possession of Venice. It now appeared clear, besides, to many of the senators, what was the reason that the Order had sent the handsomest members of their Society to Venice, as several of the epistles they had left behind were evidently written by female hands, and their contents gave but unfavourable testimony respecting the innocence of Venetian housewives. Added to this, it so happened that the exiles, in order to ventilate their anger in Bologna, Ferrara, Mantua, Bari, Palermo, and other places, preached in the most violent manner against the Republic, doing their utmost to incite against it the Courts of Madrid and Prague, in order to induce Philip III. and the Emperor Rudolph II. to wage war with Venice; the Jesuits also did their best to excite insurrections in that kingdom.

In short, there existed incontestable evidence that the Jesuits constituted themselves very dangerous enemies to the Venetian Republic. The Senate consequently passed a resolution unanimously to banish them for ever from Venetian territories. But even this course was not sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the case, but an addition was also unanimously attached to the above decree, to the effect that no proposals of their ever again being received into Venice should be even listened to,

unless five-sixths out of the number of 180 senators were favourable to the consideration thereof; and, besides, every person in the Venetian State, of any condition or sex whatever, was strictly prohibited from holding communication with the sons of Loyola, under the heavy penalty of fine, imprisonment, or condemnation to the galleys. This decree, too, remained in force in spite of the Pope himself making an offer to revoke the interdict which he had issued, on condition that the Jesuits should be again received—a proviso which the Senate peremptorily rejected. So, at last, Paul, being left in the lurch, saw himself compelled by France, the ally of Venice, and by the King of Spain, the friend of the Jesuits, to conclude peace with the Senate, being under the necessity thereby of sacrificing the sons of Loyola. The latter now set about matters in another way, begging the Senate to revoke the decree of banishment of 1612, and secretly offering for this favour the enormous sum of 500,000 ducats, but the nobility of Venice conducted itself on this occasion in a truly worthy manner, and refused with disdain the attempted bribery.

Precisely the same fate that they had met with in the Venetian State, they had previously experienced in Veltlin, a portion of Graubünden. There, in the year 1560, they brought it about that a very wealthy and esteemed old man, but at the same time weak-minded and almost childish with the burden of years, of the name of Anton Quadrius, who lived at Ponte, the capital of the country, bequeathed his whole property to them, in order to found a college therewith. His rightful heirs, however, made a complaint forthwith to the head-man of the country, who issued orders that the Black Cloaks should at once not only leave Ponte, but also quit the whole territory. The Jesuits now addressed themselves to the Diet of Graubünden (Grisons), which in the year 1561 usually assembled at the town of Chur, and brought the matter to such a point that the all-powerful Sovereign of Catholic Christendom exerted himself in their favour. The Grisonites, as free Republicans, paid, however, but little attention to the advice of crowned heads, and immediately after a full trial passed a resolution unanimously, in a public sitting, that the Jesuits, "as enemies of the Gospel, who were more qualified to corrupt youth than to educate them," should at once evacuate for ever the territory of the Grisons.

In precisely the same manner the Wallisers, the neighbours of the Grisons, fifty years later, in the year 1610, declared themselves, and consequently defeated the attempts of the Jesuits to penetrate into Veltlin through Wallis. The latter became all the more enraged against the man through whose eloquence these results had been mainly brought about, namely Bartholma Alett, who, in the year following, died with evident symptoms of poisoning, and the general belief was that the poison had been administered to him through the agency of a Loyolite in disguise.

The Jesuits pursued quite another course in Savoy from that adopted by them in the other above-mentioned parts of Italy. There were here, in the middle of the 16th century, not a few Protestants who had come from other countries, where they had been persecuted on account of their faith, while they hoped that in the depths of these quiet Alpine valleys, quite cut off, so to speak, from the rest of the world, they might be able to live undisturbed and unmolested. To these attached themselves that remnant of the Waldenses who had their home here and in the neighbouring country of Piedmont during the last two centuries, and who, almost Protestant already, now entirely recognised the Reformed Church. This, however, was of course anything but agreeable to the taste of the Catholic priesthood, and the Duke at that time, Philibert Emanuel, proceeded to oppose by force in the severest manner this remnant of heresy in his hitherto thoroughly Catholic country. The Dominican monk Thomas Giacomello, more especially, proceeded against them in a very brutal way, and did not rest satisfied until a frightful example had been made of them, a number of the Reformers being burnt alive or sent to work in the galleys. The Protestants, however, being in so large a majority, threatened to take up arms in their defence against the Duke, who, then yielding, addressed himself to Pope Pius IV., asking the question whether all this contention might not best be settled by a religious conference. The Pope's answer to this was No! Nothing had been hitherto gained in such matters by religious disputations. No! A religious conference must not by any means take place, but he would send some theologians in order to instruct the ignorant in the true faith. "Moreover," added he, in concluding his written communication, "no instance

is known where such a matter has been arranged by clemency; but experience teaches that the best means of conversion lay in the hands of justice, and when this failed, from being too weak, there remained military coercion."

Who, then, were those theologians whom Pius IV. directed should be sent to Savoy? Oh! he himself, indeed, sent none; but he charged the General of the Jesuits, Laynez, with the carrying out of the matter, and the latter caused Father Anton Possevin, a man who afterwards became so notorious, to proceed to the Ducal Court on this mission, in order to negotiate with Philibert Emanuel regarding the establishment of some Jesuit colleges. This, however, was only one part of his task. The other and much more important duty consisted in this—that the ruler of Savoy should be induced to make, once for all, a complete end of the affair by the extirpation of the heretics now and for ever. Possevin soon found that the Duke, who from his long experience in the field as a General of Charles V. and Philip II. had become very domineering, being particularly distinguished, also, as a tolerably wild prince, did precisely all that the Jesuit desired of him, although not being himself conscious of it. Above everything the latter brought it about that Philibert Emanuel, through his influence, permitted the erection of two colleges. Possevin looked upon this as indispensably necessary, in order thereby to be enabled to call into the country a proper number of his associates; and to the Duke's objection that the State was too poor to admit of the possibility of the establishment of Jesuit institutions, his reply was that the Society would be satisfied with whatever could be obtained from the lands confiscated from the heretics. Now, however, when the Jesuit Fathers came to be fairly established in Savoy, they commenced setting about in earnest the fulfilment of their promise respecting the conversion of the refractory subjects; and it was indeed a curious description of conversion which they employed. Father Possevin and his associates travelled about all over the country attired in ordinary plain clothes, and penetrated especially into all the out-lying mountains and valleys in which all the reformed communities had taken shelter. On discovering such persons, did they now take care to let it be known who they themselves were, and set about an attempt at conversion by preaching the Roman

Catholic faith? No, indeed; on the contrary, they hastened back to their head-quarters in order to bring to their aid several thousand soldiers; and when they now returned along with them into the lonely mountain valleys, then, indeed, was it most imperative for God to have mercy upon the poor reformed people! But how was it that they obtained the soldiers? In the simplest way in the world, as has been previously mentioned, inasmuch as the Duke had been convinced, by the eloquence of Possevin, that a Catholic Prince would tarnish his honour if he tolerated any longer a miserable herd of heretics in his country; and as the only really efficacious mode of conversion lay in the employment of coercion, it was easily to be understood that a large number of troops would be required to give support to the exertions of the Jesuits. Philibert Emanuel was also all the more disposed to this course, as the Pope made him a grant of a considerable sum of money to meet the expenses attendant on the entertainment of this small faithful army; and, moreover, was not a prince of his character to consider himself fully justified in punishing as rebels and disturbers of the peace, subjects who did not accede to his wishes, that they should openly recognise that faith which was held by the ruler of the country? Suffice it to say, then, that the heretics were, as a matter of course, defeated by the soldiers under the guidance of the Jesuits, and that there now followed a time of misery and woe for Savoy, the details of which the pen, indeed, is reluctant to describe. In this manner, for instance, Possevin, at the head of two thousand men, fell upon the village of St. Germain, and put to the sword all the male inhabitants, although these had not taken up arms; but the two reformed clergymen who were found there were burnt by means of a slow fire, the wood necessary for which the women and girls were constrained to bring at the point of the sword. A precisely similar fate befell many dozens of reformed communities, and all over the country, even in remote farms, the sword prevailed furiously, and the funeral piles glowed. At last, when they saw that nothing else than their extermination was intended, the Reformers rose all through the land, and, courageously taking up arms, offered a brave resistance to the faithful army of soldiers. Here and there occurred sieges in a small way, for it was easy for them to entrench themselves in their mountain fastnesses, and the Savoyan troops were at

times exhausted in storming them. Possevin, being now furious at the thought that the victory, of which he had believed himself to be certain, should thus be wrested out of his hands, had resort to cunning and deceit, offering to the heretics, in the Duke's name, the free exercise of their religion on condition that they should lay down their arms and pay a sum of 16,000 gold dollars by way of conciliation. The Reformers accepted these terms, and signed the treaty proposed to them; but as soon as the money was paid and the arms laid down, the poor deluded people found themselves laughed to scorn in their faces, and the Jesuits now began afresh their blood-thirsty mode of conversion. Anew did they now penetrate into the mountain valleys at the head of a rough band of soldiery, ravaging them with lance and sword, and once again were the heretical clergy, as well as the wealthy and respectable among these wretched people, consigned to the stake. This despicable conduct, accompanied as it was with the most frightful oppression, awakened such fury and rage among the people, that, rushing again to arms, they obtained such a decisive victory over the Ducal army in May 1561, as to constrain Philibert Emanuel to think of making peace. His finances, too, were now exhausted, as his army had been on foot for two years, at a great cost of money; and as the Pope had long ceased to send him any contributions, after the destruction of his army, what means had he at his disposal to provide himself with another? Moreover, had it not, for a long time, appeared clear to him that when he made war upon the heretics in his country, he was only slaying his own subjects, and while he was enriching the Jesuits by bestowing the confiscated estates upon them, he was impoverishing his own states? Oh, no; enough blood had now been spilt, and sufficient misery had been spread broadcast; Philibert Emanuel, therefore, at once discarded Father Possevin and his associates, and on the 5th of June 1561 concluded an agreement with his Protestant subjects, wherein he again promised them the free exercise of their religion, with the partial restoration of their confiscated property, whilst they, on the other hand, engaged to tolerate the Roman Catholic religion in all their communities, under condition that they themselves should never again have the acceptance of that religion forced upon them. From this time forth the country again enjoyed the blessings of

peace, and the inhabitants lived in concord with one another; but this state of matters only lasted for a hundred years, until the time of Louis XIV., as we shall afterwards see, when the Jesuits again obtained the upper hand, and a period of misery once more returned.

II.—The Powerful Influence of the Jesuits in Portugal.

It has been already described in the foregoing books how that King John III. applied to Ignatius Loyola for some members of the Society of Jesus, with the view of sending them to India as missionaries for the conversion of the heathen; and, further, how that Ignatius despatched to him at Lisbon Francis Xavier and Simon Rodriguez, with this object; and, lastly, how that John III., being so favourably inclined towards the latter, retained him at his Court, and constituted him his Father Confessor, confidential friend, and adviser. This said Simon Rodriguez now laid the foundation of the truly extraordinary power which the Jesuits came to exercise in Portugal and its colonies, during a period of nearly 200 years, as he contrived to make such great use of the almost imbecile king, who had scarcely any will of his own, that, after the space of only ten years, the Order already possessed most beautiful colleges in Coimbra, Evova, Lisbon, and Braga, as well as several seminaries and educational institutions in other towns. Not only was this the case, but of these latter seminaries several in Coimbra and Evova were raised to the dignity of being made High Schools, and, consequently, the Jesuits soon completely commanded all the science, faith, and customs of Portugal. The Jesuit General in Rome, indeed, as soon as he saw that the ground in Portugal was so easily workable for his objects, despatched from Italy and France as many members of the Society as he could spare, to the assistance of Rodriguez; he then contrived to enrol in its ranks a great body of proselytes, and with such rapidity and success that, for instance, the college of Coimbra, which we have above mentioned, could already number as many as sixty members of the Order. In like proportion, also, their affairs prospered in other respects, and the richest and most noble of the land vied with each other how to bestow their riches among these institutions. But how could this well be otherwise, seeing that, following the

example of the King, all the great men of the country had taken Jesuits as their Father Confessors? Father Michael de Torres acted in this capacity to Queen Catherine, while Father Leon Henriquez stood in the same relationship to the Cardinal Infant Don Henri; again, to Father Simon Rodriguez, being himself the Father Confessor of the Ruler, was entrusted the conscience of the Duke of Aveiro, first minister of the kingdom, as well as that of Count Castanheira, and several others of the nobility. In short, under John III. the Jesuits became almost all-powerful at Court, as Rodriguez was so much the right hand and bosom friend of the monarch that the latter transacted hardly any Government affairs without first consulting with his Father Confessor.

"Yes," so Telles writes in his *Chronicles of the Jesuits*, "as Rodriguez was on one occasion lying sick at Almeiren, the King in person, accompanied by the Prince and high Court officials, actually proceeded thither in order to pay a visit to the sick man, and the monarch, in this, seemed to forget his Royal dignity merely to show his friendship for the Father."

The natural consequence of all this was, as it had hitherto generally proved to be the case, that the extraordinary consideration in which the Fathers were now held, as well as the boundless treasures lavished upon them by the King, made them so proud, presumptuous, indolent, and luxurious, that soon a general feeling of discontent sprang up on this account among the people. This, too, was not a silent disgust, for the inhabitants of Lisbon caused their complaints to reach the Throne, and they loudly accused the Government of wasting the means of the State unworthily and on undeserving objects. Still, what did that matter? Simon Rodriguez had the weak monarch too much in his power that their complaints should be listened to; and at last it came to this, that the petitioners were put into prison, or banished from the kingdom. Thus did the Father Confessor carry on up to the year 1551, and, as one may, indeed, easily suppose, with an ever-increasing audacity. It now, however, reached the ears of Ignatius in Rome precisely how matters stood, and it became sufficiently apparent to him that the extraordinary hatred with which the Portuguese people regarded the Society must produce the worst results; he, therefore, came to the firm determination of grappling with the difficulty, at once, and with a strong hand. The college of Coimbra

being, as it was, greatly to his mind, it deeply distressed him to find that, according to all reports, the same had become quite ruined and degraded, being more like a school for scandal than edification, and that instead of being devoted to study and education everything therein tended to foster laziness, debauchery, intrigue, and gossiping. Loyola, therefore, on the strength of his unlimited power as General of the Order, suddenly despatched Father Emanuel Godin to Coimbra, with the object of again bringing the college into some degree of order, recalling Father Rodriguez to Rome, and replacing him, as newly-nominated Rector, by the modest Jacob Miron, the former being, in his opinion, unworthy of acting in the capacity of Father Confessor to a King. John III. was at first very indignant at this violent measure of Loyola's, and, indeed, threatened, in consequence, to send all the Jesuits back again to Italy; but, intellectually weak youngster as he was, he soon cooled down again, and after the lapse of about a month the new Father Confessor had him as much in his power as had previously been the case. Thus it was that in Lisbon, or, if one prefers to say, at the Court, all things reverted again to their former condition, only with this difference, that instead of the overbearing and hated Rodriguez, the quiet and mild Miron held sway. In Coimbra, on the contrary, things did not go on so well, notwithstanding that Father Godin put down, with much strictness, the external scandalous condition of the college. The inhabitants of the town had, indeed, far too long observed the dissolute manner of life and conduct of the Jesuits, and were too full of contempt at their immorality to have any belief in any such sudden change in their demeanour. They felt inclined, rather, to look upon all this as nothing else than pure dissimulation, and the people, for the most part, contented themselves with casting ridicule upon the Long Cloaks, by greeting them openly with satirical songs. It followed, therefore, that if the old consideration for them was to be established, some great and striking effect must be produced, by bringing on the scene some kind of heart-stirring theatrical thunderbolt; and this *coup* was actually carried out. One fine morning, at some quite unusual hour, all the bells of the Jesuit church pealed forth in the most solemn manner, and a moment afterwards the chief door of the church was thrown open to exhibit the most extraordinary procession that ever was

witnessed. First of all, there advanced a true Goliath, bearing a gigantic representation of the crucified Christ; then, after him, came Father Godin, not attired, however, in his usual dress, but naked as far as the waist, and armed with a weighty scourge; behind him followed the whole of the novices in a similar attire, and then came the lay brethren, also, of course like those preceding; the close of the procession was brought up by the teachers and coadjutors; and all, as they slowly proceeded onwards with downcast looks, sang a penitential psalm in a monotonous tone, which sounded extraordinarily mournful and melancholy. At every cross road and open place they made a halt, singing in the most doleful manner as hitherto, and causing, in addition to this, the scourges to hiss through the air, while they punished themselves with them in the most unmerciful way. The blood then soon began to flow from their naked shoulders, and the people, who streamed in crowds in order to witness this extraordinary scene, were naturally much affected. The Jesuits, however, with their pupils, cried aloud, while imploringly wringing their hands, "Ye men of Coimbra, forgive us, for Christ's sake, the scandal which our Society has brought upon us!" In this manner did the procession move further and further, until it reached the Church of Charity, when Father Godin ascended the pulpit and delivered a discourse of such extraordinary contrition that all the audience, which was so numerous that the church was as full as it could be, fell upon their knees and, with tears in their eyes, shrieked out aloud, "Charity, Charity, Charity!" What, then, was the effect of all this marvellous play? Naturally, of course, no other than this, that the people of Coimbra again received the Jesuits into favour; but to the educated and enlightened among them the whole affair appeared nothing else than a theatrical display; still, the mob entertained a different opinion, and especially the women, looking upon the penitents as in some degree holy.

When now, in the year 1557, King John died, he left behind him a widow, the Queen Catherine, sister of the Emperor Charles V., as well as a grandson of three years of age, Sebastian, son of the deceased Infant John, the successor to the throne, and a second son, the Cardinal Henri. Queen Catherine became guardian of the young Sebastian, and at the same time Regent of Portugal. She did not, however, reign alone, being in the

hands of the Father Confessor Michael de Torres, and Leon Henriquez, Father Confessor of Cardinal Henri. These two gave to the heir to the throne, with his brother, their sagacious companion, Louis Gonsalva de Camara, as Court Chamberlain and tutor. Now commenced the worst days for Portugal, as from this time forth the Jesuits completely ruled the country, as uncontrolled as if they had been the rightful possessors thereof. The Queen certainly, on one occasion, ventured to assert her authority, and in her excitement she actually wrote to Borgia, the then General of the Order, bitterly complaining of Father Gonsalva and his mode of education :—

"He imparts to his pupil, the future King, wild and voluptuous habits," said she in this epistle, among other things, "and teaches him to despise and maltreat his grandmother. Especially he does not educate him as a future ruler ought properly to be instructed; but he brings him up to be an instrument in his Father Confessor's hands, without any will of his own, and fills his head with phantastical images, by which the development of his understanding will be totally prevented."

What, now, was the effect of this letter? The removal, perhaps, of Gonsalva? Oh, nothing of the kind, but, on the contrary, the removal of the Queen Regent. The Jesuits and their creatures, among whom was the Minister and other high officials about the Court, from this time forth spited the poor lady in every way in which they possibly could do so, affirming that the government of a woman was not at all suitable for such a state as Portugal; and they carried, indeed, this kind of thing so far as to render her existence miserable for her. On that account, and in order that she might obtain peace and quiet, the poor woman, at length, in the year 1562, gave up her guardianship and government, and handed it over, before the assembled Parliament, into the hands of the Cardinal Infant Don Henri. He, however, being satisfied with the honour of being called Regent, just allowed the pious Fathers to do as they liked; and if he at any time felt inclined to take the initiative, and to act for himself, he was the very next moment pounced upon and brought under the influence and dominion of his Father Confessor.

The Jesuitical power rose still higher, if it were possible for it to do so, when, in 1568, the young Sebastian, now in his

fourteenth year, was declared to be of age (as the understandings of kings are believed to be in advance of their years, at a period when other people's children are still engaged at school). The young man, as may easily be imagined, being brought up by the Jesuits, was not capable of thinking otherwise than what he had been taught to think by the pious Fathers. Day by day Gonsalva de Camara instilled into him that the first duty of a Christian King was to do everything to further the spread of the Roman Catholic religion, as God had set him on the throne for this object alone; and while Sebastian was naturally of a fiery and vehement disposition, thirsting after glory, it was an easy matter, consequently, to make him take up the idea that he had been specially called upon to effect some great and extraordinary, as well as unprecedented, undertaking for the Catholic faith. Gonsalva, indeed, gave himself no rest until he had aroused the piety of his pupil to a high degree of fanaticism, and his heroic spirit to the adventuresomeness of a crusader. The Father Confessor did not, at the same time, neglect to take the precaution to keep at a distance from the King everyone who might be able to operate upon him in a contrary direction, and, from the period of Sebastian's accession to the throne, all important places about the Court, and connected with the Government, were filled with creatures of the Jesuits. In this way, the young ruler was kept in ignorance as regards the riches and power of the State which he governed; he was quite unaware of the fact that, since the entrance of the Jesuits into Portugal, all advancement made by the nation, either in science, commerce, or industry, had been backwards, like that of a crab, or, at least, that it threatened to fall into a condition of stagnation; he was ignorant of the daily increase in the number of malcontents, and of the fact that this highly-esteemed people entertained the idea of completely depriving him of all honour and consideration; and least of all did he know anything as to the Jesuits being entirely to blame for all the misery into which the country, from their bad management, had fallen; and he could not possibly learn this, as anyone who might make the most remote attempt to enlighten the King knew well that he must render expiation severely, both in soul and body, for so doing. Nor would the Jesuits, indeed, allow him to enter into the marriage state, although the interests of the nation demanded this of him, seeing

that on the decease of his uncle Henri the male line of his house would expire. No, this must not be, by any means; for a young and beautiful Queen might have sufficient influence over him to burst the bonds of slavery in which he was held by the Fathers.* One sees, then, with what system the Jesuits acted in Portugal, in order that the weapon of power should never be wrested out of their hands. At last, Gonsalva de Camara, the all-powerful Father Confessor of Sebastian, died, and not a few now believed that this circumstance might possibly give rise to a change in the system of government; but they were entirely mistaken. The King at first felt deeply distressed, and, in reply to all representations, met them only with these words, "What would you require of me? I have never known another father, and never had another mother, than Father Gonsalva." By degrees, however, his distress became blunted by means of the consoling administrations of another Jesuit, Father Gaspar Muricio, who soon obtained the head and mind of the King fully as much in his power as it ever was in that of Gonsalva. Shortly after this, in the year 1577, war broke out between Spain and the Mohamedan Empire of Morocco opposite to it, in which Mulei-Moloch, and his nephew, Mulei-Mehemed, who had both a claim to the throne, were opposed to each other. Mulei-Mehemed was vanquished, and fled to Lisbon to solicit the protection of Sebastian; but the new Father Confessor now taught him that, in this circumstance, lay a manifestation of God's will, tending to the transplantation of the gospel into the soil of Africa. "The Moors," said the Confessor, once came over from Africa and turned the whole of the Spanish peninsula into a Mahomedan empire; the hour of retribution has now arrived, and it was he, Don Sebastian, that was the fortunate person whom the Lord Jesus had selected to eradicate the Moors entirely from the face of the earth." These words inflamed the fiery heart of the King, and he at once determined upon waging

* The whole of the Royal Family, the Privy Council, the great ones of the kingdom, and all its subjects, urged that the King should contract a marriage, in order that an heir to the throne might be secured; indeed, the Princess Margaret of France, sister of Charles IX., was selected. But the Jesuits moved heaven and earth to prevent such a thing; and they succeeded—although, indeed, by sly calumniation. In a precisely similar manner they contrived to cause a proposed union with an Austrian princess to fail, as they wished that the heart of their slave should remain undivided.

war upon Mulei-Moloch. This, indeed, was the moment for the Jesuits inwardly to rejoice, as now, when the monarch took his departure for a foreign country, they might have the opportunity of carrying out their own arrangements and operations all the more unimpeded; for while he was taken up with the idea of this crusade, he would have no time to think about the melancholy condition of his own kingdom. It may be quite certain, too, that they had good grounds for encouraging the resolution that the monarch had formed, seeing that they allowed their thoughts to go further, calling to mind the mortality of human life. Should, for instance, during the campaign, an enemy's arrow deprive him of existence, the old original royal family of Portugal would have died out with him, and the succession would open up to Phillip II. of Spain, the great patron and supporter of the Society of Jesus; in this way, another corner-stone would be added to the establishment of a universal Spanish monarchy, which would bring about all the more surely the gigantic aim of the Society—the mastery over the whole world. Let that, however, be as it may, Sebastian, through the constant instigations of the Jesuits, remained firmly resolved to make an end of Mahomedanism in North Africa, and, in the spring of 1578, commenced to collect together an army with this object. There existed great difficulties connected with his finances, which, thanks to the blundering proceedings of the Society of Jesus, were at that time completely exhausted, and it could only be through the severest extortion, which would have the effect of entirely destroying the well-being of his kingdom, that he would be enabled to raise the amount necessary for the purpose. In regard to this, the greatest men of the country now offered the most strenuous representations, in order to divert him from such a foolish enterprise, which must of necessity end in failure; the King of Spain, also, whom he had begged to share with him in the glory of the undertaking, had sent him a decided reply in the negative. All this was to no purpose, as he had got into his head the idea of becoming a victorious hero of the Faith, and consequently a small army of about 15,000 men was brought together about June of the above-named year. Fully a good third of the same consisted of foreign recruits, among whom, most marvellously, were a number of German heretics; of the remaining two-thirds, however, consisting of indigenous

inhabitants, the most of them were obtained by compulsion, and it was only the nobles who rendered voluntary service; so, therefore, there could be no question of a regularly well-trained army fit to enter upon war. Taking this circumstance into consideration, and the small number of combatants, a disastrous result might easily be predicted. On the 24th of June 1578, the troops embarked in thousands, for the most part in small craft. The departure, however, was no happy one; all went into the ships in silence, and the eyes of the spectators were filled with tears. The landing took place at Arzilla, and thence the army advanced as far as Alcazar without meeting with the least resistance. In the meantime, Mulei-Moloch had brought together a large army of a hundred thousand men, and now, on the 3rd of August, he was only separated from the Portuguese by a river. It was, no doubt, an advantage for him, too, that he was posted on the heights, while, moreover, there prevailed in the camp of Sebastian much want of provisions. Those who were most experienced in war counselled the latter to retreat to Arzilla, and even Mulei-Mehemed, the Morocco pretender, declared himself favourable to this course; for, in the worst case, they would then be able to secure their safety in the fleet. The foolishly adventurous Sebastian, however, in spite of everything, resolved upon making an attack; and now, on the 4th of August, took place that most unfortunate battle the disastrous result of which brought Portugal to the very brink of ruin. In a short space of time the small Christian army became completely surrounded by large hordes of Moorish cavalry, and, in consequence of bad war-organisation, all order among the ranks was entirely at an end. Each one fought, as it might be said, "on his own hook," and although some struggled valorously, an inglorious death awaited them in the general confusion. The right wing, to which Don Sebastian had attached himself, held out the longest, and it was really marvellous to behold such strength and courage. But at length, here also, the enemy obtained the upper hand, and death gained a rich harvest. With rash temerity the Christian monarch held out, in the midst of a large troop of Moorish cavalry, until at length he succumbed, pierced by a hundred lances. How it precisely ended, however, was never exactly known, as there was no witness of his death among his own people, and his corpse was not to be found on

the field of battle. The fact only remained that he had for ever disappeared, and, besides himself, as certainly the whole army lay on the field of battle, with the exception of a few hundreds who were taken prisoners. Thus, in one single battle, was annihilated all the bloom of the Portuguese youth, and more especially of the Portuguese nobility, and there was scarcely a single family in the whole country which was not thrown into the deepest mourning. The greatest grief, however, that sprang out of this sad disaster was that the crown of Portugal must now fall into foreign hands, and the nation incur the danger of losing its nationality. The only remaining scion of the old royal house was the aged Cardinal Dòn Henri, who at once ascended the throne; but in his case, even had the Pope given him a dispensation to marry, no heirs could be expected, and, therefore, after his accession, there arose several pretenders to the throne. Among these, there first of all appeared Donna Catherina, of Braganza, along with her spouse, John; then came Philibert, Duke of Savoy; thirdly, there was Rainuzius, Prince of Parma; fourthly, Catherine de Medicis, Queen of France; lastly, Philip II., King of Spain, and all of these five proved from their genealogical tree that they were more or less related to the royal house. But this, too, was not by any means sufficient, for all of them seemed bent upon gaining their object, each one of them assailing the venerable Don Henri in order to secure the succession to the throne. The one who had manifestly the nearest title was Catherina of Braganza, as she was lineally descended from Alfonso I., the founder of the House of Braganza, who claimed as his father the celebrated King John I., and who was also acknowledged by the latter as his son, although not a legitimate one. There could not, also, be the slightest doubt that the Portuguese people, not the lower classes and country folk alone, but also the nobility and regular clergy as well, had no desire that their future ruler should be any foreign pretender. It was, moreover, held to be quite clear to everyone that the house of Braganza, which belonged to the country, was alone entitled to the throne, and Don Henri himself, it was well seen, was also inclined to take this view of the matter. The Jesuits, however, held an entirely different opinion. They had the conviction that the uncontrollable stream of the Reformation, or

heresy, as they termed it, along with its detestable innovations, could have no more lasting and invincible check put upon it than when the already powerful Philip II. of Spain, grandson of the Hapsburger Philip I., who had obtained the throne of Spain by marriage with Johanna of Castile and Aragon, should become sole ruler over the whole of Christendom; they desired, in other words, that one universal monarchy should be founded, the chiefs of which should be the kings of Spain and their cousins the rulers of the Austrian possessions. So, on that account, they left no stone unturned in order to create this universal monarchy; always, however, with this proviso, "that those kings and rulers should allow themselves to be guided by them (the Jesuits), and that, consequently, the supreme direction of this monarchy of the world should fall into no other hands than their own." Such was the main thought by which they were influenced, and, resting upon this idea, they most naturally devoted their whole energies to bring it about that Philip II. should be successor to Don Henri on the Portuguese throne, seeing that the annexation of Portugal was still a step onward toward the realisation of the design of this universal Spanish monarchy.

What a lucky circumstance, then, was it that Don Henri happened to be entirely in the hands of his Father Confessor, Leon Henriquez, and what a further piece of good fortune was it that this Father Confessor happened to be among the most cunning and sagacious of his Order! How easily, then, was the reigning monarch, imbecile from old age, persuaded that the gates of heaven should be closed against him for ever were he to declare any other than the good Catholic Philip II. to be successor to the Portuguese crown! He was also further influenced so far as to prohibit John of Braganza, with his spouse Catherina, and their cousin Don Anton of Braganza, from appearing at Court, hoping by this maans to take away from them, in the eyes of the people, all rightful expectancy of succession to the throne. Leon Henriquez, as it may be imagined, was not the only one connected with this intrigue; he was, besides, excellently supported by his numerous other fellow-brethren, and more especially by the extremely influential Father, George Serraon, the Provincial of the Order in Portugal, as well as by the two Fathers, Rodrigo Basquez and Ludovico of Molino, two most thoroughly experienced Jesuits, who had

been sent expressly to Lisbon by Philip II. to look after his interests.

King Don Henri died on the 31st of January 1580, being the last of his House. During the year and a half of his government he was completely under the uncontrolled power of the Society of Jesus, and now the question came to be considered who should be the heir to the throne; but scarcely was the breath out of Don Henri's body when Philip II. sent the bloodthirsty Duke of Alba to Portugal, at the head of a numerous army, in order, with weapons in his hand, to prove the legitimacy of his claim to the throne. The nobility, together with nearly all the regular clergy, now raised their voices in favour of the House of Braganza, and the people cried loudly against this forcible usurpation, vehemently cursing all the Jesuits. But still, what did that matter? What did it signify that here and there the Spanish arms were also opposed by arms? The only result was that the refractory towns were pillaged, and that the whole of the country was handed over to the brutality and cruelty of the Spanish soldiery, upwards of two thousand of the native priesthood and monkish orders being ruthlessly massacred.* This was the way in which Philip II. pacified the country, and on the 11th of September 1580 he had the satisfaction of being able to put himself upon the throne of Portugal without experiencing further resistance. Portugal now remained, during eighty years, subject to the Spanish crown, and was treated precisely like a conquered province, the result being that the country fell more and more every year into decay, and one may well imagine the despair into which the Portuguese, in their misery, were thrown. When, however, the whole of this formerly

* "One could not," writes the good Catholic, Louis de Menezes, "once speak of the new Government and escape unpunished; but whoever was not of assistance to the king (Philip II.) when he usurped the kingdom, had to expiate this want of service with his life, and even the priesthood was not by any means excepted." On the other hand, whoever made it appear that he viewed tyranny with disfavour, and even when there was a mere suspicion attaching to him in this respect, he was secretly and unexpectedly seized upon and thrown into the sea. Therefore, the fishermen began to catch the dead bodies of those unfortunates in their nets in place of fish; and thus it was that such enormous misdeeds, by the destiny of Providence, were not allowed to remain in darkness. Precisely the same things were reported also by the Frenchman Mezeray, and the Spaniard Emanuel Rodriguez Leitaon, as also by the thoroughly trustworthy Thuan, the latter of whom still added that Philip, later on, demanded and obtained dispensation from Pope Gregory XIII., inasmuch as during his usurpation of Portugal, he had allowed over 2,000 ecclesiastics to be executed.

well-to-do population had now been brought to ruin through the indolent and incapable government of the Spaniards, as well still more by their avarice and cruelty, the ship of the Jesuits seemed to swim all the more merrily on that account, and all the more did Philip II. (1556–98), as well as his successor Philip III. (1598–1621), continue to shower down favours upon them. It may, indeed, be affirmed that it fared equally and powerfully as well under these two rulers and their governors as it had under the preceding Portuguese kings; and how immensely great this power must have been may best be seen from a memorandum of the Procurator-General Royal, Don Seabra da Sylva, who, under Joseph I., had to examine the acts of the Jesuits. To wit, on the occasion of a trial which had been instituted in the year 1617, before the Crown Law Court in Lisbon, in which the Jesuits appeared as the party accused, the aforesaid Procurator-General entered the following remarks concerning them :—"It had gone so far as this, that no one dare venture to proceed against the Jesuits in an allowable way, without being thrown into the sea, assassinated, or, indeed, punished as an enemy of the King and the Government, and, this being the case, they had indeed usurped the sole lordship over the whole of Portugal." Such a statement as this appears to me to be sufficiently plain, and I have, therefore, nothing more to add to it. Somewhat differently did things proceed under King Philip IV. (1621–65), as, during the reign of this equally weak as extravagant ruler, the power of Spain sank so low that the Jesuits became clearly aware how impossible it was to found the projected universal monarchy by means of this line of rulers; and the consequence was that the great lead which they had hitherto taken in Spain began to cool down considerably. And still more despondent did they become when they observed, to their great annoyance, according to the words of an historian of these times, "that the sun of royal favour had not infrequently become obscured to the good Fathers, in order that it might be allowed to shed its delightful rays upon the holy Dominicus and his children;" and, as they were not wont to put up patiently with the slightest affront or neglect, they at once contemplated revenge. This, truly, was not of such a nature that the enemy would be met with open mask, but, rather, in a secret and disguised manner, the authorship of

which might be publicly denied, as there was far too much at stake to enable them boldly to oppose Philip IV. before all the world. In what, then, did this revenge, consist? Simply in this, that they attacked the despotism of the Spaniards in anonymous publications of the most violent character, and at the same time in the confessional, assuring the Portuguese that King Philip IV. had no right to the crown of Portugal, but that it belonged properly to the House of Braganza. By means of such and similar machinations they succeeded in attaining two objects at the same time; for, in the first place, while at the Court of Madrid they loudly professed that everything was done on their part in order that the people in Portugal should be brought into submissiveness to Spain, they secretly fanned into constantly increasing flames the smouldering ashes of the fire of hatred which the Portuguese entertained towards the Spaniards; and then, secondly, the Portuguese people were led to begin to put in play the treachery which had been practised by the fraternity in former times in favour of Philip II. On the 1st December 1640, the conspiracy, arranged with much adroitness, and carried out with equal skill by the Portuguese grandees, broke out, which was to put on the Portuguese throne John, Duke of Braganza, a direct descendant of the frequently above-mentioned Donna Catherina of Braganza, under the title of John IV.;* so it happened that the Jesuit Father, Gaspar Correa, was the first to greet him as King. John IV. was consequently bound to remember what a leading part the Jesuits had taken in this revolution, and the weak and timid monarch bore this in mind but too well, for he at once dismissed the regular priest, Barthelemy de Quental, who had up to this time been his Father Confessor, and nominated in his place the Jesuit Father Anton de Bieira, who had exercised great influence over the inhabitants of Lisbon by his fanatical preaching. As soon, however, as Bieira had become Royal Father Confessor, he discontinued preaching, and made himself indispensable to his master as political counsellor. First of all, he busied himself in procuring the removal of the State Minister, Fraz Lucena, an enemy of the Order, and had no scruple, by means of the blackest calumnies, in committing to the scaffold this honest man.

* The details of this, as well as of the subsequent war with Spain, may be read, if desired, in any general history of the world.

He next contrived to carry things so far that the monarch entrusted to him for supervision all the resolutions of the Privy Council, and, consequently, although Bieira had not the title of Premier, still the Ministry was in fact subject to his criticism and authority. Lastly, the confidence of John IV. increased in him to such an extent that he was despatched with ambassadorial messages to several of the Courts of Europe, and the cunning Jesuit acted at the same time as Royal Plenipotentiary. The Society of Jesus was in reality, then, more than ever the actual ruler of Portugal, and consequently, in order that this should continue to be the case, the education of the royal princes was entrusted to the two Fathers, Cossmander and André Fernandez. These persons naturally, devoted themselves with much zeal to their task, and while they rather neglected the two younger children, the second and third born sons, viz. Don Alfonso and Don Pedro, they succeeded, on the other hand, in bringing up the Crown Prince, Theodosius, in the right way, that is to say, in making him a friend of the Jesuits of the purest water. The Jesuit Father Franco thus wrote, in the annals of the Order which he published, concerning this matter: "No son can cling more closely to his mother than Don Theodosius to his tutor Fernandez, and this prince entertained such a predilection for our Order that the coat alone was wanting to make him one of ourselves." In all other respects, the Crown Prince remained in profound ignorance, with the exception of astrology and mysticism; and had he ever lived to attain the throne, he would have been truly a most peculiar monarch. What was, now, the object of all this? The great aim was that the Society of Jesus might retain their rule over Portugal, irrespective, be it well understood, of the welfare of the country and its inhabitants.

In the year 1656 John IV. departed this life, and immediately thereafter died also the Crown Prince Theodosius, so that the neglected Alfonso came now to the throne; being, however, under age, the widowed Queen, Donna Louisa, a born Guzman of Medina Sidonia, undertook his guardianship, as well as the government, and certainly, under this regency, the Jesuit Fathers had also no reason to complain. Female monarchy was, as history testifies, always favourable to the priesthood, and the rule of Donna Louisa proved to be fully so. She previously had for Father Confessor a Capuchin monk; as, however, the above-

mentioned Anton de Bieira had already, during the lifetime of her husband, called the Jesuit Father Johann Nunnez to the Court, she would not hear any more of any other ecclesiastic, but confided the welfare of her soul to the latter only. Ah! he indeed, was a real saint. He lacerated himself so cruelly, in the sight of all the Court ladies, that the blood ran in streams from his bare back; and, besides this, who could pray so earnestly with his confessants as Nunnez? The new Father Confessor thus soon became all-powerful, and things were carried so far under his rule and governance that hardly any single situation in the whole country was to be obtained except through the intercession of the Jesuits. They formed, indeed, the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and end, to gain all favour, and in order to avoid getting into disgrace everyone worshipped them without measure. In short, all people bowed slavishly in the dust before them, "the Apostles," as they were designated; and the proof of this was that when Nunnez came to die, of course under the odour of sanctity, he was carried on the shoulders of the first nobility of the land into the funereal vault, where he was interred with princely splendour. The guardianship and government of Donna Louisa was now completely in the hands of the Jesuitical fraternity. A severe blow to the Order was, however, threatened as soon as the heir to the throne became of age, and ascended it under the title of Alfonso VI. This young prince had felt himself kept very much in the background as long as his brother Theodosius lived, and on that account was led to take a thorough hatred to the Jesuit Fathers. And this dislike became intensified by the bigotry and self-torture which were introduced at Court by Father Nunnez, there being every reason to entertain the opinion that the holy Father must be a complete hypocrite, an opinion which the prince held, and which he did not at all attempt to conceal. Indeed, he had, moreover, the courage, in his eighteenth year, to take a Benedictine monk as his Father Confessor instead of a Jesuit, and expressed himself, in fact, quite openly, to the effect that his future ministry should be of a very different character from the present body. In all this lay great danger for the Society of Jesus, and it may be well imagined that the holy Fathers looked to the future by no means without anxiety. Alfonso, however, fortunately for them, did not by any means possess that strength of mind, and still less that

energy of will, which were necessary for the carrying out of the project he had in view. Whence then, too, could he take the necessary men of enlightened views and free thought for his protection, as throughout the whole of Portugal there were no persons of culture among the higher classes of society who had not derived their education from the Jesuits? Certainly, then, those good Fathers had no occasion to entertain such great anxiety, and they themselves, indeed, said as much. In order, however, to be prepared for all eventualities, they determined to nip in the bud any attempt of the prince to free himself from the Society of Jesus, by not allowing the youth, in fact, ever to assume the reins of government. With this object in view, therefore, they spread about all over the country reports regarding his manner of life, which they represented as so unbridled that he had ruined himself both in body and soul; in order, also, to insult him and make him appear despicable both in the eyes of the common people as well as of the nobility, they arranged that prayers should be offered up publicly in all the churches with a petition for his recovery. Later on, they procured, by bribery, a couple of physicians to declare him to be half-witted, and so worked upon the Regent-mother that, before the whole of the assembled grandees, she treated her son as mentally incapable. Their idea was, in short, to make the Portuguese believe that Alfonso was unfit to govern, hoping that on that account, he would resign in favour of his brother Don Pedro, who was entirely devoted to them. This idea, however, was only half of what they desired to effect; and in order not to spoil their previous game of intrigue, while taking care that the deeply calumniated prince should not, on attaining his majority, ascend the throne, they thought it prudent to receive with smiling and agreeable mien the proposal that he should take unto himself (in the year 1666) a suitable spouse, in the person, namely, of Princess Maria Franciska Isabella of Savoy-Nemours. Still, even this last act, which at first appeared to them particularly dangerous, turned out in the end to be entirely in their favour, and speedily brought them unexpectedly to their long-wished-for aim. The young Queen happened to be of a very warm nature, and did not, by any means, feel disposed to remain faithful to her liege lord. So she cast her eyes upon the handsome and finely-formed, though

weakly endowed, younger brother of the King, Don Pedro. These affections did not, of course, long remain concealed from her Father Confessor, Francis de Ville, whom she had brought with her, and he communicated these matters to his friend, the Jesuit Father Verjus, who had come to Lisbon as Father Confessor of the Duke d'Estrées, the companion of the princess. These two crafty Fathers put themselves in communication with the rest of the Jesuit party at the Court, and such a black plot was now soon devised for the removal of King Alfonso as it would be difficult to find its match in the world—a plan, moreover, which could only be carried out with the connivance of Donna Maria the Queen, and her brother-in-law Don Pedro. They both, indeed, willingly lent their assistance, as the Queen thereby might attain the object for which she so much longed, and, as regards Don Pedro, he might readily venture to commit a crime in order to gain possession of a crown. The comedy exploded on the 21st of November, on the morning of which day the Queen, bursting into tears, declared openly that, as the King was quite unsuitable as a husband, she must consequently take refuge in a convent, for she could no longer submit to his disgusting society. She, indeed, forthwith carried her intention into effect, and took flight, accompanied by all her ladies, in order to betake herself into the Franciscan convent. Here she was again seized with a violent fit of sobbing, while at the same time repeating her lamentations; and the Jesuits, being quickly summoned, made the matter their own business, and promulgated the grand event of the day with unparalleled assiduity all over Lisbon. This, of course, naturally gave rise to a great commotion, and everyone commenced to rush about the streets, either into their neighbours or the public-houses, in order to talk over the scandalous story. The majority of the people took the Queen's part, for, as I have already mentioned, the Jesuits long before had thrown contempt upon the King, as may be easily imagined, and now added other reproaches to their previous calumnies. Alfonso in vain commanded his spouse to return to the palace, on the affair, so shameful to himself, being brought to his notice. She, however, hesitated to comply, and he in vain proposed to his Council of State, which he had at once assembled, that inquiry should be made into her conduct. Feelings of shame, however, forbade

this being done, but the Queen still protested that the King was not a suitable husband for her. Driven to distraction, the monarch in vain endeavoured to carry out his wishes by the employment of force. Some dozens of the nobility, sword in hand, now furiously penetrating into the palace, accompanied by thousands who followed them, attracted by the uproar, shut the King up in his cabinet, and after bringing forward Don Pedro in triumph, compelled the monarch to affix his signature to two documents, in one of which he solemnly affirmed that his spouse the Queen was in the right, whilst in the other he "from his own action, in virtue of his own unlimited royal power, relinquished the reins of government in favour of his brother Don Pedro." What now followed may be easily imagined. Don Pedro assembled the Parliament in order that a document, drawn up by the Jesuit Father Nuna de Cunha, should be placed before them, detailing the motives why it was impossible to do otherwise than proceed against Don Alfonso VI.; and the assembled Parliament, entirely under the influence of the Jesuits, decreed the deposition of the unfortunate monarch, on the ground of his being imbecile and impotent.

Don Pedro thereupon ascended the throne, with the title of Pedro II., and after Pope Clement IX. had granted the necessary dispensation, and bestowed his blessing on the new marriage, shared the incestuous marriage bed with the woman who had hitherto been his sister-in-law; poor Alfonso, on the other hand, who had now taken the place of brother-in-law instead of husband, was brought first of all to Terceira, and next to Cintra, finally dying in prison on the 12th of September 1683, in great misery. What were, then, the privileges which the Jesuits now obtained, under a king who had alone to thank them for placing him upon the throne? No one on earth could have the slightest doubt; power and influence especially now became concentrated in Father Emanuel Fernandez, who succeeded to the office of Father Bieira, the former Father Confessor of Don Pedro previous to the accession of the latter to the throne. His exalted patron created him to be a Privy Councillor, and, later on, even President of his Council of State, so that all transactions, as well as all nominations, passed through his hands. The war department was even placed under him, although one might have thought that such an office was not very compatible with that of

a confessor and preacher; but it now belonged to the plan of the Jesuits gradually to take possession of all the highest tribunals, in order that they might be enabled to rule with completely unlimited and despotic power. In short, Don Pedro, as long as Emanuel Fernandez lived, was nothing else than a complete machine in his hands, and when the all-powerful man died, in the year 1693, Father Sebastian von Magellhans took his place, with all the privileges attached thereto. Naturally enough, however, the burden of the State became too great a load for him to bear alone on his shoulders, and he therefore shared it along with his associates. Nunha de Cunha more especially, the Provincial of the Society in Portugal, as well as Francis de Ville, the Father Confessor of the Queen, reigned supreme, and those three, namely, Fernandez, Cunha, and de Ville, were now designated the "Triumvirate." Yet it was, indeed, no triumvirate of love, but, on the contrary, of terror, and it made itself feared by all those who did not blindly follow the orders which proceeded out of the profess-house of the Society in Lisbon. We have had enough now of the sway of the Jesuits in Portugal, respecting which I have gone almost too much into detail. It was, however, necessary to do so, as in no kingdom on the earth did the Society of Jesus succeed so admirably in gaining the upper hand over all classes of people as here. In no other Court did they understand better how to combine the character of Confessor with the power of Minister of State. Nowhere else had they so completely the education of the people in their hands, and nowhere else did their despotism prevail so much over the weakness of rulers as in Portugal, which for several centuries was nothing more than a slavishly obedient province of their universal monarchy.

III.—Influence of the Jesuits in Spain.

The first Jesuits who were sent to Spain by their General immediately after the institution of the Order, during the government of the Emperor Charles V., were Father Araoz, who selected Barcelona, and Father Villanouva, who chose Saragossa, respectively, as the field of their operations. The first Jesuit college, however, which was established in Loyola's native country was founded in Gandia by Duke Francis Borgia, of

Gandia, who afterwards became the third General of the Order. A very great increase, moreover, soon took place both in the number of their members and of their colleges and other settlements, for in a nation so much inclined towards superstition and fanaticism as that of Spain, the pious Fathers were naturally enabled to attain their end all the more easily than in the more sensible and sober lands. It must now be shown in what manner they conducted themselves, and what means they pursued in order to get over the bigoted Spaniards, and to cause themselves to be regarded by the latter as quite extraordinary men, if not, indeed, as saints. They made their appearance, then, wherever they came, always clad in miserable clothing, dirty and torn; they generally took up their abode in hospitals, and went about in company begging, in order to obtain a subsistence. They commenced teaching among children of the houses of the poor, and, as regards preaching, any corner-stone they came across was sufficient for them. They flogged their bodies with scourges before everyone, and carried on this mad career to such an extent that the magistracy had frequently to be appealed to, it being feared that they might torture themselves to death; in a word, they carried fanaticism to its height, while they sought at the same time to bring mankind to the faith they themselves professed. Thus, apart from the self-inflicted cruelties, their whole proceedings were nothing else than a real and exact imitation of apostlic manners and customs.

Notwithstanding, however, that the common people of Spain—that is, I mean, the great masses, and especially the women—ran truly in swarms after the Society of Jesus, it did not, however, easily meet with such success in this beautiful country as it had done in Italy, and more particularly in Portugal, and there were many who were much astonished in regard to this being the case. They erred, however, mainly owing to the fact that the Emperor Charles V., the then ruler of Spain, although not himself otherwise inimical to the Society, was never once induced to take a Jesuit as his Father Confessor. He, on the contrary, selected the Dominicans as his spiritual advisers, an Order doubtless hitherto much esteemed, while the influence of his first Father Confessor, the distinguished Ximines Eisneros, the great Inquisitor, Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, and Minister of State, regulated the whole course of his life.

The more remarkable of these spiritual guides, besides Ximines, were as follows: Peter of Soto, a very learned man; Garcias de Loaysa, Bishop of Osma; Caranza, afterwards Bishop of Toledo; Johann de Regla, a Hieronomite; Juan de Ortega, almost considered a saint; and Constantine Ponce de la Fuente, Bishop of Seville. When these non-Jesuits, then, had possession of the great monarch's conscience, how could it possibly be expected that the Society of Jesus should attain to such great power as it had done in Portugal, where its members were able to turn the heart of the King in any way that pleased them? A second not lesser hindrance to the rapid development and extension of the Order in Spain lay in the resistance given, partly by other individual theologians and priests, and partly, more especially, by that offered by the whole of the remaining Orders, the Dominicans at their head. The latter sect, as must by this time be sufficiently apparent to my readers, through the history of many decades, was fashionable in Spain; it had long since gained the heart of the people, through the confessional, and by means of the Inquisition ruled with a grasp of iron over all alike, rich and poor, male and female; towards it flowed hitherto all the riches of the country, and from it and its members were supplied, for the most part, all the appointments to bishoprics and archbishoprics. Could it, then, be quietly submitted to that another Order should be allowed to penetrate into its domains, trying to reap where it alone had sown, and was wont to flourish the sickle? Therefore, wherever the Jesuits wished to establish themselves, especially in Salamanca, Alcala, and Saragossa, it bestirred itself to offer resistance to their encroachments. The bishops, by whom by right the education of the young, as well as, above everything else, the wants of the confessional were supplied, offered opposition to them, and on that account contentions and angry encounters arose in those three cities. At the commencement, too, at all events, the Jesuits always got the worst of it, and not infrequently the people, incited thereto by the other Orders, rose against them; as when, for instance, in the year 1555, their college in Saragossa was nearly taken by storm, and they were only able to save their lives by the most immediate and secret flight. But besides this opposition by open force, individual theologians, entering the lists against them, injured them in every way by spiritual and scientific weapons;

and among such may be named especially Melchior Cano, the celebrated doctor of theology belonging to the Order of the Dominicans. This far-seeing and cultivated priest, on his way to Rome, had become acquainted with Ignatius Loyola and his followers, certainly not in the most favourable manner, and as later on, in the year 1548, the first Jesuits, with Fathers Le Fevre and Ortiz at their head, entered into Salamanca, where he himself worked as professor of the University, he particularly directed his attention to them, and soon became convinced that they were far from being "by God's will the fools and blockheads" that they appeared to be, but rather that poverty, humility, and self-punishment were only to be looked upon as a pretext and artifice to insinuate themselves; so he described them, both from the pulpit and in his professorial chair, as false apostles, as well as dangerous men who should neither be trusted in the confessional nor with the education of youth. Thus, from the great consideration in which he was held, he would probably have succeeded in effecting the expulsion of the Loyolites from Salamanca had it not been for the order of Pope Paul III., whom, as is well known, the Society of Jesus did everything in its power to favour, when called upon to do so at the Council of Trent. By this means the sons of Loyola obtained free scope, and also, later on, little injury could be done them, as after the termination of the Council the bishopric of the Canary Islands was bestowed upon them by the Roman Chair. How greatly, moreover, was the Society of Jesus at that time already esteemed by His Holiness, appears in a despatch addressed by him to John de Regla, Father Confessor of Charles V., where a remarkable passage occurs, which may be translated as follows: "Would to God that we may not meet with that fate which, as history teaches, Cassandra predicted, and which was not believed by anyone until after that Troy was sacked and burnt! If the Jesuits carry on as they have begun, a time may yet come—may God forbid!—in which kings may feel inclined to resist them; but then it will no longer be in their power to offer opposition to them." In the year 1555 Charles V. abdicated the throne of Spain, and in the year following, as Emperor of Germany, handed over the sovereignty, including the Spanish possessions in America, as well as the crowns of Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Netherlands, to his son Philip II., now eighteen years of age. That,

indeed, constituted an immense power, sufficient always to maintain an ascendancy in Europe, more especially as the Austrian House of Hapsburg, intimately connected with the ruling House of Spain, was friendly disposed, and in no way inclined to frustrate its designs. In addition to this, also, the most distinguished armies and the most experienced commanders belonged to the side of the young King; moreover, the gold derived from the new world had been taken possession of by the Spaniards, and flowed in plentifully. Besides this, what the commercial fleets of the Netherlands acomplished might well be considered. In a word, Philip II. possessed, as regards power and splendour, everything that was necessary to make him, as a monarch, governor of the world.

Now, had this ruler been a wise man, animated with zeal for the welfare of mankind, he might, indeed, have been able to accomplish much with such extraordinary means at his disposal. But Philip II. was not such a ruler. On the contrary, his intellectual sphere was confined to very narrow limits, being restricted to obstinate bigotry, universal belief, extermination of heresy, and suppression of all the rights of the people. Such were the great ends after which he strove, and he sought to attain them by the roughest, most determined, and most cruel despotism that was ever exercised by one of the Lord's anointed.

This, of course, was but too well known to the Jesuits, and this being the case, no one need wonder that they got a hold over Philip II. in order that, through him, they might be enabled to establish the Roman Jesuitical universal monarchy, which was their great desire, and, as I have already detailed in the preceding paragraph, to make him the most supreme despot of Europe. Between, the Jesuits and Philip II., then, the former having for their General at that time Jacob Laynez, a formal contract was drawn up, by which the extension of the Order of Jesus made truly gigantic progress in Spain. They now acquired a right to establish themselves wherever they wished, and a whole legion of colleges sprang into existence one after the other, of which those of Saragossa, Cordova, Seville, Cadiz, Malaga, Granada, Marcia, Valentia, Maloria, St. Iago di Compostella, Leon, Cuença, Belmont, Plasencia, Montillia, Trigueros, Toleda, Logronno, Ocanna, Onnate, Salamanca, Talavera, Monterez, Burgos, Medina del Campo and Madrid, became distinguished

with the *éclat* of universities. The highest pinnacle of power for the Order was, however, attained when Francis Borgia was called upon to become the successor of Laynez, as Philip II. never refused any request made by him—a veritable grandee of Spain, and formerly Viceroy of Catalonia, while naturally, the example of the monarch was followed with devotion, as a matter of course, by all the other grandees of the kingdom.

And now, will it be necessary for me to enumerate all the possessions which individually belonged to this Order at this time so all-powerful? It will, I think, be sufficient for me to give but a general view only as it stood towards the end of the 16th century. Spain was in those days divided into four provinces, so far as Jesuitism was concerned, viz. Toledo, Aragon, Castile, and Seville; and each of them vied with one another in regard to the number of their establishments, as well as the list of members belonging to the Order. Thus the province of Toledo could boast of two profess-houses (Toledo and Madrid), two novice-houses (Madrid and Villarejo), two-and-twenty colleges and seminaries, four residences, and no fewer than seven hundred members, belonging to the Order. Then, as to the province of Aragon, it had one profess-house (Valencia), one novice-house (Terragona), fourteen colleges and seminaries, three residences, and somewhere about five hundred Jesuits. In the province of Castile, there were a profess-house and novitiate, both being in Garcia, nine-and-twenty colleges, two residences, and about six hundred Jesuits; and in the province of Seville, one profess-house (Seville), two novice-houses, those of Seville and Baeca, seven-and-twenty colleges and seminaries, two residences, and seven hundred actual members of the Order. Not less strongly did the Jesuits develop themselves in the neighbouring territories belonging to Spain, which Philip II. inherited from his father; and in the province of Naples alone they numbered one profess-house, one residence, two novitiates, six-and-twenty colleges, along with at least six hundred Loyolites. In Milan, there existed two profess-houses, three novitiates, sixteen colleges, six residences, along with five hundred members of the Order. Still more numerous, however, were their possessions in Sicily, consisting of two profess-houses, two novitiates, two-and-twenty colleges, and seven hun-

dred Jesuits. In Sardinia, on the contrary, there were only six colleges, one probation-house, and about two hundred members of the Order. The most fertile field of all, however, was that of Belgium and the Netherlands, as within a very short space of time there were established in these countries two profess-houses, three novitiates, five-and-twenty colleges, and six residences, together with no fewer than seven hundred members of the Order, and there would undoubtedly have been many more, had not the rebellion of the States-General of Holland restricted the lordship of Philip II. over the Belgian countries to the so-called Spanish Netherlands.

It will thus be seen already, from this mere sketch, to what an enormous extent the Society of Jesus had expanded its power in Spain and its Netherland possessions under Philip II. In spite of all this, however, it must not be believed that the rest of the Spanish priesthood, and more especially the Dominicans, tamely submitted themselves without any resistance to the superior power to which the Jesuits had in so short a time attained. On the contrary, several bishops and university professors had in the meantime directly appealed to Philip II., in order to explain to him the mischievous tendency of the Order; and that celebrated doctor of Theology, Benito Arias, surnamed Montanus, dedicated to the monarch, in 1571, a memorial, in order to prove to him that the greatest mischief must necessarily ensue if the Jesuits were permitted to mix themselves up with the affairs of the Government. The Dominicans even went still further than this, as they not only dragged several members of the Society of Jesus before the terrible tribunal of the Inquisition, the direction of which had been entrusted to them, but they also, in the year 1590, made a strenuous appeal to the Pope then ruling, Sixtus V., begging him to submit the statutes of the Jesuits to a more strict investigation than had been hitherto done, and requesting that he should put some bounds to the unlimited supremacy assumed by the Order. Sixtus did, indeed, actually take into consideration the matters advanced by the Dominicans, and there was all the appearance that this dangerous Society would have to undergo a thorough reform. He first of all ordered that the Jesuits should be in future called Ignatians, after their founder Ignatius, seeing that the name of Jesuit appertained, properly speaking, to the followers of Jesus, and

consequently was applicable to all Christians. He further required of them that they were not in future to meddle with secular affairs, and that they should abstain especially from interfering in political questions. Lastly, he expressed the opinion that it would be best if the sons of Loyola were to consent to become monks, like the members of other Orders, with the sole object of singing the praises of the Lord from the quiet retirement of their cloisters. Such would, indeed, have been a terrible consummation, "equivalent to the extermination of the Society as it had been hitherto constituted," and the General of the Order, Claudius Aquaviva, directed that litanies should be offered up in all the Jesuit churches in order that God should be implored to offer resistance to the projected reforms of Pope Sixtus V., that "old man with the iron head." The litanies seemed, in fact, to bring assistance to their cause, as the Pope shortly afterwards died, on the 27th of August of the year mentioned, without having been able to carry out his reforms, which circumstance therefore gave rise to the proverb, "When the Order of Jesus gives out a litany the holy stool will become vacant."

The successor of Sixtus, Gregory XIV., who was chosen through the influence of Aquaviva, however, at once annulled all that his predecessor had ordered inimical to the sons of Loyola; and the Dominicans were unable, for this time at all events, to make good their complaints. The same contention for supremacy which had been begun under Philip II. continued under the reigns of his successors, Philip III. (1598–1621), and Philip IV. (1621–1665), and at one time matters went in favour of the Dominicans, while at another the Jesuits succeeded in gaining over the heart and sceptre of the monarch. It cannot, however, be denied that the sons of Loyola, on the whole, lost rather than gained ground under the two monarchs above mentioned, and they had, indeed, much difficulty in not being obliged to vacate entirely the field at Court.* Quite otherwise was the

* More especially was this the case in the year 1636. At that time, in order to be enabled to carry on the war with France, Philip IV., or, rather, his Prime Minister, Count Olivarez, demanded a certain money-tax from the whole of the Spanish ecclesiastics, and made a beginning with the Jesuits. "We bind ourselves," answered the Provincial, "to supply as much money as the whole of the other corporations put together, so commence with them, and then, at last, turn to us." This, in short, was done, and all Orders, as well as all other secular ecclesiastics, did their best, and often

case, however, when, upon the death of Philip IV., his widow, Maria Anna of Austria took over the government as guardian of her minor son, the future King Charles II. (1665–1700), as she happened to be so completely in the hands of the Jesuits that she at once conferred upon her Father Confessor, Everard Ritard, the title of a Grand Inquisitor, and never did anything without first of all asking his advice. The Dominicans now, of course, hurled fire and flames, and to them adhered not only the regular clergy, but also the whole of the nobility. As it also came to be fully known that Ritard was a German by birth, both of his parents being Protestant heretics, the discontent still increased to a much greater extent, and there was only a spark wanting to give rise to the outbreak of a great revolution. Don Juan of Austria, a natural son of Philip IV., his mother being a play-actress called Maria Calderma, now came to the front, and placing himself at the head of the malcontents, supported by the army, which was completely subservient to him, demanded categorically, on the 23rd February 1669, the deposition of the Grand Inquisitor. He declared to the Regent that if Father Ritard did not, within the space of one hour, find himself outside the gates of Madrid, he would thrust him out of the same; and both Ritard as well as Maria Anna soon perceived that this declaration was in truth meant in earnest. Consequently, Ritard at once took French leave and went to Rome, where he was accredited by the Regent as ambassador to Clement X. Father Moya, one of the most ill-reputed of the Jesuits who ever made an appearance there, took his place at Madrid, and, consequently, the opposite party gained but very little by this

beyond their power. Olivarez now renewed his demand, reminding the Provincial of his promise. But what did the latter reply? "The different Universities of Spain," he was of opinion, "had endowments amounting to at least eight millions of ducats, from the interest of which property the salaries of the professors were supplied. Now, the Order of Jesus offered to undertake to fill all the university chairs gratis, without payment of any description, and, consequently, the King might take possession of these eight millions of ducats without any detriment whatever to the State. The King would be able then to acquire not less money thereby than if, with the Pope's approval, he were to seize upon the whole of the professions of the ecclesiastical brotherhood in Spain and India, and this could without fail be accomplished, as the Jesuits were sufficiently numerous to undertake to fill all the pulpits, as well as all the appointments of father confessors." Such was the reply given by the Jesuits, and it was pretty plain how the matter would end; but, in consequence, they brought down upon their heads, at the same time, all the ecclesiastics, as well as all the universities of Spain, and for a long time there were great difficulties, therefore, with which to contend.

revolution. With Charles II. the line of the Spanish branch of the house of Hapsburg died out, and, after a war of twelve years' duration, a grandson of Louis XIV. of France, second son of the Dauphin, ascended the throne of Spain, under the name of Philip V. Upon him the Jesuits built their best hopes, as he was, indeed, a true grandson of Louis XIV., and, in fact, these expectations were not disappointed. He brought with him from France, as Father Confessor, Father William d'Aubenton, one of the most crafty members of the Order, and he was so completely governed by him, as was also the Queen, Marie Gabrielle, of Savoy, the friend of the never-to-be-forgotten Madame de Orsini, that for a succession of several years no favours could be obtained except through him. After d'Aubenton's death, Father Juan Marino was raised to the dignity of Father Confessor of the monarch, and this wily Jesuit, who had been indoctrinated by Le Tellier, the Father Confessor of Louis XIV., counselled also his weak and insane successor, Ferdinand VI. (1746–1759). Thus, in a word, it happened under the line of the Spanish Bourbons that the power and influence of the Jesuits rose higher than ever, and very few Spaniards, writes Llorente, in his *History of the Spanish Inquisition*, had the courage to offer any opposition to their party, as in doing so all employment in any public office, or any ecclesiastical preferment, had unquestionably to be renounced.

IV.—Sway of the Jesuits in France.

It was much more difficult for the Jesuits to form any permanent settlements in France, than in the three countries already mentioned, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, although they certainly left nothing untried which they had found to succeed elsewhere. Loyola had already taken much pains in endeavouring to charm the French people with his newly-founded Order, and quite at the commencement of his Generalship sent to Paris sixteen of his scholars, for the most part Spaniards, under the pretext that they might have the advantage of completing their theological studies at the famous university in that city; in truth, however, in order that they might there sound the country and gain friends for Jesuitism. They were either very unskilful, however, or had very bad luck, for not a single soul took any notice of them, and

Loyola was obliged to send money to them from Rome in order to meet their daily wants. Their affairs, however, seemed to take quite a different turn after the celebrated Fathers, Laynez and Salmeron, made the acquaintance, at the Council of Trent, of William du Prat, Bishop of Clermont, and were successful enough to interest him greatly in their Order, so much so, indeed, that this extraordinarily wealthy prelate (he was son of the former Chancellor of France), presented them with a special residence in Paris, in the Rue St. Jaques, and the chapel attached thereto. They had then, at length, a possession from which they might be enabled to carry on their operations in future, and, as may be easily understood, a number of the Fathers at once entered it in order to prosecute these designs. But what signified their visits to the hospitals, and their fanatical preaching at the corners of the streets? What mattered their self-inflicted floggings and such-like proceedings? The Parisians were neither Spaniards nor Italians, and consequently laughed at them in their face when they merely ventured to look up. Besides which, they soon began to quarrel with the regular clergy, who did not hesitate to call them publicly by the name of hypocrites. Indeed, one of the doctors of the Sorbonne (that is to say, a professor belonging to the Theological Faculty of Paris),* published a pamphlet against them, in which he pointed out to the Government that the best thing to be done with them would be to hunt them at once out of the country with disgrace and ignominy as beggars and vagabonds.

This was, indeed, but a bad beginning, and a rough snubbing into the bargain; but they were soon to fare better. In the year 1549, Cardinal Charles of Loraine, one of the most influential men in France at that time, who belonged to the equally powerful as wealthy house of Guise, made a journey to the Papal Court of Rome; and here Ignatius Loyola contrived, by flattering his passions, to gain him over to such an extent that the former

* About the year 1250, Robert, born at Sorbonne, in Champagne, Chancellor of Louis the Holy, founded in Paris a "Collegium Pauperum Magistrorum Studentium in Theologica Facultate," that is to say, an educational institution for poor young secular priests, which institution was designated after the founder "the Sorbonne." Whilst, however, the duty of teaching in the same devolved upon the professors of the Theological Faculty of the University of Paris, the said name was latterly attached to the Theological Faculty itself, and from the 14th century it never went by any other than the "Sorbonne."

promised, on his return to France, to take the Society under his special protection. This, in fact, he truly and loyally did, but, naturally, not so much, out of a feeling of friendship towards the holy Ignatius as from purely selfish motives, as he was promised for himself, and ventured to expect, great assistance from the Jesuits in carrying out his plans against the hated heresy of the Huguenots. Suffice it to say, however, that he did all in his power in their favour with Henry II. of France, and in consequence of this the Order obtained through a Patent Brief of January 1550, royal authority to establish a college in their abode in Paris, having the same privileges and rights as Jesuit colleges established in the other countries of Europe. The pious Fathers were now jubilant; but they had begun too soon to rejoice, as there was still something wanting to justify this glee, namely, the approval of the Parliament, the supreme tribunal of Paris.* The King of France, in fact, was not, as it happened, so absolute a monarch as his colleagues of Spain and Portugal, inasmuch as it had been the unimpeachable custom, for a century at least, that the royal ordinances, dispensations, and edicts could only have legal sanction accorded to them, and be observed by the French nation, after they had been recorded and registered by Parliament, and consequently the said tribunal, so to speak, stood in the relation of a legislative assembly—a legislative assembly, moreover, be it well understood, for old France, that is to say, for that portion of the French kingdom which during ages had belonged to the Crown territories of the French kings. The remaining, and certainly much smaller portion of the kingdom, which had been subsequently acquired either by conquest or through confiscation of feudal tenure, had, again, its own particular Upper Tribunal

* Parliament is derived from "parler," to speak, and originally signified an assemblage called together for the public discussion of this or that Act. Later on, in the 12th century, the French Senate, consisting of the highest nobility, set aside this name, and nominated a committee of the said Senate, which had to deal with the acts of the peers. Gradually, however, a permanent legislative commission was formed from this committee, a kind of supreme tribunal for which only experienced judicial legislators could be elected; and in order to secure the independence of this law court, a member could only be deprived of his place therein by a judicial sentence. Such was the Parliament of Paris as it was constituted in the 16th century, a most important tribunal, but, at the same time, a purely judicial one, which had no resemblance to what we now understand by Parliament.

or Parliament; * consequently, a royal decree, in order that it should be valid throughout the whole of France, must also be registered by all the Parliaments of the country. But still it seldom happened that the provincial Parliament differed from that of Paris, as the latter enjoyed special consideration, and consequently the whole of the law-courts centred in that corporation, where questions were determined by a majority of votes. King Henry II., as a matter of course, at once remitted his Patent Brief relating to the Jesuits to the Parliament of Paris, demanding its registration. The High Court of Law, however, referred the case for the consideration of its procurators, Bruslart, Marillac, and Segnier, and they at once declared that France stood in need of no new Order, more especially of none such as that of the Society of Jesus, which had been favoured by Rome with exemptions of so curious a nature. The supplicants, *i.e.* the Jesuits, were always at liberty to travel about among the Moors and Mahomedans with the object of converting them, but in France they were not required. This refusal and rebuff was taken up by the proud Cardinal of Loraine as an insult to himself, and afresh he urged the King to insist on his Patent Brief being carried through Parliament; and he so far succeeded as to cause the ruler to come to a firm determination on the subject. So Henry II. forthwith issued a command to the Supreme Law Court to register the brief. The latter now, however, showed its independence of royal caprice by, instead of obeying the command, handing over, as well to the Archbishop of Paris as to the Sorbonne, in order that they might be more carefully examined and well considered, the whole of the Acts, that is, the petition of the Jesuits, the Patent Brief of Henry II. together with all the Papal Bulls referring to the Society of Jesus. Eustach du Bellay, being at that time the Archbishop, took his time over the matter, in spite of all the King's importunity and the pressure put upon him by the latter; the Theological Faculty of the Parisian University, which at that time was not excelled in learning, stability, and talent by any other in the world, also pursued a like course. At the end of two years they were at length ready, and, strange to say, the

* Such parliaments existed from 1302 at Toulouse, from 1451 at Grenoble, from 1462 at Bordeaux, from 1476 at Dijon, from 1499 at Rouen, from 1501 at Aix, from 1553 at Rennes, from 1620 at Pau, from 1633 at Metz, from 1656 at Douai, and from 1775 at Nancy.

decision at which both parties had arrived agreed pretty well together, although that of the Archbishop was certainly much more moderate than that of the Sorbonne. The first declared that the privileges accorded to the Jesuits were not only contrary to the common law, but also equally so to the dignity and consideration due to the Bishops and Universities; and he, lastly, gave it as his opinion "that it would be more advisable to build houses for the supplicants on the frontiers of Turkey, in order that thence they might be able to convert the heathen, than that they should be allowed to have settlements in the midst of Christendom." The Sorbonne, on the other hand, in its sitting of 1st December 1554, delivered its decision (which it may be remarked was come to unanimously), verbatim in the following terms:—"This Society which arrogates to itself the name of Jesus, without having any right to do so, a name adopted by penal, dishonourable, and infamous people without distinction, whose members differ in no degree from the secular priesthood in customs, divine service, manner of life or clothing, although monks—this Society which, in regard to preaching and teaching, as well as the administration of the Sacrament, directly infringes upon the rights of the Bishops and Ordinaries, is in opposition to the whole of the hierarchical Orders hitherto established, and conduces to the detriment as well of other remaining Orders as of princes and the great men of the world, as also to the prejudice of university freedom and the injury of the people, has been accorded many privileges, indulgences, and liberties on the part of the Papal Chair—this Society casts a slur upon all other Orders of monks, weakens the diligent and pious exercises of virtue in the lonely cell, causes the members of other Orders to desecrate their vows, draws away believers from the obedience and submission which they owe to their ordinary spiritual advisers, robs ecclesiastical as well as secular authorities of their rights, and gives rise to disturbances in both of these classes as well as among the people, causing many hardships, controversies, schisms, and a number of other disorders. Indeed, in a word, when one takes everything into account, this Society appears to be destined to produce an imperilment of the faith, disturbance of the Church's peace, and the undermining of monachism. It is, in fact, more adapted for pulling down than for building up."

It was thus that the Theological Faculty of Paris expressed itself, in its celebrated sentence, and in consequence thereof the Parliament hesitated to give effect to the Patent Brief of the King. Eustach du Bellay, however, the Archbishop of Paris, thereupon went even a step further, and forbade the members of the Society of Jesus from henceforth exercising any priestly offices whatever within the range of his diocese.

The pious Fathers were then worse off than ever, as the power of the King could not protect them against episcopal orders, and consequently everyone expected that they would have, from this time forth, to turn their backs upon Paris for ever. They did not, however, by any means do so, for they contrived to find out a back-way of escape. They certainly, it is true, shut up their house in the Rue St. Jacques, leaving behind them only a few of their number for its management; they themselves, however, withdrew *in corpore*, as one is used to say, to the neighbourhood of St. Germain des Pres, to one of the magnificent abbeys independent of the bishopric of Paris, where they were joyfully received, and a chapel was therein allotted to them to enable them to hold divine service and carry on other priestly offices. At the same time their old friend, the above-mentioned William du Prat, Bishop of Clermont, in proof of his abiding favour, presented them with a large property in the little town of Billon, along with no less than 40,000 thalers in ready money, so that they might by these means be able to erect there a college.

They consequently, then, still remained in France, and acquired, moreover, another possession; it must be admitted, however, that this was as nothing compared with the property they had obtained in the other proper Roman Catholic countries. Besides this, did not the publicly expressed sentence of the Sorbonne find an echo throughout the whole of civilised Europe, and was not the injury arising to them out of this of much greater consequence than might have been at the first moment expected? Still, it is said, "Time will discover a plan," and the Jesuits relied upon this ancient proverb. Protestantism, or, more properly speaking, Calvinism, as is well known, now extended itself with rapid progress throughout France, and were it only to go on progressing at the same rate as it had already done, the Huguenots, as the adherents of the Reformation were

designated in France, must soon necessarily gain the upper hand.

Such a great misfortune for the Catholic Church, which now impended, the pious Fathers well knew how to turn most excellently to their own advantage, for they secretly spread themselves about everywhere, and more especially about the Court; and none were more skilful in fighting against the detested heresy than the members of the Society of Jesus, and in this, beyond all of them, did Father Pontius Gongordan especially excel, going about everywhere in ordinary plain clothes. On this account many of the French began now to look upon the Order with more friendly feelings, and the injurious impression caused by the Sorbonne decree by degrees disappeared, at all events among good Papists. A favourable circumstance for them now took place in the year 1559, when, on the death of Henry II., there came to the throne his first-born son Francis II., espoused to Mary Stuart; at that time the Queen's uncle, the Loraine Prince of Guise, was all-powerful at Court.* The pious fathers, however, with the Cardinal of Loraine at their head, urged the weak King to prepare a new Patent Brief in favour of the Jesuits, supporting it and exerting their influence upon Parliament with all their power, in order that the latter should undertake the registration of the King's commands. Strange to say, however, the Court remained obstinate, notwithstanding that it was well disposed, all the same, towards Catholicism, the proof of such being the case consisting in the fact that many sentences of death were hanging over the Huguenot heretics. It was, however, necessary for it to remain obstinate, as it rested with itself to save the rights of the Gallican Church, and the independence of the Government of the country in all secular affairs, since the sons of Loyola placed the Papal power above all church assemblies, as well as above princes, kings, and emperors, their whole thoughts and energies being, as we know, directed towards forming a universal Romish

* The House of Guise, an offshoot from the House of Loraine, was founded in the year 1527 by Claude, a younger son of Duke René of Loraine, who acquired by marriage the lordship of Guise. Claude left behind him six sons, the most distinguished of whom were Francis de Guise, Charles Archbishop of Rheims, and a Cardinal (commonly called Cardinal of Loraine), as well as five daughters, the eldest of whom, Marie, was married to James II. of Scotland, and gave birth to the unfortunate Mary Stuart.

Jesuitical despotism. Francis II. thus compassed the legal admission of the Jesuits even as little as Henry II. had done, and, as he died shortly afterwards, in the year 1560, his efforts were unavailing. It was not otherwise under his successor Charles IX., whose guardian, during his minority, was his mother, Catherine de Medicis. She certainly, at first, became captivated by the pious Fathers, and some authors even maintain that she had secretly selected Father William Petit as her Father Confessor. She also truly attacked the Parliament in two acrimonious documents, and demanded of the same that it should at length relax its opposition towards the Jesuit Fathers. She assuredly, too, did not hesitate to declare publicly as follows:— "One must hasten to receive the Jesuits into the kingdom, as, otherwise, from such delays and stubborn opposition they might be driven into an evil disposition, and be constrained to quit France again of their own accord, to the great detriment of religion and of the common weal." The Parliament, however, remained obstinate in its determination, and the only thing that it could be induced to do was to make a declaration that the Church Congress, which the Regent had the idea of summoning, should decide in regard to the reception or otherwise of the Jesuits. The said Church Assembly, or, more properly speaking, the said Religious Conference between the Huguenots and the Catholics, which was indeed at that time a thing determined upon, had for its object to make an attempt, if possible, to bring about some amicable arrangement and unity between the two parties into which France was then divided, with the view of averting a civil war, which otherwise appeared to be inevitable. Pope Pius IV. tried in every way to prevent this conference taking place, as the Chair of Rome was a sworn enemy to all such endeavours to bring about any such accommodation, attempts wherein the Romish Church always suffered in reputation through the skilful attack of the Protestants; but it was all in vain that he did so. By the invitation of the Regent the Catholic prelates, consisting of a body of six cardinals and forty bishops, with twenty-six doctors of theology, assembled together at Poissy, where the Conference took place at the commencement of the year 1561. At the same time there made their appearance fourteen Huguenot ecclesiastics, at whose head was the celebrated Theodor Beza, together with Petrus Martyr, while a number

of other secular gentlemen, who were desirous of attending the convention, were also present. The disputation at once commenced under the Presidency of Cardinal de Tournon; and the Catholic prelates, and more particularly the Cardinal of Loraine, gave themselves all the trouble possible to bring round the Huguenot preachers to their views. Still the Pope, in the first place, was right; that is to say, the affair turned quite contrary to their wishes, and the two distinguished leaders of the Huguenots, Beza and Martyr, daily obtained new adherents by means of their sharp intellect and stirring eloquence. Further help must, then, be obtained, if a deep incurable wound to the Roman Catholicism of the Papacy was not to be inflicted, and Pius IV., on that account, forthwith despatched to Poissy another legate, in the person of Prince Hippolyte d'Este, Cardinal of Ferrara, in order to uphold the rights of the Holy Chair, and he sent also, as a companion to the legate, Father Laynez, the then General of the Jesuits, as he, at that time, was held to be better fitted than anyone living, as a debater, to parry, by his masterly serpentine mode of speaking, the severe blows dealt by the Huguenot combatants. The General, indeed, completely justified the high opinion the Pope entertained of him, and the Catholic party had to thank his keen eloquence alone that it not only sustained no defeat, but even when the conference was broken up in the autumn, on account of its uselessness, without yielding an iota, it could claim a victory with the same right as the Huguenots. Laynez became, then, among the Catholics at Poissy, as may be well understood, the extolled hero of the day, and a man of such exalted talents had, indeed, a high claim upon their gratitude. On this account, therefore, when, through the Fathers Brouet and Pontius, he presented a carefully elaborated petition for the legal admission into France of the Society of Jesus, it met not only with the support of the whole of the prelates well disposed towards Rome, such as the Cardinal of Loraine and his friends, but also, indeed, of all the rest of the assembly—of course, with the exception of the Protestants, who by this time, however, had already taken their departure; so the required decree was at once prepared on the 15th September 1561. Nevertheless, this admission, properly speaking, did not take place unconditionally, as in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, but, on the other hand, the prelates introduced all kinds

of clauses therein, with reservations, in order to protect the rights and privileges of the Gallican Church; and, moreover, the Papal Bulls issued in favour of the Jesuits were subjected to the most rigid paring.

"Above everything must the sons of Loyola," thus the exceptional conditions are expressed, "lay aside the name of Jesuit, or Society of Jesus, as they are not more entitled to assume these designations than any of the other children of Christ." They had further "to renounce calling themselves a religious Order, like the Benedictines, Dominicans, Augustines, &c.; they, in fact, merely have the rights of a society or company, whose statutes are to be regulated according to the constituted laws. They must also, besides, promise to place themselves under the jurisdiction of the bishops of the dioceses in which they reside, the latter having it in their power to inflict the usual censures upon any of the members deserving of punishment. They should especially undertake nothing that would be detrimental to the bishops, founders, parsons, universities, or holy orders, and the Papal Bulls, which give them a special exemption, are to be of no effect or value. Lastly, they have to declare it to be understood by them, that the present exceptional permission should at once cease to have effect should they at any time overstep the conditions imposed upon them, or obtain other privileges from the Papal Chair which might be in opposition to any of the conditions above mentioned, and thus and upon these grounds and no other shall this treaty be concluded with them."

Such were the conditions which the convention of Poissy stipulated as regards the admission of the Jesuits into France, and one sees thereby with what extreme distrust even the ultra-Catholic French prelates looked upon the Order; but had one ventured to make even more stringent injunctions, in regard to the Society of Jesus, they would have been accepted. It only remained for them now to plant, therefore, a firm foot in France to make themselves powerful; once, then, that their first object was attained, what, eh! was easier for them than to break the stipulated conditions, and pay no further attention to the treaty to which they had agreed? "What does it matter as regards perjury if one does not swear?" says the Jew. The correctness of this conclusion shortly, then, became apparent. Scarcely had the pious Fathers secured the desired decree of legal permission

in their pockets than they at once pulled down their house in the Rue St. Jacques, in order to build in its place a beautiful new palatial college; and hardly had this magnificent building been erected than they placed in front of the same the inscription in black letters, "College of the Society to the Name of Jesus." Thus they acted, although during the first two years, as far as France was concerned, they had been obliged to submit to the renunciation of this name; still, that was by no means all that they did, but in addition they hastened to erect colleges in all the cities in that part of the country well affected towards Catholicism, as, for instance, in Avignon, Rhodas, Morioc, Bordeaux, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles, Clermont, De la Fleche, Rennes, Moulins, and wherever else such might be the feeling, and demanded for all those educational institutions the same rights and privileges which were possessed by the universities. Speaking more plainly, they were desirous of being qualified to create masters of philosophy and doctors of theology, similar to those of the Sorbonne in Paris, and, as the instruction was all given gratis, they hoped to obtain many students, that, in this way, they might soon be enabled to provide the whole of France with priests of their own stamp and of their own religious opinions. The University of Paris, however, opposed this arrogance with all its power, and along with it the Archbishop of Paris, the Prefects and the Mayor of the city, the Cardinal de Chatillon as Curator of the Sorbonne, the whole Orders of monks, and all of the regular clergy made common cause. In spite of all this, however, the Jesuits, favoured by the Court, and more especially by the Guises, persisted in their demands, and, as the matter was referred to Parliament, there now arose a trial which lasted more than two centuries without being brought to any definite conclusion—a trial during which the consideration in which the Society was held was more and more brought into disfavour, while the advocates of the university threw the most bitter reproaches in its teeth. But what did that signify to the warriors of Christ? They, however, gained this much by the said trial, that, urged by them to do so, the Queen Regent, in the meantime, gave them permission to open their schools, and commence their instructions, pending the legal issue of the matter; and on account of the enormous advantage which this license secured to them, they could well afford to

allow themselves to be more or less abused. There was only one great hindrance which stood in the way of the rapid spread of the Order of Jesus throughout France, and that was that by this time nearly one-half of the French people adhered to Protestantism, and, as may be well imagined, the pious Fathers directed all their attention and influence in urging on the Catholics in the conflict against heresy, as only by its extinction would it be possible for the Jesuits to become all-powerful. I will not, indeed, affirm that the civil war which at that period had begun to break out in France owed its origin entirely to the machinations of the Society of Jesus, as such an assertion as this might not be altogether founded on truth; but this, however, I will say, that the war in question would not have had so long a duration, and would not have been carried on with such ferocity as was the case, had no Jesuits existed in France. The pious Fathers themselves, indeed, took part in the fight, as, for instance, at the siege of Poitiers, where Brother Lelio Sanguini, afterwards declared to be a martyr, commanded the auxiliary forces sent by the Pope; again, in the battle of Garnac, in which Father Augnier had the honour of putting on the boots and cuirass of the Duke of Anjou! Then, was not their college in Paris the principal stronghold of the murderous crew which was let loose upon the poor Huguenots during the fearful night of St. Bartholomew; while another of their possessions in Paris, namely, their profess-house, gave shelter to Henry Duc de Guise, the leader of the troops engaged in the bloody work, for several days, immediately after the attempted assassination of Admiral Coligny.

For all the trouble, notwithstanding, that was taken by the Jesuits never to allow any truce to take place between the Catholics and Huguenots during their contentions, so as to make the same, indeed, a war of extermination, they were unable to succeed in this object as long as Charles IX. and his mother held the reins of government. Their worldly dominion lay too much at the hearts of both the King and the Regent to induce them to think, in earnest, of sacrificing the half of their subjects on account of the faith; and thus the war against the Huguenots was commenced, indeed, some four or five times, but on each occasion peace was concluded without much ground being gained upon the heresy. It was otherwise, however, under the

reign of Henry III (1574–89), the brother and successor of Charles IX., as this prince, totally enervated by debauchery, had already, while Crown Prince, been induced to take a member of the Society of Jesus, Edmund Auger by name, as his Father Confessor, whose influence as spiritual adviser prevailed no less than as we have already seen in the history of Portugal, in which country a like power was exercised. Unfortunately, the weak-minded Henry had long been accustomed to render obedience to his ambitious and imperious mother in all things, and from this he did not depart on becoming ruler. By the efforts of the Guises and the Jesuits, intimately allied to them, there now arose a new Huguenot war, which was indeed a frightfully bloodthirsty and devastating struggle. Still the Protestants, at whose head there fought Henry of Navarre, along with the great Condé, conquered one place after another during the year 1575–76, so much so that the Court concluded a new peace with them on the 8th of May of the last-named year, and granted to them unrestrained religious freedom, in addition to a number of places of refuge. But think what kind of religious freedom it was! Religious freedom granted to heretics by a Catholic King, and in a country which the Society of Jesus had selected as the scene of its dominion! Such a thing, indeed, was not to be allowed in any case, or at any rate must not be lasting, whenever it might again become possible to urge on the King to commence a new Huguenot war. What had previously taken place proved that the house of Valois, the designation by which the dynasty then reigning was called, would never allow itself to enter upon a war of extermination, and, consequently, it might be reckoned upon with certainty that a new war would but end again in a new peace. Moreover, what was to happen were Henry III. to die, as there was much reason to fear, without leaving behind him male heirs, and the next relative, Henry of Navarre, were to come to the throne? Truly, against such a contingency there was only one sole effectual remedy, namely, that of carrying out the idea of a universal monarchy, by getting the crown placed on the head of Philip II. of Spain, as had been already done in the case of Portugal. When matters had arrived at such a point as this, one might then, indeed, be pretty sure that the sword once drawn by the Catholics would never more be sheathed until all heretics within French confines

had been exterminated, and, on that account, the Jesuits forthwith took an oath to carry this plan into effect at any price. Still, at the same time, they took good care to do so without hurting in any way national French susceptibilities by intruding their views openly and without reserve, but they christened their small child by another name, viz. that of the Holy League of all Catholics against the Huguenot heresy. At the head and front of this confederacy they placed the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Guises, and they easily succeeded in winning over those parties to be in favour of their projects: the Pope, because it was a matter of vital consequence to him to see heresy exterminated; while to the King of Spain the vision of the crown of a mighty kingdom was before him; and so far as the Guises were concerned, they dared to hope that, under Philip II., residing so far away as Madrid, the whole governing power of France would be at their command. However, this was, after all, not so easily carried out as they would wish, as the Catholic people, the Catholic nobility, and the minor Catholic princes had to be won over to the plan, and only then would there be any hope of substantial success; and such a result it seemed, to begin with, beyond all human power to attain. The Jesuits, however, undertook the matter in question, and actually carried it out in its entirety.

From the year 1576—for in that year the league or treaty was concluded by the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Guises, for the dethronement of the legitimate royal family of France—there permeated emissaries throughout the whole of France, who instituted among the people "associations for the protection of religion"; but what was the fundamental object of such associations might be seen in this, that everyone entering into the brotherhood must solemnly pledge himself never to recognise the legitimate successor of Henry III. as heir to the throne. Moreover, the chief thing that was preached at all meetings, which were generally held in cities where the Jesuits had colleges and profess-houses, or in other particular localities, was that a good Catholic would disgrace the religion to which he belonged were he ever to offer any opposition to the views of the Spanish house or of the Papal See; these associations were nothing else, in fact, than conspiracies against the royal house of Bourbon and its heirs. No less activity was developed

among the Jesuits towards the Catholic nobility of France, as well as in gaining over the minor Catholic courts, as the Order had emissaries everywhere who knew how to conduct themselves like the most skilful diplomatists. Among these, Father Henry Sammier became especially distinguished—a man for whom nothing daring was too dangerous, and who understood how to fill, with the greatest skill, any part which might be assigned to him by the Society. At one time he would make his appearance as a soldier, and at another as a priest, while on a third occasion he would appear as a strolling pleasure-seeker; he was equally at home with cards, dice, and the fair sex, as with his breviary. With all this, he never lost sight of his mission which was "to gain over members for the League," and he carried on his operations in Germany, Spain, Italy, and France, between which countries he was always travelling backwards and forwards, conducting himself with such ability that he was simply designated "Director of the League." A no less conspicuous part was played by Father Claudius Matthew, who, during the reign of Henry III., conducted the correspondence between the Guises and the holy Father, and who, on that account, was continually on the road between Paris and Rome and Rome and Paris. He, again, went by the name of "Courier of the Leaguists," and it was through his zealous exertions that the Pope was induced to launch his nefarious Bull of excommunication against Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, in the year 1558. Another famous emissary of the League was Father Odon Pigenat, a man of almost stormy eloquence, who on that account was called the "Trumpeter of the League." Besides the foregoing may be mentioned also the Fathers Commolet, Mandoza, Aquillon, and Feria, who all performed important services to the League. The Jesuits were, indeed, the heart and soul of the Leaguist conspiracy, and it was through them alone that it grew to be of the strength and importance by which it was distinguished in French history. It fell, indeed, very little short of success, and had the Leaguist conspiracy been only carried through successfully the Society of Jesus would have seen at their feet the whole of France, just as much as Spain, Portugal, and Italy. On that account, then, did the Jesuits rejoice in their inmost soul, and they already stretched out their hands to clutch the magnificent booty, when one single over-hasty deed snatched away again

from them not only all the advantages they had hitherto attained, but also shut against them, almost for ages, the whole of the French kingdom. The account of this occurrence does not belong to this, but to the sixth and last book of my work, to which I must refer the reader.

V.—The Sway of the Jesuits in Germany and the Countries adjacent thereto.

In the preceding four sections I have shown what an incredibly powerful influence the Society of Jesus contrived to gain among the Romance nationalities, and it will be seen from the statements therein made that this result had been attained the more easily, and in a comparatively short space of time, on account of the Romish character of the Italian, Spanish, and other like nations; but a far more hard and difficult problem had the sons of Loyola before them in the land of the Germans, or, as it was at that time designated, "in the holy Roman Empire of the German nation," to establish themselves and bring it under their sway. On the whole, what had they after all gained when they had still to win the most mighty empire of Europe? What did it matter to them their sway in Italy, Portugal, and Spain, and even in France, when that great State was still not bound to own their allegiance, and whence, like a running stream of lava, gushed out a current of heretical and Lutheran opinions over the neighbouring countries and peoples? Frightful, ah! indeed frightful, it was for the adherents of Rome and the Catholic hierarchy, that just at the time when the founding of the Society of Jesus took place, as I have already pointed out in the first book of this work, Germany, as regards most of its provinces, had completely fallen away from Popery; and in others where it still existed, for every single adherent of Rome there were to be reckoned at least twenty, or even thirty, heretics. The cloisters remained forsaken, while the monks and nuns had become the subjects of derision. Moreover, seeing that hardly anyone gave a thought to the regular Catholic priesthood, it became all the more easy for the evangelical preachers, who were vastly in the majority, to take possession of all the churches of the land. So the flocks of Churchmen, still loyal to the old faith, continued to

decrease year by year, and there really seemed to be a certainty that the whole of Germany must be lost irretrievably, in the course of a few decades, should no effectual remedy be found for this fever of decay. But even this was not the sole cause for the greatest dismay, which arose from the extent of toleration, if not even of friendship and love, which had begun to spring up between Protestants and Catholics. After the first agitation which had been excited by the teaching of Luther, and, more especially, after the conclusion of religious peace at Augsburg, the waves of rancour as regards faith began to subside; and while persecution ceased, so also did the extreme division between Catholicism and Protestantism also dwindle and diminish. Both parties learned to bear with one another, and live peaceably among themselves, ceasing to insult and be inimical to each other. In the year 1564 it was thus reported by the Venetian Ambassador to the Senate of his native city:—

"One party has accustomed itself to put up with the other so well, that in any place where there happens to be a mixed population, little or no notice is taken as to whether a person is Catholic or Protestant. Not only villages, but even families are in this manner mixed up together, and there even exist houses where the children belong to one persuasion while the parents belong to the other, and where brothers adhere to opposite creeds. Catholics and Protestants, indeed, intermarry with each other, and no one takes any notice of the circumstance or offers any opposition thereto."

Such were the relations between the two parties throughout the whole of Germany, so much so, indeed, that even the lordships subject to Abbots and Bishops, the so-called episcopal territories, formed no exception to the rule, as best became apparent in the year 1580, when, at a time at which the blessing of toleration had already begun to disappear, the religiously zealous William V. of Bavaria made a proposal, in a circular letter addressed to those bishops whose dioceses extended into his dukedom, that "they should allow mixed marriages to be blessed without scruple in the territories immediately subject to His Princely Highness." And even this act of toleration was by no means enough! No, indeed; but even many princes of the Catholic Church in Germany went even a step further, and appointed men who were thorough Protestants to situations at

their Courts as counsellors, judges, magistrates, or whatever other office it might be, without any opposition or objection being offered thereto.* They even, indeed, submitted to the reproaches and censure put upon them by the Apostolical Chair, without caring anything about the matter, as, for instance, the case of Bishop John George of Bamberg quite clearly indicated when the latter, in 1577, nominated the Lutheran, John Frederick von Hoffman, to his Vicedom in the canonical possessions in Corinthia, and retained him in it up to the time of his death in 1587, notwithstanding that His Holiness Pope Gregory XIII. categorically demanded, in a special epistle, that this outrage should be cancelled. Things had indeed arrived at this pitch, and there could not, therefore, be any wonder that animosity and displeasure rose to their culminating point at the Papal seat of Rome. What, however, could be hit upon as a cure for this state of matters? All that had hitherto been done in the way of remedy had proved of no avail, but on the contrary, indeed, the pestilential evil continued to be more and more on the increase, so much so, in truth, that there remained but a very inconsiderable number of all the secular princes, not even excepting the Duke of Bavaria and the ruler of the Austrian territories, who remained faithful to the Roman belief. How was this? Had not the newly-created Society of Jesus inscribed war with heresy as a device upon its banner? Had not the warriors of Christ, the Jesuits, taken an oath that they would never rest satisfied until they had won over again to the Pope all those parties who had relapsed from the faith, and had they not already given ample proof that they were as capable even as they were willing to maintain this oath? Yes, indeed; it was they who had in their minds the words of the founder of our religion, "I am not come to bring peace, but the sword." It was they alone who were in a position to extirpate "the monsters who had devastated the vineyards," and to rivet again the holy Roman Empire in the old fetters. The Chair of Rome did not deliberate an instant in putting this difficult task upon their shoulders, and they themselves were equally zealous in the cause, and declared that they were prepared to undertake it.

* There are a very great number of papal dispensations still extant, preserved in episcopal libraries, from which it is apparent that such appointments were not at all exceptional instances. (See Dalham, *Concilia Salisburgensia.*)

They well knew, also, the reason why they thus acted. They were fully conscious that if they succeeded in fulfilling the demands of the Apostolic Chair, they would be rewarded with the richest evidences of its favour, and that all the ground that they conquered for Rome would be just so much gained for themselves, and that their dominating influence would become universal only when they had attained the reconversion of faithless Germany. They vowed, consequently, to take up arms in the field, as true knights of Catholicism, and as to how they performed this vow the following narrative will show.

The first Jesuits who favoured our Fatherland with their presence were the three Fathers Le Fevre, or Faber, as he was called in Germany, Le Jay, and Bobadilla. They were sent there by Ignatius himself, as I have already mentioned in the first book—Faber, indeed, in the year 1540, and the other two in the year following. He pointed out to them that the task that they had in common to execute was the sounding of the general condition of Germany at the time, and the spying as well into the innermost thoughts of the people. It was more especially requisite for them to acquire patrons and friends for themselves among those rulers still adhering to the Catholic faith, and to obtain advantages from them for the new Order, that no hindrances should stand in the way of their reception. All three of them did as they were directed, but each according to his own way and idea; and they certainly succeeded in sowing seed which, in a short time, became indeed a tree of gigantic dimensions. Faber directed his steps towards the Rhine, *i.e.* to Mayence, and to the Courts of two of the chief Prince Bishops of Germany, in order to induce them to establish Jesuit colleges in their territories, and, failing to succeed in that object, he made another conquest, which was of far greater value. This consisted in at once becoming acquainted with and gaining over for the Order, in May 1543, Peter Canisius, a theological candidate, and a youth at that time of three-and-twenty years of age, which stripling came from Nimwegen in Gelderland, belonging to Mayence. But this, of itself, was indeed an immense conquest, as Canisius was endowed with extraordinary intellect, and, in addition to great learning, possessed such a talent of eloquence as few mortals were then gifted with. Canisius naturally did not enter into the Order with the object of doing penance, but he perceived

at a glance what an immense field for ambition was presented by the Society of Jesus, and it became his great desire to play a distinguished *rôle* in the world. He, indeed, succeeded in this last respect almost beyond all expectation, as we shall presently see, and no single member of the Order accomplished more, in Germany at all events.

Bobadilla commenced his operations at first in Ratisbon, where, just at that time, a religious conference was going on between the Protestant and Catholic theologians; but he launched out so violently in a very vehement speech against Protestantism, that he exasperated the people to such an extent that he would soon have been thrown by them into the Danube had he not succeeded in effecting his escape in the darkness of the night. He got on much better in Munich, to which capital he now wended his way from Ratisbon, as he there established a position by the intruction he gave to a number of pupils, and after a lapse of some years he contrived by his courteous manner so to worm himself into the good graces of Duke William IV., that the latter would hardly do anything without his advice. He equally succeeded, also, without much trouble, in putting up that prince against the so-called "Interim," which the Emperor Charles V. wished to introduce all over Germany in the year 1548, so much so that it met with no success, at least in Bavaria; but, on the other hand, he was so short-sighted and injudicious as to give utterance to such insulting remarks about the Emperor, that Charles V., on being informed about the matter, made short work of it, and without any further ado banished him out of Germany.

Le Jay, the most experienced of the three delegated Loyolites, directed his steps towards the capital of Austria, and scarcely had he arrived there than he succeeded in fascinating the Viennese by his eloquent preaching. The brother of Charles V., Ferdinand I., who had been raised up to be a German king, was so carried away by his eloquence, and thereby became so favourably disposed towards him, that he desired in 1546 to make him Bishop of Trieste, which, however, as already mentioned in the first book, Loyola on good grounds interfered to prevent. Le Jay, consequently, continued to remain in Vienna, and exercised so much influence upon the King, that he induced the latter to erect a college for the Order in the above-mentioned city; up to this

time there had been no fixed habitation for the Society throughout the whole of Germany, but now, if only the capital would but lead the dance, other towns would doubtless follow suit. Still, notwithstanding the favour in which Le Jay stood at Court, and in spite of his being zealously supported in his proceedings by his trusted friend, Urban Tertor, the Father Confessor of Ferdinand, and Court preacher, the King hesitated for a long time, and it was not till the year 1551 that he handed over to the supplicant an abandoned Dominican cloister, which during the siege of Vienna by the Turks had been reduced almost to ruins by the bombardment. Le Jay, however, at once jumped at this, rejoicing beyond measure thereat, and presently begged Loyola to send him a dozen more Jesuits from Rome, in order that he might be enabled with these newly-acquired forces to commence a course of collegiate instruction. The General, too, of course, immediately complied with his request, and not only sent him at once eleven Fathers most distinguished for their gift of teaching, but nominated Le Jay to be the first rector of the first Jesuit colony established on German ground.

Such was the modest commencement of Jesuit operations in Germany; now, however, that the Society of Jesus had once taken the first step, which was followed by the activity of the Fathers Laynez, Salmeron, and Couvillon, at the Synod of Trent,* and had won a good reputation among the adherents of Rome, it proceeded to advance with gigantic strides, and Austria, more especially, proved itself to be a promising soil for its operations. Le Jay having died in the year following his nomination as "Rector of the first Jesuit colony," Canisius was chosen to be his successor, and this sagacious individual so contrived to insinuate himself into the confidence of King Ferdinand, that he soon became a most prominent person at Court, at least in clerical and religious affairs, so much so, indeed, that the King desired to nominate him Bishop of Vienna, and it required no end of trouble to divert the monarch's mind from this idea. Now, how-

* The papal stool in Rome, on whose commission the above-mentioned Fathers went to Trent as Theologians of the Pope, possessed none present at the synod who more zealously combated for its rights, real or assumed, than Laynez and his two companions. These three proved themselves, also, to be determined enemies of church reforms, and even the very clearest improvement was opposed by them, with a determination which approached almost to fanaticism. The particulars concerning this are to be found in Wessenberg's *History of Great Assemblies of the Church.*

ever, that Canisius, having arrived at this point, was obliged by order of his General to play a modest and humble part, so that something, one way or other, should be gained for the advantage of the Order, he showed himself all the more zealous. Among other things, he brought it about in 1554 that Ferdinand presented the beautiful and capacious Carmelite cloister to the Society in order that it might be converted into a Jesuit college, and also he obtained, two months later, another large building with the object of founding a civil convent, and four years afterwards a seminary sprang into existence for poor theologians, as well as an educational establishment for the youth of the nobility. Moreover, not only did the strongly credulous Ferdinand provide pleasant abodes for the sons of Loyola in his capital of Vienna, but he did so also in other parts of his dominions, and, indeed, throughout the whole of his empire, upon the openly declared ground "that bounds might be put to the constantly increasing progress of the Reformation." Some of these establishments were indeed very grand and imposing, especially that at Innsbruck in the Tyrol, and at Tyrnau in Hungary, as well as at Prague in Bohemia (previously the cloister of St. Clements). This latter college was provided with exceedingly rich endowments, and, indeed, after being established for seven years, was, in the year 1562, raised to be a regular academy for the study of theological and philosophical sciences, thereby enabling it to put itself in a position to enter into competition with the greatly celebrated University of Prague. In Bavaria, at the same time, Bobadilla had obtained a promise, in 1548, from Duke William IV., that he would erect a college for the Order; but so long as William lived this promise remained unfulfilled, in consequence of Bobadilla's banishment, and still less did his successor Albert V., who at the commencement of his reign showed himself to be very tolerant in religious matters, think of attracting to himself the Jesuits who remained in the country. This toleration was not by any means agreeable to the liking of the sons of Loyola, and, indeed, the Duke was suspected of being secretly, in his inmost mind, inclined himself to be favourable to heresy. Nothing could actually have been more untrue; but what did that signify, when by a falsehood one might succeed in gaining one's end; and the Loyolites, indeed, attained *their* object! The Duke was, therefore, in the highest degree irritated when the com-

munication was made to him, by those about him, of the estimation in which he was held by his orthodox subjects, and the wily Canisius took advantage of this irritation when he was sent from Vienna to Munich in 1555, with great recommendations in his pocket from King Ferdinand, in order to represent to the great man how that there was no more effectual means of counteracting the injurious suspicion placed upon him than to welcome as his protector the Society of Jesus, now treated with so great consideration by the Pope and all good Catholics. This enlightened the Duke considerably, and he at once bound himself, in a treaty concluded with Canisius, on the 7th December 1555, to build a grand college for the Order at Ingoldstadt, with a considerable endowment. He not only promised this, but also expedited the construction of the building so rapidly that the institution was actually opened in the year following, with ten Jesuit teachers sent in haste from Rome. Still not satisfied with such success, the insatiable Canisius longed to establish a permanent abode in the Bavarian capital itself, and did not rest until he induced Albert V. to erect, in the year 1559, that beautiful college in Munich, the construction of which is even now an object of admiration to all connoisseurs in art. With the approval of his General in Rome, having now first of all appointed his step-brother Theodor Canisius to be the first rector of the institution, Peter Canisius returned to Vienna, in order to pursue his work as first Provincial of the Jesuit province of Upper Germany, comprising the countries of Austria, Bavaria, and Suabia. From this time forward, the founding of new colleges proceeded vigorously, and especially in the territories of those German princes of the Church in which the majority of the inhabitants had become Protestants.

The Jesuits now commenced a system of sending out insinuating emissaries, who travelled through the countries by order of their General, with the view of bringing the most conspicuous of the prelates to the conviction that the question of their sway, or, at all events, of its permanency, not only depended upon the obedience of their subjects in regard to spiritual matters, wherein they had become in a measure independent, but that political considerations as well must not be overlooked, for it might one day happen that their sceptre might be wrested from them, in which case the people would

reckon upon the support of the neighbouring Protestant princes. "Against such a danger, it should always be considered that the most effectual counteracting means would be the return of the whole population to Catholicism, and without doubt the men best fitted to bring about this desirable object would be the members of the Society of Jesus, who, it was well known, had for their chief aim the conversion of heretics."

Such-like representations seldom remained without effect, and, above all others, the Cardinal Bishop of Augsburg, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, accorded to them his approval. He hastened, therefore, in the year 1563, to establish a college for the sons of Loyola in Dillingen, and at once handed over, to their guidance, charge of the High School there, which he had founded fourteen years previously. It was more difficult for him, however, to open to them the gates of Augsburg itself, as the magistrates, as well as his own chapter, opposed with all their might the settlement therein of the sons of Loyola. At length, however, but only after the death of Bishop Otto, in the year 1579, the founding—under tolerably restricted conditions—of a Jesuit college was successfully effected, and the very wealthy, as well as very bigoted Fugger family, took good care that it was sufficiently well endowed. Jesuit settlements were, furthermore, established in Würtsburg, in the year 1564, through the Bishop at that time reigning there, Friedrich von Wirsberg, as also, four years subsequently, in Mayance and Aschaffenburg by the influence of Archbishop Daniel, who also endowed both of them very richly. In the year 1570 the same thing was done by Archbishop James III. of Treves; or, rather, he merely carried out what his predecessor John VI. had already projected. Upon this, then, followed the establishment of the Colleges of Foulda (1573), and of Heiligenstadt, Eichsfelde, Cologne, Coblentz, as well as Spiers, the last four in the year 1581.

I have, finally, still to mention the colleges, seminaries, and residences in Ratisbon (1589), in Munster (1589), in Kildesheim, and in Paderborn, all of which, with the exception of the latter, which had Bishop Theodor von Furstenberg to thank for its existence, were called into being by members of the Bavarian ducal house, who derived their origin from the Wittlesbach family, all of whom were bishops.

We see, then, that within a few decades the Jesuits made right good progress, although not such as they had effected in Spain, Italy, and Portugal. They had achieved this result, however, not by any means without contention and strife; for the municipalities at the time being, as well as frequently the regular clergy, along with the chapters, considered it expedient to throw every conceivable obstacle in the way of their settling, and not seldom the help of the Emperor was invoked, as the highest authority of the German Empire. When, however, it had got as far as this, at least as long as Ferdinand I. reigned, the Jesuits could readily count upon a decision in their favour, and even his successor and son, Maximilian II. (1564–76) was not, indeed, altogether antagonistic to them. This celebrated monarch observed more toleration than any of the House of Hapsburg, either before or after him; and, if he did not exactly grant to his Protestant subjects an entirely free exercise of their religion, it was that he did not, on the same ground, consider it well to do aught to imperil, in any way, the existence of the Society of Jesus. He was anxious, rather, to deal justly towards all and everyone, and when, in the year 1566, the Austrian Parliament, the members of which, being then almost all thoroughly Protestant, demanded the complete expulsion of the Jesuits from the Grand Duchy, he replied: "That is the Pope's affair; it rested with me to drive out the Turks—not, however, the sons of Loyola." One cannot, therefore, designate the time of Maximilian II.'s Government as being at all unfavourable to the Order of Jesuits; and, still less was this the case under his successor, Rudolph II., who reigned from 1576 to 1612. This monarch, at the particular desire of his relative Philip II., King of Spain, was educated in Madrid until his twentieth year, and it may be well imagined how the Jesuits, all-powerful at that Court, knew how to bring their influence to bear upon the shy, weak, and unstable prince. They got him, indeed, completely in their power; and as they moulded him to their wishes in his youth, they also led him during his manhood, and, with Father Lorenz Magius at their head, kept him in leading-strings throughout the whole period of his government. Consequently, on ascending the throne in the year 1580, he immediately presented to them the vacant cloister of St. Anne in Vienna, with all its rich possessions, and similarly, in the year 1581, he conferred great privileges upon

the Jesuit College founded at Olmutz by Bishop William Brussinowski von Kiczkowa, and, moreover, even permitted the erection of another Jesuit colony at Brunn in Moravia. He gave, also, his support to the efforts of the Order to form a settlement at Glatz in Silesia, as well as at Thurocz in Hungary, overcoming all the difficulties advanced by the Parliaments of Silesia and Hungary, although they clearly represented how inadmissible was the way in which the Jesuits proceeded to install themselves. For this reason, indeed, the sons of Loyola refrained from censuring their great patron when he succeeded in finding favour in the eyes of several of the Court ladies, and even when he occasionally descended amongst the humblest of their ranks, and sometimes conducted himself with force and violence towards his mistresses; the Jesuits, indeed, rather encouraged him in his wild conduct, calling his attention to new charms when they were of opinion that special advantages might be obtained for themselves through their possessors. As yet, however, the founding of colleges and the acquiring of settlements throughout the entirely, or partially, Catholic territories of Germany, was still far from being by any means satisfactory, as, in spite of the establishment of these colleges and settlements, the great majority of the Germans still adhered to the Protestant faith; and as long as this was the case there could be no question as to the proper sway of the Order of Jesus in the Roman Empire. "Wholesale conversion" must follow, if anything of great importance was to be effected, and, in order to pave the way for this, it must be necessary to put an end to the friendly intercourse which had hitherto subsisted among the Catholics and Protestants. The old rancour between the two opposite faiths, which for several decades had remained dormant, must again be stirred up; and the spectre of religious fanaticism must no longer be allowed to remain chained in hell, to which it had for some time been consigned. When things came so far as this, that the Catholics had been roused to entertain resentment, and more especially the rulers among them had been excited to such a pitch of anger as earnestly to desire the complete extermination of heresy, then, indeed, might the visor be thrown aside, the time having at length arrived for conversion by force to be initiated, and then, also, might the expectation of final victory be entertained. In the meantime,

through the royal House of Hapsburg, the two most mighty thrones in the world, those of Spain and Austria, had been secured, together with a number of the neighbouring provinces. Moreover, was not powerful Bavaria, and were not all of the Catholic Principalities, on their side? and what was even of still greater consequence, were not the Protestants themselves divided into two parties, who were so inimical towards each other that their large numerical preponderance was not by any means a real one, but existed only on paper? Certainly the division of Evangelicals into the two sects of Lutherans and Calvinists must, of itself, be a great advantage for Catholicism, and when once an established hatred had been thoroughly roused between them, or, at least, when such a feeling was known to exist, unanimity could never again be brought about among them; and then, indeed, would they not be weakened by at least one half? Such was the remarkably shrewd calculation respecting the situation made by the Jesuits, and the honour of the discovery or, at any rate, of its practical application, was due, before all other able heads, to Father Peter Canisius, to whom I have already made frequent allusion. The mode in which he proceeded to carry out his projects was, besides, not open or straightforward; his means were rather sly and stealthy, like the steps of a cat. At the period that the operations of the Jesuits in Germany began, almost all religious education was in the hands of the Protestants, and those for the most part firmly adhered to the catechism of Luther, which, indeed, reflected the Evangelical faith in short, clear, and distinct formulas. Every one, even among the common people, could easily understand his catechism, and on that account it was to be found in every school and almost in every family. It might well be affirmed, indeed, that the great extension to which Protestantism had at that time attained was in no small degree to be attributed to that popularly written little religious book. But how was it now, in this respect, in the Catholic world? Ah! they did not possess any work at all approaching to it, but the whole of their religious instruction was confined entirely to the public devotional exercises prescribed by the priesthood, namely, the Mass, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, along with processions. Consequently, it now entered into the head of Canisius to supply this notorious want, by publishing a handbook of Catholic

instruction, after the pattern of the Lutheran catechism, and therefore, in the year 1554, there appeared, written in Latin, his *Summa Doctrinæ Christianæ*, that is to say, *The Summary of Christian Teaching*. But while the *Summa* entered considerably into details, he prepared, at the same time, an abridgement of it, after the form of the smaller Lutheran catechism, under the title of *Institutiones Christianæ pietatis, seu parvus Katechismus Katholicorum*, and also took care that a German translation as well should appear of this "small Catholic catechism." Both of these publications soon found an enormous circulation, as Ferdinand I. of Austria (12th August 1554), as well as King Philip II. of Spain (6th December 1557), ordered their general introduction into all schools and educational institutions within their dominions; the best proof thereof was that thirty years after its first appearance the *Summa* had already reached its four hundredth edition, while, at the same time, the small catechism was to be found in nearly every Catholic house in town or country. But what were the principles which were inculcated by these *Principles of Christian Piety*? Was there any of the spirit of Christianity or of Christian love contained in them? No, no; oh, three times no! It was the spirit of intolerance that was therein displayed, the spirit of religious rancour, the spirit of religious fanaticism.

"Only he was a Christian" (according to the teaching of Canisius) "who acknowledged the Pope as the representative of Christ; those, on the other hand, who did not do so were deserving of the punishment of eternal hell-fire." He even condemned "the holding of any intercourse whatever with heretics as highly deserving of punishment and supremely dangerous on account of contagion; but friendship with apostates, or, in a still greater degree, connection with them by marriage, led to immediate damnation, and the good Catholic must avoid every Protestant as he would a person tainted with leprosy. He must, indeed, not only shun him, but he must fight against him, as one has to contend with the wicked, and the more valorously one carries on the combat, the more one contributes to the extermination of heresy, so that the rays in the halo surrounding the head of the beloved Son of the only blessed Church should thus shine more brightly."

In this way did Canisius teach, and the great aim and

object of his religious handbook could be looked upon as nothing else than an endeavour to propagate the extension of hatred among the Catholics towards the non-Catholic community. He also fully attained this object, as a more poisonous seed of the dragon was never sown than in this case, while the whole of the Catholic rising generation was henceforth brought up in accordance with this said spirit of religious rancour. Now, moreover, as this fanatic hatred began to take root, opportunity must, of course, be given for it to express itself; and on that account, in the year 1570, the Jesuits determined, by an arbitrary rupture of religious peace, to initiate a kind of Protestant persecution in a small way. This persecution was at the same time to be a sort of touchstone, whereby to show whether the Evangelicals would allow of it without at once taking up arms; and according as it turned out, one might either in this way proceed further, or temporise for some time longer. It was not, indeed, necessary to consider long where to carry out the tragedy now about to commence, for an opportunity at this time offered itself respecting the princely Abbey of Fulda, one of the smallest priestly principalities of Germany. It was here, at the beginning of the year 1570, that Balthasar von Dernbach, a priest brought up in the Protestant faith, but who had only latterly gone over to Catholicism, had been elected Abbot; immediately after his installation, he summoned the Jesuits to his small court, notwithstanding that previous to his accession to the Government he had bound himself by an oath not to burden the bishopric with any foreign ecclesiastics. The sons of Loyola, naturally enough, came, and at once began to make themselves at home; they at the same time urged upon their protector that he should come forward as a hero of the faith, and restrain his Protestant subjects, who for several generations had lived unmolested, from the free exercise of their religion. The zealot Balthasar, like all new converts, acted at once with vigour, and not only turned to the right-about the pair of Evangelical clergymen in his diocese, but even handed over their churches to the Jesuits, in order that they might from that time conduct public worship therein. This oppressive action of the Abbot created an enormous uproar throughout Germany, and the most prominent Evangelical members of Parliament took up the cause of the poor oppressed

people, writing at the same time to their oppressor, demanding that he should remove the Jesuits and discontinue his oppressive measures. On the other hand, however, he received the highest approval of his conduct from the Pope, as well as from the Romanists on German soil; and Albert V. of Bavaria, as well as the Archduke Ferdinand of Austrian Tyrol, promised him their strenuous support. Both parties now finally appealed to the Emperor, and seeing that at that time Maximilian II. was in possession of that dignity, it was fully expected that strict justice would be done. The question, however, did not actually come before the Emperor for his decision, as the Chapter of Fulda, who were equally in the highest degree incensed at the appointment of the Jesuits, by the aid of the united knighthood of Hesse insisted upon the abdication of Balthasar in June 1576, and handed over the administration of the Abbey to Bishop Julius of Würzburg, who put an end to the discontent by the removal of the Jesuits.* As it was now indubitably apparent, as the result of their proceedings in Fulda, that the Protestants hesitated to have resort to arms, the sons of Loyola saw fit to begin the same game in some of the other archiepiscopal states, and they selected the Archbishopric of Mayence for their purpose. In this territory Protestantism had by degrees become so established that some of the villages and towns, more especially Düderstadt and Heiligenstadt, contained only a few Catholic families, nor was it uncommon that Lutheran clergymen were actually appointed by Catholic patrons. No opposition had been offered to this state of matters, and the burgesses of both confessions lived quite cordially together during several decades. It was quite different, however, in this respect, on the accession of Archbishop Daniel, as he selected as his Father Confessor the Jesuit Louis Backarell, and moreover, the Jesuit Provincial of the Lower Rhine, Father Tyreus, obtained the greatest influence over him. At the instigation of Backarell and Tyreus, Daniel declared himself ready to commence purifying the whole of the bishopric from heresy, and as it had more par-

* It was not for long, however, as I shall presently remark. After much strife and contention, the deposed Abbot was restored in the year 1602, under the Emperor Rudolph II., and he thereupon immediately recalled his beloved Jesuits. He also succeeded, with their assistance, in bringing over again his whole country to Catholicism, and on that account he obtained a special letter of thanks from Pope Clement VIII.

ticularly domesticated itself in a place called Eichsfeld, he nominated a certain Leopold von Stralendorf as chief magistrate of that district, a man whom the Jesuit Lambert Auer had converted to the only saving Church from the Protestant faith.

This person might, indeed, be called a man after the heart of the Order of Jesus, and his zeal was so great that he carried out the expulsion of the Protestant ecclesiastics from all of the villages of his circle. He had, indeed, at his disposal, to assist him in this work, an armed troop, who made short work with the contumacious, and he might be pretty well sure that even the hardest of his regulations would meet with the hearty approval of the ruler, or rather of the Jesuits as rulers of the ruler. The inhabitants of Düderstadt alone showed any hesitation in deciding upon giving over their churches to the Jesuits for them to conduct their religious services therein, and declared themselves prepared to meet force by force.

What did the Archbishop do now by the advice of Stralendorf and his Father Confessor? He forthwith prohibited all his subjects (1576) from procuring beer from the contumacious town, and thereby deprived it of a chief source of existence. Besides this, he also levied taxes upon the civic revenues of all the surrounding villages, with the alternative of arrest in case of failure, and, finally, in this way, compelled the burgesses to give in after a continued resistance of three years' duration.

In the Archbishopric of Mayence, then, the Jesuits succeeded in their aim, as to the suppression of heresy, without any very great difficulty, and this circumstance, therefore, gave them encouragement to proceed in the same manner in the Bishoprics of Treves and Worms. Here, also, everything went in accordance with their wishes, or, at all events, mostly so, and on this account their courage assumed always increasing dimensions. Still, however, they would never have dared to offer opposition to Protestantism with even more startling boldness, had it not been for a peculiar case which showed them that they might with impunity attempt anything, even of the most foolhardy nature, against their antagonists, though the latter were by far numerically superior to them, and this peculiar case was the celebrated defection of the Archbishop Gebhard of Cologne from the Catholic faith.

Gebhard had sprung from the celebrated house of the Truchsissen (grandmasters) of Waldberg. Those who wish to read the whole story in detail, may do so either in my own or some other history of Germany; but we may here in a few words relate how that the said Gebhard, after he had succeeded, in 1570, with much trouble, in getting himself raised to the dignity of archbishop, no lesser a personage than Duke Ernest of Bavaria being his fellow candidate for this distinguished position, and shortly after his elevation to it, was seized with such a violent passion for the beautiful Countess Agnes von Mansfeld, that he could no longer live without her. The question with him now came to be, what was he to do under the circumstances? Should he abdicate as his predecessor Salentin von Isenberg had done, who, with the Pope's approval, had reverted to the condition of layman in order to be in a position to be able to marry? Must he abdicate, and instead of being a rich and electoral prince, with almost royal consideration and income, become again a poor count? No, by no means; that was, indeed, too much to be demanded of him; and consequently Gebhard determined to adopt another way of getting out of the difficulty, namely, he openly went over to the Protestant faith in the year 1582, and married his beloved Agnes; he did not, however, on that account, relinquish the Bishopric of Cologne, but, on the contrary, continued to reign as he had done hitherto, and with the publicly expressed avowal of making it henceforth an heritable Electorate. In this bold undertaking, he, of course, naturally reckoned upon having the support of the great Protestant party of Germany, as it was of great importance to them to have one Catholic Electoral hat the less in the Empire; and, moreover, it might, he considered, be looked upon as a certainty that most of the inhabitants of the Archbishopric would follow the example of their ruler, and go over to the Evangelical faith. What a gain would there then be for Protestant interests, and, at the same time, what a blow would be dealt to Catholicism if Gebhard carried out his intention! All the friends of Rome were consequently at once seized with panic and horror, and more especially the Jesuits, as soon as they heard this news; so messengers were immediately sent off to Italy, in order to get the Pope, Gregory XIII., to launch instantly his anathema upon the apostate prince of the

Church. This took place, and even more than this, indeed, for Gregory not only excommunicated Gebhard, but also pronounced upon him the sentence of deposition from the Electorate, thereby giving a slap on the face to German rights. The Chapter of the Cathedral, which was now assembled outside of Cologne, proceeded to a new election in the year 1583, and the choice fell upon Duke Ernest of Bavaria. As Gebhard, however, would not voluntarily yield, but resisted to the uttermost, the former brought against him a powerful army, to which flocked his brothers and cousins, as well as many other high Catholic personations, at the instigation of the Jesuits; and, aided with money and men, proceeded to seize upon the Bishopric by force.

What now took place on the side of the Protestant princes? They saw very well that, as the whole German world friendly to the Pope now embraced the side of Ernest of Bavaria, Gebhard must of necessity be defeated if powerful aid was not given to him, nor did it escape their observation that great advantages would accrue to the Protestant Church were the victory to be on the side of Gebhard, and consequently no one in the world gifted with any sense doubted that the Catholic army would be encountered with a Protestant force. How differently, however, did it turn out! Gebhard, poor man, had not, as it appeared, adopted the teaching of Luther, but, on the contrary, that of Calvin; and as soon as the Lutheran princes became aware of this fact, they completely withdrew their support from him. They, in their spiritual narrow-mindedness, hated Calvinism even more than the Papal, or, indeed, the Turkish abomination; how could they then give their countenance to an adherent of that faith? Gebhard might, indeed, beg and pray as he would, and even bind himself to allow all his subjects to become Lutherans; nothing could overcome the hatred of such faith among the Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, and the like, and they looked with the gravest indifference and scorn at the further proceedings of the Witelsbacher. This was truly "more than brutal stupidity"—(*belluina stupiditas*)—writes a contemporary historian, the Swiss Gualtherus; but the narrow-mindedness, of the Lutheran princes did not perceive this to be the case, not even when Gebhard, after losing Bonn, the last of his strongholds, was compelled to fly to Holland in the year 1584; and when the new Archbishop, Ernest, compelled by force all

his subjects, hitherto Lutherans, to return again to the Catholic faith. What a glorious triumph now was this for the Catholics, and more especially for the Jesuits. More than this, with what heartfelt scorn did the latter look down upon the wrong-headed Lutherans, whose blindness, disorganisation and weakness were now apparent to everyone. The natural result of this victory, gained at Cologne, was that the whole of the Episcopal sees, as they in future became vacant, were filled up by men Jesuitically minded; as, for instance, those of Freisingen, Wildesheim, Liege, Hablo, Munster, Osnabruck, Minden, and Paderborn. The first five, indeed, were all united together by Ernest of Bavaria, the Archbishop of Cologne, all were completely in his hands, and one may well imagine what a fine kind of life was led by this spendthrift, without strength either of mind or body, and entirely governed by the Jesuits.* In the other three spiritual principalities it went otherwise, and only by a hairbreadth; the Jesuits, however, had free scope to proceed with their operations of conversion within them without the least obstacle being placed in their way by either high or low. They also, indeed, succeeded in a comparatively short space of time in again bringing round to Roman Catholicism all the Evangelicals in these territories; and one might be tempted to feel astonishment at these stupendous results, were it not that taking into consideration the ways and means which they employed, the illusion is at once removed. This may best be made clear by an example, as in the case of the Bishopric of Paderborn. Here Protestantism had, indeed, already taken deep root, and when, in the year 1585, the Jesuits' friend, Theodore von Fürstenburg, was raised to the throne, if one may be allowed to make use of the expression, hardly one tenth part of the whole population, both in the capital as well as throughout the territory, belonged to the old faith. In consequence of this state of matters, the whole of the magistracy, which were elected by the people, were worshippers of heresy; and the ruler had, therefore, to take good care not to issue any order of an anti-Protestant sounding nature, otherwise not only would it be disobeyed, but it would be even treated with mockery and disdain.

* The proof for this assertion can be read in Aretius' *History of Maximilian I.*, in which the miserable condition of Ernest, and his immorality, are depicted.

On this account the Jesuits, as they entered into the small kingdom along with Theodore von Fürstenburg, and obtained from him money and the site for erecting a Jesuit College, said to themselves, "Here, at least at the commencement, nothing can be effected by the hitherto favourite means of force, but it will, first of all, be necessary that the field-acre (as they termed the territory of Paderborn), should be well prepared before it could, to good purpose, be gone over with the plough." Experience had, as previously shown, proved that certainly Protestant princes and deputies need not be feared any more than formerly in Cologne; but the people of Paderborn must not be roused to anger, and thereby driven either to depose the Bishop, or to cause him to abdicate, and to give the Loyolites their *congé?* Prudence, therefore, dictated that the faith of the people in their Protestant belief must first of all be shaken, previous to the Catholic faith being offered them, and, in order to accomplish this, one must not drive it into them with the fist. On the contrary, it is necessary to proceed with subtlety, modesty, and humanity, as if one was unable to count even five. One must conduct oneself like an innocent child in order to gain the confidence of the people, and, above everything else, it is imperative to exhibit a halo of sanctity round the head, in order thereby to give Catholicism the appearance of being the sole saving faith. The sons of Loyola, therefore, acted thus, and proceeded, indeed, with a patience and perseverance worthy of all commendation. They found themselves, however, in an exceedingly difficult position, as the Paderborners received them not only with extreme distrust, but even with the most intense hatred, and they barely, indeed, escaped being stoned on their making their appearance in the streets. Many, indeed, entertained the conviction that the pious Fathers were not even made of flesh and blood, like other mortals, but that they were demons spewed out of hell; and the women, especially, were in the habit of frightening their children with the name of the Black Brotherhood. By degrees, however, people were brought to change their opinions and sentiments. Ah! the Fathers conducted themselves so lovingly, and with such kindness of heart, that, in fact, it came even to be considered a sin to think ill any longer of such angelic beings. They voluntarily attended upon the sick, and without any recompense or reward. They not

only nursed them tenderly, but provided them also with food and drink when necessary. They educated the rising generation, too, without recompense; they not only educated them, indeed, but they even supplied the needy ones among the children with lodging and clothing, relieving the poorer parents of a burden which weighed heavily on their heart. Then, in addition to all this, wonderfully beautiful processions were introduced from time to time by the worthy Fathers, while, to crown all, the pageantry, pomp, and splendour of their religious services made an impression in the eyes of the non-Catholic population. They lastly, moreover, knew how to make use of the credulity of the masses in the most cunning way, and especially of the women; and from this time forward no daughter of Eve dared to work against them, as on one occasion a woman, who had hitherto been one of their most deadly enemies, had a miscarriage—a circumstance which was represented by them as a punishment from heaven. In short, they succeeded so well in gradually inducing the people of Paderborn to change their opinions that, in a period of less than eleven years, they were no longer hated by the majority, as before, but even contrived to make no less than seven hundred and fifty proselytes.

Having thus, then, got on so far as to consider that they had sufficiently prepared the soil, in order, as I have said before, to be able to go over it with the ploughshare, they now began to throw off their sheeps' clothing, and, on the other hand, to assume again their own true wolf-skin. In other words they now urged their patron, the reigning Prince Bishop, to further the work of conversion by coercion, and, of course, Theodor von Fürstenberg promised to meet their wishes in every respect. He accordingly issued an order, in the year 1596, that all Protestant ecclesiastics should either revert to Catholicism, or leave the country without the least further delay; whoever did not at once obey was imprisoned, and kept on bread and water until he at length became compliant. As a matter of course, he delivered over to the Jesuits, at the same time, all the churches belonging to the Protestants, and these did their best endeavour, and skilfully made use of all their persuasive powers, in order to instil into the people the doctrines of the old faith. With many, too, they were successful; but by far the greater majority still remained stubborn, and after earnest exertions,

extending over a period of six years, the sons of Loyola came to the conclusion that they would be unable to attain their object by the means they had hitherto employed. The Bishop, therefore, by their advice, adopted another method, namely this, that all his Evangelical subjects were given the choice of becoming again Catholic, or of quitting the country; a method which proved to be of a much more effectual nature. Nor did he remain satisfied with this order only, but he stationed, at the same time, a number of troops about his dominions, with whose assistance the Jesuits knew well how to give expression to their episcopal teaching. In what manner did the burgesses of the towns and inhabitants of the country receive this frightfully cruel arrangement? Eh! part, indeed, did either become again Catholic, or emigrated to neighbouring countries; but another part now forsook the quiescent attitude which they had hitherto strictly maintained in regard to the law of the land, and, in their rage and fury, stormed the Jesuit College, threatening to put all its inmates to death. This, however, was a frightful mistake, for now the Jesuits had reason to call out "Rebellion," and assured the Bishop that he would be quite justified in making short work with the mutineers. They next came to blows, and in the strife the burgesses, unaccustomed to the use of arms, and, besides, having no one to take the lead, were of course defeated. In short, it was not long ere the rebellion was suppressed, and the result was that, in the year 1604, the whole of the people of Paderborn had to abjure Protestantism, and pay homage afresh to their liege lord. In this manner the sons of Loyola attained their object in Paderborn; and, in precisely the same manner, they set about the business of conversion to Catholicism from Protestantism in the remaining Principalities of which I have made mention. Still the results were, after all, of not so great consequence, as the above-named territories formed, relatively speaking, but a small portion of Germany, and consequently there was no need for wonder when the pious Fathers were observed to brood over the matter day and night, considering whether it might not be possible for them, with the aid of the secular rulers, to purge, now this province, now that dukedom, or even that kingdom, of Evangelical teachers. More especially did they direct their attention in this respect to "Inner Austria," as it happened to

be governed by a man quite after their own heart; so here again their schemes met with success. King Ferdinand I. so divided by his will all his heritable possessions between his three sons, that the eldest, who became his successor directly in the Empire, obtained the Archduchy of Austria, along with Bohemia and Hungary; the second-born, Ferdinand, the Tyrol, along with Outer Austria; and the third, Carl, that of Inner Austria—that is to say, Styria, Carinthia, Krain, Görz, Istria, and Trieste. Now this Archduke Charles, the founder of the Styrian line of the House of Hapsburg, was held by the Loyolites in great estimation; and they well knew what they were about, as the same duke had, in the year 1571, married Maria, daughter of Albert V. Duke of Bavaria, who, being a supremely pious Catholic, was esteemed by the Jesuits with the innermost devotion of their hearts. Having convinced herself that the greater part of Inner Austria at that time adhered to the Evangelical Church, she never ceased to din into the ears of her husband that there was no other means of preventing the complete overthrow of the true faith than by convoking the aid of the Black Brotherhood, and she soon succeeded in inducing her husband to believe in what she told him. He, consequently, made an application for his assistance to the General of the Order in Rome, who sent him, in the year 1573, five members of the Society, at the same time promising that several others should immediately follow whenever there appeared to be need of them. Those five, however, at once domesticated themselves in Gratz, the capital of the country, and soon obtained from their high patron so many buildings, together with so much money and property, that within the course of a few years they possessed a college and seminary for priests, and an educational establishment for the nobility. In spite, however, of accomplishing all this, they did not succeed in attaining great results as regards conversion; on the contrary, there appeared even to be an extension of Protestantism more than ever since their advent, and the annals undoubtedly show that in the year 1580 not only the burgesses of most of the villages, market-places, and towns, but also almost the whole of the nobility, as well as by far the greater number of the Government officials, belonged to the Evangelical faith. This was a great grief to the pious Fathers, and the Father Confessor of the Archduke, the worthy Father

Johannes, represented to his confessant that it would be necessary to adopt much stricter measures against the Protestants. The same course was followed by his spouse Maria in her curtain lectures, while her brother, the fanatical Duke William V. of Bavaria, in the year 1581, undertook on one occasion a journey to Gratz expressly in order personally to influence his brother-in-law. The latter now actually began to waver, and issued at this time several enactments which restricted the free religious exercise of the Evangelical religion; but as he happened to be in financial difficulties, from which he could only be relieved by his deputies, and as the latter would not suffer any serious Catholic attacks, he limited his whole proceedings against the Protestants to almost nothing. On the other hand, he endeavoured to indemnify his friends the Jesuits for his inactivity by a large distribution of favours, the most considerable being this, that he raised their college in Gratz, in the year 1585, to the dignity of a university, with all the rights and privileges of such. In this way, as long as the Archduke Charles lived, all the desires of the sons of Loyola regarding religious matters were fulfilled in respect to Inner Austria; but things assumed a very different aspect when, in the year 1590, his first-born, the Archduke Ferdinand, who afterwards became the Emperor Ferdinand II., succeeded him on the throne. This Prince, born in Gratz in the year 1578, was handed over to the Jesuits for his education, while yet in his very tender years, and his name appears in the matriculation books of the newly-founded University of Gratz. Still, at that time, although matriculated from the 25th November 1586, he was too young to be considered as a regular student; however, on the youth entering upon his twelfth year, his father, at the instigation of his brother-in-law, William V. of Bavaria, the great friend and patron of the Jesuits, sent him to the High School of Ingoldstadt, the head-quarters of the sons of Loyola in Germany; and here he was, in company with William V., the first-born son of Maximilian, who, however, exceeded him in age by five years; he was thus so excellently instructed in all the principles of Jesuitical state wisdom, under the special supervision of Duke William, that he might, at the age of eighteen, be looked upon as the perfect pattern of a Catholic ruler.

"All the good fortune, and all the blessing of a then existing

good government," so taught the Jesuits, "depend upon the establishment of unity in the Catholic faith, as religious disputations had brought about nothing but disorder into a State, and had roused the burgesses one against another. On that account a ruler who happened to be called to the throne during a time of distraction through religious dissensions in his country, ought to look upon it as his first duty to accord no consideration whatever to heretics, and show such no toleration or forbearance; no means should be considered too stringent and no sacrifice should appear too dear in order to restore again the foundations of society, shattered by religious separation." *

It is evidently perceptible that it was similar principles which made Philip II. of Spain to prosper, and consequently historians are quite right in reporting that his dear friend as well as cousin Ferdinand was only a true copy of his great Spanish model.

"The same glowing, stifling hatred of all feeling of right and morality regarding the new religious convictions, the same disavowal of all truth and all faith, the same wicked toying with the solemnity of an oath and of the most solemn treaties, the same want of feeling in regard to the misery of peoples writhing in the agony of death, the same spiritual energy united to an almost stupid obstinacy in the prosecution of principles once determined upon, and, lastly, the same boundless arrogance in respect to good fortune which almost demanded the wrath of heaven; in short, all the same poisonous principles and qualities which luxuriated in the Spanish Philip animated also the breasts of Ferdinand and Maximilian, and the two striplings left the High School of Ingoldstadt, in the year 1596, with the firm determination to devote their whole lives to the task of exterminating heresy." †

In the year 1596, Ferdinand took charge of the government of his dominions, which since the death of his father had been

* Compare Sugenheim's *History of the Jesuits in Germany*, vol. i., pp. 119–120.

† In a letter still extant (see Hormay's *Archives of Geography and History for the Year* 1812, p. 540) the Rector of the University of Ingoldstadt writes to the Rector of the College in Gratz:—"The Archduke Ferdinand has, up to this time, concluded the fourth year of his studies, and certainly with no small advantage. Nothing is spoilt which has been planted in so fruitful a soil, and the disposition of the good prince has been thus confirmed in such a way as nothing better could be desired."

conducted by his guardians, and at once intimated to his cousin, the Emperor Rudolph II., that he would no longer tolerate the religious freedom which had hitherto subsisted in his territories. As, however, the Emperor in his reply reminded him of the great superiority of the Protestants, and at the same time gave him to understand that such conduct might very easily give rise to a bitter loss of his land and people, for the first two years he refrained from taking coercive measures of a very powerful nature. On the other hand, this time was employed in ascertaining, by means of trifling oppressions, whether the Protestants possessed courage enough to oppose force by force; and here the pious Fathers, who naturally undertook the business of feeling the national pulse, stepping forward, came to the conclusion that the Evangelicals of Inner Austria possessed far too great a respect for the legitimate rights of their princes, or, as it may be more properly expressed, an incarnate loyalty as subjects, to induce them ever to revolt. Upon this report being made to him, Ferdinand determined not to put off his undertaking any longer; still, previous to that resolve, he made a journey to Rome, in the year 1598, in order to invoke the blessing of the Holy Father for the success of his work; besides which, he carried out a pilgrimage to Loretto, where he solemnly renewed his "Generalissima" vow before the image of the Mother of God, to purge all his lands thoroughly of heresy. Hardly, however, had he returned from Rome, where he had taken up his quarters in the profess-house of the Society of Jesus, when, before taking any steps, he summoned to his council his three chief Jesuit advisers, namely his Father Confessor, Bartholomew Viller, along with the two rectors, Hauer and Neukirk, and after he had also taken into his counsel the Catholic town priest of Gratz, by name Lorence Sunabenter, a plan of campaign against the Evangelicals was then discussed. It was, indeed, of a very simple nature (as why should it be necessary to make much ado about heretics), and it began in this way, that Sunabenter complained bitterly, in a well-drawn-up petition, how the Evangelical preachers conducted themselves, going about in his circle, daring to baptise, marry, and perform other spiritual functions. Such a representation was, indeed, founded on fact; the town parson forgot, nevertheless, to add that these duties had for many years been exercised by the Evangelical

preachers unhindered in a time of religious freedom. How, then, did the Archduke reply to this petition of Sunabenter? Simply in this way, that he rescinded the religious liberty which had been previously granted, declaring the mode of proceedings of the preachers in question to be a breach of the peace, and as such liable to punishment; an order was, therefore, issued to the chief authority in the land of Styria to close all the Protestant churches and schools, within a period of fourteen days from the 13th of September 1598, and a further decree was promulgated that the schoolmasters and preachers were, under the penalty of death, to cease all preaching and instruction, or within eight days to leave the country. Edicts of an exactly similar tenour were now published in the remaining provinces of Inner Austria, and with the further proviso, moreover, that all Evangelicals and heretics were either to become at once Catholic again, or instantly to sell their goods and possessions, and, after paying a tenth part of the proceeds, to leave the country. Duke Ferdinand, it may be observed, now made use of flowery language no longer, nor did he conceal, in the least degree, what was his great aim. But what did the Protestants do on the occasion, seeing that it was now a matter of life and death for them? They formed, as I have explained above, by far the greatest majority of the population, and might, if they wished to do so, thus offer with ease a stout resistance, especially as most of the property was in their hands. But did they, then, offer this resistance? Yes, certain communities did, indeed, do so, as, for instance, that of Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia. All the others, however, contented themselves, from submissive courage, in making merely earnest remonstrances, or, at most, vehement representations on the subject, and in this case it was an easy matter for the Archduke to crush them by means of his troops and powerful opposition, the small communities being so isolated.

I will not further dilate upon this unworthy submission of those Protestants of Inner Austria, founded upon the teaching that it was the duty of Christians rather to endure the greatest injustice than oppose the divine right of the ruler of the country, merely reiterating the observation that the victory would certainly have been on their side had they only risen in masses against their oppressor. Under such circum-

stances as these, a sentence was forthwith pronounced against them—such a sentence, indeed, as was seldom carried out against a city taken by storm. As soon, namely, as the Jesuits —and these were from this time forth the sole directing powers of Inner Austria—saw, to their particular astonishment, that the hundred thousands of their heretical opponents allowed with humility anything to take place, they then moved their Archduke to establish a great tribunal of the Inquisition, and the emissaries thereof penetrated throughout the whole country under the designation of royal commissioners, proceeding from village to village, and from town to town, in order to bring back the stray lambs into the sheep-fold of the only saving Church. This result, however, was not effected by means of mild persuasion, or derived in the least degree from convictions originating in the Bible or the Word of God, but rather by the sword of the warriors by whom the commissioners were accompanied, and especially by fear of the gallows; before every village, indeed, the latter were erected, and whoever did not at once either abjure Protestantism, or emigrate, might be certain to find a halter round his neck.

After this fashion, the Jesuits proceeded for five long years, and during that space of time they consigned to the flames more than forty thousand Lutheran Bibles, while they also occasionally, to make short work of it, converted a number of Protestant churches into ruins by means of cannon or by blowing them up into the air with gunpowder.

At the commencement of the year 1600 they could thus trust that the whole of the heretics had become reconverted, at least outwardly, with the exception of about 30,000 who had chosen to emigrate, and thus was the peace of the Church scattered to the winds.

Thus terminated the fearful war of heresy-extermination which was undertaken by the Jesuits in Germany, and it may easily be understood that they had at the same time not neglected to enlarge the supremacy of their power. In this way they obtained, at the beginning of Ferdinand's government, a large college at Laibach, the capital of Carinola; while, further, in the year 1598, the lordship of Mullstadt in Carinthia was given to them, with all thereto belonging, equal, ndeed, to a principality endowed with comprehensive sovereign

rights. Then, again, in the year 1607, a fine new college was erected by them in Klagenfurt, and another not less splendid at Leoben; besides, lastly, in the year 1609, a really princely palace, in the shape of a university building in Gratz itself, together with a whole quantity of smaller properties and incomes, to enumerate which would take up far too much time. Of considerably greater importance, however, was the fact that, since the accomplishment of the heresy conversion, they governed the whole of Inner Austria as supreme lords, and ordered every thing according to their own will and pleasure.

The Protestant princes of Germany, it is true, perceived the progress of events in Inner Austria with much inward indignation, seeing all this, however, without moving hand or foot; and consequently, going upon the principle of striking when the iron is hot, the Jesuits did not cease to whisper into the ears of the Emperor Rudolph II. that now was the important juncture and now was the time for again establishing the universal faith throughout all the states of Austria. Rudolph showed himself not at all disinclined to follow this counsel, nominating, for instance, special commissioners for his Archduchy of Austria—who, during the years from 1599 to 1603, penetrated throughout the whole country for the purpose of hunting out all the Protestant clergy. He also presented to the sons of Loyola a splendid dwelling together with several ruined Protestant churches in Linz—Austria's capital, *ob der Ens*, "beyond the Ens"—and in it sprung up shortly such a beautiful college as few like it had ever before made their appearance. On the other hand, he did not hesitate carrying out similar measures in his other two kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, which, with the aid of the Turks, had hitherto quite withdrawn themselves from his sway; but now they were penetrated by the four Jesuit Fathers, George Scherer, William Lamormain, Jacob Geranus, and Johannes von Millen, who, during the last ten years of his life, had almost completely ruled over this weak monarch. As, however, in this case, the Order had to renounce the above-mentioned measures, at least openly, it indemnified itself in this way, that it now began in a truly fiendish spirit, and by slanderous writings of all kinds, to stir up and irritate the Catholics against the Evangelicals; and it is an established fact that they pursued this plan with true art, although the Protestants

certainly, it must be admitted, were not behindhand in their replies. It would, indeed, be very amusing to serve up before the public a list of such-like abusive writings, but I must for good reasons forego this, and the reader must just be content with a few fragments instead of with a full meal.

Father Andreas, for instance, wrote in this way: "It would be better to marry the Devil rather than a Lutheran woman, as one might be able to drive away the Evil One with holy water and exorcism, whilst, with a Lutheran woman, the Cross, Chrysom, and baptismal water would be thrown away." Then, again, Father Gretser gave it as his opinion "that whoever received the sacrament in both kinds from a Lutheran parson, received the Devil into his body"; and in another place he affirmed "that Evangelicals, when they wished to marry, were not worthy of being proclaimed by a priest, but by the executioner or hangman." Father Conrad Better used to describe the Evangelicals publicly as "rogues, miscreants, and traitors"; and Luther himself was, in his opinion, "a lost apostate, a thief, a robber, a filthy sow, and a senseless beast, the Devil's boon companion." Then, in the year 1610, Father Christopher Ungersdorf published a pamphlet, in which he applied to the Evangelical deputies of the state the following flattering nicknames: to the Elector of Saxony, "the serene sow"; to him of the Pfalz, "the beast from Heidelberg"; to the Landgrave of Hesse, "the highly-learned swine"; to the Duke of Würtemberg, "the rich temple-robber of Stuttgart"; to the Landgrave of Brandenburg, "Büttels von Anspach"; and to the Pfalzgrave von Neuburg, "a senseless and demented fool."

The sons of Loyola, indeed, were not satisfied merely with loading the Lutherans with insults and derision of all kinds, but they also, without disguise, from their pulpits as well as in their publications, demanded that the Catholics should take up arms for the extermination of the heretics; and Anton Possevin, one of the most prominent members of the Society, went so far as to deny eternal happiness to the Emperor Ferdinand I., because he was actually so godless as to grant to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion.

"For what object have we given to us money, soldiers, sabres, and cannon," cried the Fathers Adam Tanner, Paul Windeck, and Vitus Eberman, "but to use them against the enemy?

Why do we hesitate, then, in commencing to eradicate and root out heresy root and branch, and especially this Calvinistic abomination? Kill them, then, the hounds, strike them down, and hurl them to the ground, give them their finishing stroke, burn their houses over their heads, and overwhelm them with everything of the worst description that can be invented, so that the hateful brood may finally disappear from off the face of the earth."

So cried out the Loyolites; and there could be no longer any doubt that what they had been striving for was nothing else than to stir up a war of annihilation against Protestantism. This must become, moreover, the more clear to everyone who vouchsafes a penetrating glance at the proceedings of the pious Fathers in their beloved Bavaria. There, as we have seen, the fraternity had attained to great power under Albert V., and still more so under his son and successor William V., who reigned from 1579 to 1596.

During the education of the latter, Father Hoffäus had obtained such an influence over him that one might, on that account, well prophesy a brilliant future career for the Order under the coming reign of William; and then, again, these expectations would be all the more increased on the said William, as Crown Prince, becoming united in marriage, in 1568, with the over-pious Renata, the daughter of Duke Francis I. of Loraine, whose Father Confessor, Dominicus Mengin, also made her his own. As this man was naturally not only at heart a very arrogant individual but outwardly a very fawning and courtier-like Jesuit, he, too, in a short time, completely obtained the mastery over his distinguished confessant son. William, indeed, after his succession to the Government, allowed himself to be led like a child by the pious Father, and vied with his spouse, from this time forward, in the most foolishly extravagant favouritism towards the Order of Jesus, of which the splendid building devoted to it in Munich is a most striking proof. As, however, this waste of Government property gradually assumed enormous proportions, and as the ruler came at last to have no thought for anything else than for Jesuit affairs, a general feeling of discontent manifested itself at length among the people, and in consequence thereof, the Duke saw himself compelled to abdicate in favour of

his son Maximilian,* in the year 1596. He became so infatuated, indeed, that he was especially fond of making pilgrimages on foot along with his beloved Father Confessor, even in the burning sun or pouring rain, clad in the garments of a poor pilgrim, sometimes to the Duntenhausen, sometimes to Altötting, sometimes to the Black Virgin Mary, carrying with him considerable offerings.

The Bavarians now indulged a hope that they were going to enter upon a golden age, thinking, from outward indications, that the young monarch would do his best endeavour to bring his country into a most flourishing condition; but they had not taken the Jesuits into account.

Maximilian I., Duke of Bavaria, from 1596 to 1651, was educated by the Jesuits at Ingoldstadt, as we already stated, along with the Archduke Ferdinand, and had, of course, there imbibed precisely the same principles as the latter. It may well, then, be imagined that the influence of the Jesuits, at the time of his accession to the Government, was not by any means smaller than it had been under that of his father; only he gave expression to his views in another way, as Maximilian was of quite a different stamp of character, and could boast of being possessed of an energetic mind, and of no inconsiderable degree of culture. How, and in what manner, did Jesuit influence then manifest itself? It was, indeed, in nothing less than this, that the holy Fathers succeeded in bringing the new ruler to the conviction that God had provided him with armour in order that the universal faith might be restored throughout the whole of Germany, and an end, once for all, made of the hated heresy of Protestantism. As respects Bavaria itself, there was, indeed, nothing for the zealous prince to do,† as the whole country, thanks to the fostering care of his forefathers, had remained thoroughly Catholic, and there was aroused in his honour-seeking breast an emulous feeling of envy towards his brother-

* William V. withdrew, after his abdication, into the College of the Jesuits in Munich, in order to devote his life to meditation, and died therein in the year 1626, as a kind of saint, leaving behind a manuscript prayer-book, which, however, was never printed.

† In order to give the reader an idea of his zeal for the faith, I will only adduce one curious fact, that he was the first Catholic ruler who gave the baptismal female name of Mary to his first-born, in conjunction, at the same time, with that of the Jesuit General Ignatius. He also caused, for the first time, coins to be struck with the image of Mary, along with the superscription "Patrona Bavariæ"— the "Protectoress of Bavaria."

in-law, Ferdinand of Inner Austria, the friend of his youth,* whose heroic deeds in church matters had at the time electrified the whole of the Catholic world. Was there, then, anything more natural than that the Jesuits should take advantage of this feeling to fan such envy into ever higher and increasing flames, so that they might lead the aspirant to similar renown, in order that he might succeed in attaining even still greater results? In this respect Maximilian had, no doubt, from the very beginning, entertained an idea that the religious peace, which the Emperor had concluded in the year 1555 with the Protestants, might now be broken at any moment by the Catholics, because by this means the country would be freed from an erring religion, and in his eyes Evangelical teaching was erroneous. To do this was nothing but an allowable transaction, and consequently the only question was as to the proper time "when" it should be broken. In order to determine that this "when" should take place at once, and with the view of immediately carrying the affair into effect, he very quickly assembled soldiers, with war material and ammunition, under the pretext that this was on account of the Turkish war then imminent, the truth being that it was, on the contrary, for a great struggle for the faith, for the prosecution of which the Jesuits were now working with all their might and main. Before, however, lifting the curtain of what might be such a frightful tragedy, they desired to previously exercise the intended hero of the scene with some preliminary and tentative transactions, two of which are especially worthy of notice, namely, the forcible capture and conversion of Donauwörth, as well as the secession to the Catholic faith of Wolfgang Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg, and the eradication of Protestantism from his country. Donauwörth, in former times a Bavarian town, had been successful in wresting its freedom, and had contrived to retain it for a period of nearly two centuries from the year 1420. Regarding the faith of its inhabitants, a part belonged to the Catholic belief, which found its support in the cloister of the Holy Cross, in possession of the Benedictine Order of monks. More than four-fifths, however, of the inhabitants adhered to Lutheranism, and the Protestants might, therefore, be considered the ruling body. But since the

* The Grand Duke Ferdinand had become united in marriage with the sister of Maximilian on the 23rd of April 1600.

establishment of religious peace both parties had got on very well together, and during the last twenty years of the 16th century a most friendly relation subsisted between the Catholics and the Lutherans. After the decease of the tolerant Abbot Christopher Gerung, the Jesuits succeeded (in May 1602), through the intercession of their great patron, Maximilian I., as also of their very particular friend Bishop Henry V. of Augsburg, in inducing the monks of the time to elect as their Abbot, Leonard Hörman, a Bavarian subject; and now, consequently, there would doubtless soon be an end of peace. By the advice and at the instigation of his Father Confessor, the Jesuit John Buslidius, Duke Maximilian now incited Hörman no longer to regard the magisterial regulation, which had for dozens of years been established, to the effect that no public processions with cross and banners should be allowed to proceed through the town, and the Abbot immediately took the hint: this was in the year 1605. He, therefore, organised a most pompous procession on the Feast of Corpus Christi, and thereby hurt not a little the Protestant inhabitants. No disturbance, however, occurred; the only result being that the magistrate forbade that anything of the kind should in future take place. Upon this, however, the Abbot, as well as the above-mentioned Bishop of Augsburg, took great offence, and both of them made a complaint to the Imperial Councillor in regard to the oppression which they represented the Catholics of Donauwörth had to suffer. The Imperial Court Councillor, not, indeed, the most suitable person to determine the point, now gave it as his decision, in October 1605, that all such processions might be allowed to take place, and determined to make the magistrate responsible for any excesses that might come to pass; the magistrate, however, firm to his purpose, affirmed that it would be better not to irritate the common people, and entreated the Abbot to keep the peace. Hörman, nevertheless, thereupon organised a magnificent procession to a neighbouring village, on the 11th of April 1606, proclaiming his project from the pulpit the day before, to the whole of the inhabitants, in a very scornful manner. It was not, then, a matter of any surprise that the rough element among the Protestant population collected, and greeted the procession scornfully, not only with showers of stones, but that they also tore into pieces one of the flags belonging to the fraternity. Naturally

enough, this proceeding gave rise to a much more energetic complaint to the Aulic Court, and afterwards to considerable wrangling and contention between the parties concerned. The Emperor Rudolph II., being urged to do so by Maximilian I., authorised the latter "to protect the Catholics in Donauwörth from further insolence, as the magistrate was clearly too weak to hold in check the evil-disposed part of the population."

The Jesuits had accomplished as much as they wanted, and the result followed as a natural consequence. In the first place, Maximilian sent certain commissioners to the town, in order to take the necessary measures for the protection of the Catholic community; but these gentlemen, having been previously instructed by Buslidius how to proceed, conducted themselves with such arrogance that the people hustled them out of the gate. It was then declared that Donauwörth was in a state of rebellion against His Imperial Majesty; and the Jesuit *entourage* of the Emperor Rudolph urged him so much to do so, that he finally decided that from the 3rd of August 1607 the town should be put under the ban of the Empire. As was, of course, to be understood, the carrying out of this was entrusted to Maximilian, as the nearest Catholic power belonging to the Empire, and he forthwith surrounded Donauwörth by a military force of such considerable numbers that resistance was, of course, no longer to be thought of. Moreover, not a single one of the Protestant princes came to the aid of the poor inhabitants, consequently, nothing else remained for them to do but to open the gates, on the 17th December 1607, to the Bavarian Duke. This they did, however, only on condition that no one was to be interfered with as regards his religious liberty, and Maximilian promised, on his "princely honour," to maintain this condition.

In what way did he, then, keep his plighted word? It was, truly, a very peculiar mode of respecting his "princely honour." His secular counsellors, or, as one would now call them, ministers, advised him, it is true, to leave untouched the religious condition of the conquered town, and merely to hold it in occupation until the expenses of the war had been paid; for, had he acted otherwise, Donauwörth having hitherto been a free Imperial town, he would necessarily have rendered himself liable to very severe reproaches from the Protestant Imperial

Members of Parliament; his spiritual adviser, however, the above-named Father Confessor Buslidius, together with the pious Fathers Matthias Mitner and George Schrettl, whom he had brought along with him to Donauwörth, as well as several other Jesuits, demanded of him that he should at once put an end to heresy in Donauwörth by force, in order that Catholicism might be able to hold up its head therein, and without further ado to incorporate the town in his dominions. They very well knew that, by thus acting, he would make himself an open violator of the religious peace, and they, at the same time, were equally well aware that the Duke, in following their advice, would be regarded by the world as a dishonourable traitor to his word. But, on the latter point, they consoled him that he was bound by religious duty not to keep faith with heretics, and, as regards the first point, they scornfully expressed their opinion that the Protestant members of the Imperial Government would not allow themselves to proceed to extremities for such a trifling affair, as they would at once be silenced by what had already occurred in Inner Austria and other places. Should they, however, determine upon taking coercive measures, then the aim of the Jesuits would be attained by the "opening up of a great religious war," and in this the Catholics would, most certainly, be sure to get the upper hand, as Maximilian was already fully prepared, whereas the Protestant party were not so. Maximilian could not withstand such arguments as these, and he therefore at once took the necessary steps for the suppression of Protestantism in Donauwörth. He commenced by driving out of doors the whole of the Protestant clergy, and by assigning their churches to the sons of Loyola. At the same time he proceeded equally against the Evangelical teachers, whose places were, without exception, at once filled up by Catholics; the burgesses, moreover, were obliged by force to send their children to the schools to which they had not gone before; and those who wished to escape being teased and tormented were, as well, obliged to go to Mass. In short, no means were omitted, not even the most execrable, in order to drive the burgesses to receive the old faith, long laid aside, while Maximilian, at the same time, fully carried out the other advice of the Jesuits in making Donauwörth, with the approbation of the Jesuitically bigoted Emperor Rudolph II., a Bavarian country town, and in this way the work of con-

version met with complete success in the course of a few years.

How, then, was it with the Protestant members? These were at that time (1607-1608) assembled, along with the Catholics, in the Parliament at Ratisbon, and they right well understood what this exercise of power properly signified. They perceived that the occupation of Donauwörth was, so to speak, nothing else than the flight of the first arrow in the great religious war, and that doubtless it must have been determined upon in the High Council of the Society of Jesus, so that the work of annihilation of heresy, begun as it was among the weaker portion of the Protestant estates and Imperial towns, would be, later on, continued, according to circumstances, among the stronger places also. They clearly perceived all this, and now candidly gave expression to their opinion; but what, in fact, did they now do? Ah! action was expected from them, but in vain. They contented themselves merely in making a protest, that is to say, they confined themselves to words only, to which the other party gave themselves no trouble to pay any heed whatever. This much good was, however, caused thereby, that in May it gave rise to the formation of the Protestant League, with the view of including within one bond of brotherhood the Lutherans and Calvinists, who had hitherto been sworn enemies. Unfortunately, this said union was but of too short duration in order to have anything of a truly permanent effect, besides which, in July 1609, Maximilian I. called into existence a Catholic League, the strength of which counterbalanced that of the other union. What, then, was the upshot of this attempt of the Jesuits upon Donauwörth? Nothing else than, apparently, the open division of Germany into two great inimical camps, which now only awaited a signal from the leaders to enter into a deadly strife with each other.

Thus the Jesuits always advanced nearer to their object. But still another skirmish must yet be undertaken prior to the proper commencement of this great religious war, namely, the secession to the Catholics of Wolfgang Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg, and the extinction of Protestantism in his dominions. After the death of John William III., Duke of Zülich and Cleve, without leaving behind him any direct heirs, the two princely Houses of Pfalz-Neuburg and Brandenburg each believed them-

selves to have an equal right to the inheritance, and Zülich was at once taken possession of by the Crown Prince Wolfgang Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg, while, on the other hand, Cleve was seized upon by the Electoral Prince of Brandenburg. Each of these magnates, however, was desirous of obtaining the whole of the inheritance for himself, and each of them applied to the Protestant union, of which both were members, demanding of the same to make intercession for him with the Imperial Diet. The union had then to determine to which of the two pretenders they would give their support, and, for a time, it appeared that Kurbrandenburg was to gain the victory. This, however, was only apparent, as the members constituting the union were too disunited and wanting in energy to come to any definite decision on the subject, and, consequently, Kurbrandenburg as well as Pfalz-Neuburg was put off from one session to another. It was now pointed out to Wolfgang Wilhelm by the Jesuits, through the medium of the Ambassador of Philip III., King of Spain, that an excellent means of obtaining the inheritance for himself would be for him to form an alliance with the House of Bavaria, and thereby gain the powerful intercession of Duke Maximilian I.; so the Catholic league united with him. This enlightened Pfalz-Neuburger then lost no time in soliciting the hand of the Princess Magdalena, the sister of Maximilian. This offer was received very favourably by the latter, who, at the same time, declared that he could not call a heretic his brother-in-law. Such an announcement, clearly made, could not be misunderstood. Now Wolfgang Wilhelm, together with his whole family, had, up to the present time, belonged to the most orthodox of all orthodox Lutherans, and often used to make a boast of having read through the whole Bible not less than, at least, two dozen times during the course of the year. How, then, could he ever be expected to make a change in his faith? Wonderful to relate, however, doubts now began to arise in the mind of the Neuburger as to whether he had hitherto really followed the true faith; so when he proceeded forthwith to Munich, in order to expedite his marriage projects, the above so often mentioned Johann Buslidius contrived to work upon his mind so strenuously that it at last yielded, and the affair came thereupon to a head. He, consequently, in July 1613, went over to the Catholic religion secretly, fearing the anger of his old father, who

was still then living, and four months afterwards married the sister of Duke Maximilian. Not long after this, the Jesuits began purposely to spread abroad the intelligence of his having come over, in order to compel him to throw off this secrecy, which he at length formally did in May 1614, not caring that, by so doing, he would necessarily break the heart of his poor father, whose death actually occurred in consequence two months afterwards.

The Jesuits had now attained their first object, in the gaining over to their side of Wolfgang Wilhelm, and their second aim, that is, the extinction of Protestantism in his dominions, could no longer be very difficult of accomplishment. Those newly converted, as a rule, make themselves conspicuous as zealous partizans of the newly-accepted faith, in order to prove their sincerity to the world, and Wolfgang Wilhelm, formed no exception to the rule. In a few days, too, after he had taken the step of secession, he assured the then Pope, Paul V., in an autograph letter, of his unqualified devotion to him, and expressly added that he had formed the resolution "of rooting out Lutheranism and of making himself a pillar of the Roman Catholic Church, of prohibiting in his dominions the free exercise of the Evangelical religion, and of proceeding to the uttermost against the Protestants, and bringing about their destruction and downfall," thereby proving himself to be a true disciple of the Jesuits. Nevertheless, two months after his accession to the Government, he did not hesitate to promise solemnly, in a special edict, to allow his Protestant subjects the undisturbed retention and free exercise of their religion, for otherwise the Pfalz-Neuburgers would have failed to pay him homage; moreover, what did his promise signify, when at any moment he might easily free himself from it? I will now shortly state what took place. Immediately after his arrival, in February 1615, in Neuburg, the capital of his paternal possessions, he gave over the Castle church to two Jesuits, named Jacob Reihing and Anton Welser, the first of whom was his own, and the second his wife's, Father Confessor. And now the expulsion of Lutheranism vigorously proceeded, the means employed being just the same as in Donauwörth and elsewhere, namely, in the first place, the expulsion of all Protestant ecclesiastics and teachers, followed by the deposition of all opposing

officials, and the oppression of all those who still were disposed towards heresy, favour being shown to all who went over to the only saving Church. For instance, such means were specially employed as the quartering of soldiers on such of the inhabitants as proved to be refractory, a proceeding which was found to be so efficacious that not only the Neuburgers but the inhabitants of the other remaining villages became acquiescent within a few months or years; but wherever any resistance showed itself among this sorely-tried people—oh! this, indeed, constituted nothing else than rebellion, and against such it was at once necessary to take up arms. By such means as these, complete success was now attained, in a comparatively short space of time, in the territory of Neuburg, as well as in the Principality of Zülich, in which Wolfgang, thanks to the aid of the league, was supreme; for this the Jesuits had occasion to rejoice. With the Principality of Cleves, however, on account of which he had become a Catholic, he never succeeded, as it continued, along with Kurbrandenburg, to remain stedfast to the Protestant cause. It no less rejoiced the Jesuits that the Duke was pleased, through the influence of his beloved Jacob Reihing,* to found colleges for them in various parts of his small domains, especially in Neuburg and Düsseldorf, as by such means their sway became all the greater, and it was all the more pleasing to them in that they now had an opportunity of further extending their influence in other neighbouring Protestant countries.

It will be observed, from these proceedings of the Jesuits in Germany, that progress was now being rapidly made in the furtherance of a great war of annihilation against heresy, while before they came into these parts the most perfect peace reigned there between Catholics and Protestants. The latter especially were in no degree to blame, as it was not until the coercive measures of the Jesuits came upon the scene that they took weapons into their hands and opposed like with like. Had they done so previously, in the first Protestant persecutions in

* I cannot here refrain from mentioning that the so-called Reihing himself went over afterwards to Protestantism. On account of his disputations with the Protestants, he found himself under the necessity of studying the Bible accurately, and thereby such a light was thrown upon the faith he had hitherto professed, that, in the year 1621, he came over to the Evangelical faith at Tübingen. He became, also, professor of theology in the said university, and thus remained until the end of his life.

Fulda, Mayence, and elsewhere, instead of manifesting internal disunion and cowardice, as in the case of the Archbishopric of Cologne, the arrogance of the much smaller Catholic communities would never have increased, year by year, as occurred in the Bishoprics of Paderborn, Minden, Münster, &c.; nor, equally, would what happened in Donauwörth and Pfalz-Neuburg ever have taken place. There existed, indeed, a much too great amount of passiveness and want of energy, and a much too great spirit of the innate feeling of loyalty and submissiveness towards the laws of the country and towards Imperial Majesty. This was the only reproach that could be made against them with any reason, and I now reiterate that the action proceeded entirely from the side of the Jesuits, and upon them, therefore, rested the responsibility for the frantically atrocious thirty years' religious war.

But now let us proceed to facts. The several examples we have already given had been continually preparing the world for the approaching tragedy. But how could this come about, unless the destiny of Germany should happen to be in the hands of a prince who was fully competent to the task? Such must prove himself to be a man of great spiritual power, and at the same time, of indomitable and terrible energy; a man endowed with a will which could work itself up to a condition the most hard-hearted of hard-heartedness, so as not to shrink from any deed, even of the most horrible nature; not the less, also, a man who, brought up in the principles of the Jesuits, would allow himself to be completely guided by them, never turning a deaf ear to their inspirations. It was only when such a prince was found to occupy the German Imperial throne, and threw his weighty Imperial sword into the balance on the side of the Catholics, that it could have been hoped, with any degree of confidence, that Protestantism in Germany, in spite of its always increasing and preponderating majority, would not only not maintain the upper hand, but, on the contrary, be beaten down even to extinction.

It was only then that all this could have a chance of taking place, as the sons of Loyola very well knew. What a great piece of luck was it, indeed, for them that there happened to exist at that time such a prince as this; and, besides, what still greater good fortune for them was it that he, the said prince, happened to

be an Archduke of the House of Hapsburg, who, moreover, had a claim to the Imperial throne, in the person of the said Ferdinand of Inner Austria, of whom mention has already been made above more in detail. It was he, indeed, this said Ferdinand, who must wield the Imperial sceptre, if the great religious war now about to commence was ever to turn out to be a glorious victory, and, therefore, was it of so much importance that this sceptre should be procured for him. This, however, was indeed no easy matter, as, on the demise of the Emperor Rudolph II., it was his brother Mathias who, in the year 1612 ascended the Imperial throne, and in respect to him it was pretty well known that, for various reasons, he had for some time past fostered a grudge against Ferdinand; of the numerous causes in question, only a single one need here be adduced, namely, that Ferdinand had induced the childless Emperor Rudolph to make over to him, a distant cousin, the crown of Bohemia and Hungary, instead of to the King's brother Mathias, the rightful heir. There was, therefore, a deep grudge existing on the part of the latter, and this apparently seemed likely to be of permanent continuance. How, then, would the equally childless Mathias appoint the cousin Ferdinand as heir? for there happened to be several rivals, some of whom could boast of even a nearer relationship to him. But the Jesuits had already shown what they could be capable of effecting, making what was impossible, or what appeared to be impossible, simple enough. They strove, above everything, to win over to their side all those persons who were in the immediate surrounding of the Emperor, and more especially the venal women in whose arms he was wont to revel. This, indeed, was certainly but a very impure channel in which to labour; the pious Fathers, however, would have been quite ready to adopt still more disgusting measures had it been for their advantage to do so. The inamoratas of Mathias were now, therefore, assailed in every sort of way, at one time by presents, at another by flattery, at a third time by a lightly-obtained absolution, and then again by frightful threats regarding the world to come, and such-like means; and the cunning Fathers in this way succeeded in gaining a considerable sway over the new monarch. They attained even to a still greater influence, when the Bishop Melchior Klesel, the confidant of Mathias for many years, and whom, shortly

after his accession to the throne, he made his Prime Minister, came over to their side. This Klesel, the son of a Lutheran baker in Vienna, had been converted to Catholicism by Father George Scherer, of whom I have already made mention. As a convert of the Jesuits, he clearly could not be unfavourable to the Order of Jesus. As the pious Fathers now promised this baker's son that, first of all, he would be advanced to the post of first minister, while, if he supported them in their plans respecting the Archduke Ferdinand, they agreed to help him to obtain the long-wished-for aim of his highest ambition, a cardinal's hat,—he unreservedly engaged himself to do so, and became henceforth their particular friend through thick and thin. Both parties loyally and honestly kept to their engagements, that is to say, Klesel obtained his cardinal's hat in the year 1616, and thereupon the views of Mathias became altered in favour of the Jesuits. By far the greatest service in this matter was accomplished by two members of the Order, *i.e.* Peter Pazman and Christopher Scheiner, and it was, indeed, they who, properly speaking, brought it about that Ferdinand was nominated heir to Mathias. Pazman, just as in the case of Klesel, was the son of Protestant parents, who first lived at Grosswardein and then in Grätz. In 1587, when he was in his seventeenth year, he was converted to Catholicism by the Jesuits; he then studied theology in Grätz, and being promoted very early, by his distinguished talents, to be Professor in the local university, he later on entered the service of the Cardinal Archbishop of Gran, Francis Forgats, and distinguished himself so very much, that the high prelate made him at once not only his most confidential counsellor, but, also, in the year 1615, on feeling himself to be on the point of death, recommended him to the Hungarian magnates to be his successor. The latter accordingly solicited the Emperor Mathias that the Archbishopric should be conferred upon him, and the Sovereign, being very well disposed towards him, would have gladly been ready to comply with the request had the laws of the Order not prohibited the acceptance of so high a church preferment by any member of the Society of Jesus. Still this might easily be got over by Pazman's apparent retirement from the Order. This, indeed, actually took place, and as Paul V., the Pope at the time, gave his consent to the arrangement, there remained now nothing in the

way of his nomination as Archbishop. As such he now came into so close and intimate relations with the Emperor Mathias, and so completely won his confidence, that no State business could be carried out without the Jesuit's approbation. The question, especially, of the succession to his Austrian dominions as well as to the dignity of Emperor having now to be determined, because his two brothers still living, *i.e.* Maximilian, Archduke of the Tyrol and Outer Austria, and Albert, Regent of the Spanish Netherlands, were both old, sickly, and childless, Pazman naturally suggested to the Emperor that the Archduke of Styria should be nominated his heir. He not only gave this advice, but supported it so eloquently, and with such arguments, that Mathias at length gave his consent, although unwillingly, at the beginning of the year 1617, that the succession should pass to his cousin Ferdinand, even during his own lifetime, and that he should be his universal heir. Still, the cunning Jesuit would hardly have attained his object so easily and so quickly, had it not been for his brother and fellow-worker, Scheiner, who loyally aided him. The latter, at the commencement of the 17th century, working as Professor of Mathematics at the University of Ingoldstadt, was frequently summoned by the Archduke Maximilian, the ruler of the country who, a great lover of mathematics, invited him to proceed to the Tyrol; and he so ingratiated himself in the good graces of the latter, in the year 1615, by repairing completely for him a valuable telescope which had met with an accident, that Maximilian could now no longer rest until Scheiner gave up his Professorship and came to settle at Innsbruck, as his Father Confessor. In this capacity he obtained such an influence over his old confessant, that at length the latter had no other will but that of the Jesuit Father. It consequently came about that, in the same year, 1615, the Archduke, having before him the highly important question of the Imperial succession, which lay so much at heart with the Jesuits, made a step forward of his own accord, and not only renounced for himself the succession, but also engaged to persuade his brother Albert in the Netherlands to do likewise. The Archduke, in fact, at once consented to take this course, and, travelling to Brussels, accompanied by Scheiner, succeeded in getting his brother to take the desired step, as well also as Philip III., King of

Spain, who, as grandson of the Emperor Maximilian, had likewise a claim to the Austrian succession.* But after all this had been committed to writing, and sealed, the ruler of the Tyrol now directed his steps towards Prague, in the autumn of 1616, with the purpose of there meeting his brother Mathias, the reigning Emperor, in order to render an account to him of his proceedings. The latter, indeed, had now no alternative but to give his acquiescence to the persuasive words of Archbishop Pazman.

In this manner was the Emperor Mathias influenced to nominate as his successor the Archduke Ferdinand, while the election was recognised by the German people—the majority of the Electors being, then, Catholics—as also by Bohemia and Hungary, &c.; naturally, however, only after the same had given his solemn promise sacredly to maintain the privileges and rights of his future subjects, as, before his coronation in Bohemia could take place, he was obliged to take his oath never to alter or evade a single letter in the so-called "Rudolphian Majesty Brief," in which the religious liberty of the country was guaranteed. But what did an oath signify to a pupil of the Jesuits? Therefore, the pious Fathers now rejoiced, and with no uncertain voice proclaimed loudly throughout the whole world, "*Novus Rex nova lex*," that is to say, "With a new king there will be a new law," or in other words, "A new prince having come to the throne, is not bound to observe the guaranteed rights of the people." It was thus that one of them, Father Andreas Neubauer, held forth from the pulpit in Prague: "His Bohemian Majesty's Brief might as well sanction the coercive permission of improper houses in the large towns;" while other members of the Society of Jesus did not hesitate to speak even of the necessity of the excommunication and confiscation, or even of the execution, of Evangelicals throughout all German countries.

It, therefore, became clear to all thinking men that now, with the election of Ferdinand, must begin the fearful war to ensure the complete annihilation of the Protestants of Inner Austria,

* Without renunciation, moreover, on the part of Philip III., but Ferdinand promised, according to a secret treaty, to give over to him, after his enthronement as Emperor, the Tyrol, Outer Austria, Alsace, and the Breisgau This promise, however, was never carried out, and, from the first, Ferdinand had no intention of fulfilling it.

for which the sons of Loyola had all along been working; and he, in fact, began this great struggle, as everyone knows, in May 1618. He commenced his operations in Bohemia, and it was in consequence of the continued and systematical persecution of the Evangelicals by the sons of Loyola, as also by the treatment to which the Government subjected the rebels, that they banished the Jesuits out of Bohemia for all time.

He began, then, this business during the *régime* of the Emperor Mathias, who, as is known, did not die till the year 1619. The latter, however, was by this time so sick and decrepit that he could only be looked upon as a poor tool in the hands of his successor, Ferdinand; and the whole frightful responsibility for this terrible thirty years' war must rest upon the Emperor Ferdinand II., and his teachers, rulers, and bosom friends, the sons of Loyola.

Is it now necessary for me to cause all the horrible scenes of this ferocious war to pass in review before the eyes of the reader? To adopt such a course would be a departure from the original intention of this work. It will, therefore, be sufficient merely to direct attention to the influence exercised by the Jesuits upon the course of this war. It must be stated at the outset that Ferdinand II., in the first year of the struggle, was on the point of putting an end to the tumult he had created; for almost all of his heritable states, especially Moravia, Silesia, Hungary, as well as Lower and Upper Austria, took part in the rebellion, on which account, behind the backs of the Jesuits, he made an application to the Pope, through an extraordinary ambassador, Count Maximilian von Trautmansdorf, despatched in 1619, to be allowed to conclude peace on the condition of granting religious liberty. When, however, the sons of Loyola came to be made aware of the secret, they immediately sent a messenger to their General, Mucius Vittelleschi, with the object of working upon the Pope, in order that the latter should give a negative reply to the Emperor's petition; and this actually in the end occurred, while, in addition, the Imperial Father Confessor, Johann Weingartner, was led to make the infernal regions so hot to his high and mighty confessant, on account of the wicked deed he had in contemplation, that Ferdinand at length abstained from his intention. Their aim and object was that the war should not be again

smothered at its inception, but that it should, in truth, become a war of annihilation. Besides, was it possible for them to allow peace to be concluded with countries whose rebellious Governments had issued a law ruling that no Jesuit should ever again dare to show his face, under pain of death, within their boundaries? This, indeed, had Bohemia done, as also Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, with Upper and Lower Austria; and not only had they acted thus, but, at the same time, had publicly disclosed to the world, all the nefarious peculiarities and deeds of the Order of Jesus, in such a manner as to embitter the feelings of the Jesuits in the highest degree.* But when Ferdinand II. had formed the resolution of prosecuting the war, was it in his power to do so? All his treasure-chests were well-nigh exhausted, and his armies did not, at the most, number more than about 12,000 men, which were insufficient to make a stand against four times the number of enemies; the support from abroad, too, which Philip III. of Spain had proffered, was but scanty, and did not much signify.

The sons of Loyola, however, knew a way how to get out of the difficulty, and it consisted in this, that they gained the help of Maximilian I. of Bavaria for their *protegé*. The House of Wittelsbach, it is true, stood in no very friendly relationship to Austria, as through it much injustice had been done to the Hapsburgers since the time that the latter obtained possession of the German Imperial throne; and the Dukes of Bavaria had, more especially, to complain of the enormous robbery, perpetrated in 1505, of the rich territory of Landshut, the inheritance of Duke George. Ferdinand II., moreover, had not, for a long time past, given evidence of having acted the part of a very dear friend towards the companion of his youth, Maximilian, or the part, indeed, of an honest man; for he had even been intriguing against him in every way, out of a feeling of jealousy, in order to

* In the legal document to which this refers it is stated, among other things, "We have discovered that the authors of all this premeditated mischief were the Jesuits, who alone applied themselves thereto, as they rendered secure the Roman Chair, and were desirous of bringing all kingdoms and countries under their control and power. Towards accomplishing this end, however, they permitted themselves to make use of the most inadmissible means; they urged the magistracy against the subjects, and the subjects against the magistracy; they caused friends to take up arms against friends, and everywhere stirred up strife, uproar, and insurrection; they arrogated to themselves on all occasions the political government, and promulgated the doctrine that whoever did not adhere to the Catholic religion sinned against truth and faith," &c.

cause him to give up the leadership of the League; and besides, several other things had occurred that had naturally vexed the Bavarian princes. Might it not, then, have been considered likely that Maximilian would have been inclined to take advantage of the great straits in which the ruler of Austria then was, to procure satisfaction for all the former offences and injustice that had been sustained by him? One might certainly have thought so, indeed, and even supposed that the policy of the State would have called for such action; but it was the desire of the Jesuits that it should be otherwise, and these were, as I have already shown, all-powerful at the Court of Munich. Thus, for instance, the Duke was unceasingly importuned by his Father Confessor, and other members of the Society of Jesus, to place himself at the head of the war, for the honour of God, the glory which would accrue to heroes of the true faith being depicted to him in glowing terms. Therefore, when, in the beginning of October 1619, the friend of his youth came to him in Munich, begging for aid, Maximilian not only did not refuse to give it to him, but, on the contrary, promised him his full support. And, indeed, a very disinterested treaty, as it proved, was concluded between them on the 8th October 1619.

We shall now see, from the history of the Thirty Years' war, what effect this union between Ferdinand and Maximilian produced, entirely brought about as it was by the art and cunning of the Jesuits, who were in this way successful in securing the victory of the former, instead of his downfall, in proof of which I must refer my readers to the history of that war.

Such was the first indication of the extraordinary influence which the Jesuits exercised on the course of the great religious war, and I must now pass over to the consideration of the part they played in securing the Catholicizing and pacification of Bohemia.

After the decisive battle of the White Hill at Prague, in November 1620, Duke Maximilian, overtaken by a temporary paroxysm of humanity, promised the Bohemians, in return for their unconditional submission, security of person as well as a complete amnesty, and the Bohemians naturally enough put confidence in his princely word. Now, such a promise was extremely hateful to the Jesuits, as they unceasingly continued to thirst after the blood of the heretical leaders by whom, two years

previously, they had been driven out of Bohemia, and consequently they perpetually beset the ears of the Emperor Ferdinand with the argument that he need not give himself any trouble about the plighted word of Maximilian. Ferdinand for a long time withstood their importunities, not wishing to rudely insult the man who had reconquered Bohemia for him, and who had crushed the insurrection in the other Austrian provinces; at last, however, beginning to waver, he convoked a secret Clerical Council, in the beginning of June 1621, in order to arrive at a satisfactory determination. The chief speakers in this assembly were the two Imperial Father Confessors, the Jesuit Fathers Johann Weingartner and Martin Becanus,* as also four other members of the Order, among whom was the Rector of the College at Vienna, the greatly distinguished William Lamormain,† and the latter, with whom rested the casting vote, exclaimed with a firm voice that he would take upon himself and upon his conscience all the bloodshed which might occur. The Emperor now declared himself prepared to sign the sentence of death which had been long prepared by the Jesuits, and the tragedy commenced on the 21st of June 1621, by the murder of seven-and-twenty of the richest, most conspicuous, and most noble of the Bohemian nation. In the self-same hour, however, Ferdinand lay on his knees before the image of the Virgin Mother of God at Mariazell, to which he had made a pilgrimage, earnestly praying, as a true disciple of the Jesuits, for the souls of his victims. The affair, naturally, did not end with this "first" bloody sentence, but there now began a regular system

* Becanus, properly speaking, called Van der Beek, was born about the year 1561, in the village of Wölveren in Belgium. He entered into the Order of Jesuits in the year 1583, and five years afterwards took upon himself, the duties of Professor of Theology in Cologne. In the same capacity he came to Vienna in the year 1613, and, seven years later on, the Emperor Ferdinand promoted him to the office of Second Confessor, as the Father Weingartner had now become very old. He did not, however, retain this important office long, as he died in January 1624.

† Wilhelm Lamormain, or more properly called "Lämmermann," first saw the light at Ardenne, in the Luxemburg territory, about the year 1570, and joined the Order when very young. In the main his career was much the same as that of Becanus, only he advanced from Professor of Theology to be Rector of the College in Grätz, and was, at the request of Ferdinand II., transferred to Vienna and placed in a similar capacity there. Ferdinand felt himself uncommonly strongly drawn towards Lamormain, so that the latter exercised the greatest influence upon the Sovereign's determinations, and on that account, after the death of Becanus in the year 1624, he was immediately raised to the dignity of the Emperor's Father Confessor, and acted in this capacity up to the time of his own death in 1648.

of Protestant persecution—more mean, cruel, and horribly bloody things happened, indeed, than can well be conceived—and, according to the evidence furnished by the Jesuits themselves, the originator of all this was their distinguished brother, William Lamormain. I will not further depict the horrors which were practised during the next four years under the cloak of conversion from heresy. I will not speak thereof, or as to how and in what manner the whole of the non-Catholic community was robbed, not only of all civil, but of all human rights; I will not relate anything further regarding their actions—the deeds, I mean, of the so-called Reformation Commission of Ferdinand, which was nothing else than an imitation of the Spanish tribunal of the Inquisition, having, as its characteristic, the same harsh barbarity, the same unlimited power of branding, cutting off noses and ears, as well as of hanging, beheading, and breaking on wheels. I will even pass over in silence the horrible military hatred aroused, which consisted in this, that the Croats, Cuirassiers, or Lichtensteiners, were employed, with drawn swords, in hunting down the people, forcing them to the Mass with dogs and whips, and throwing the refractory ones into cages in which they could neither sit, lie down, nor even stand, while they were compelled to witness, at the same time, the most horrible violence applied to their poor wives and daughters, until the husbands and fathers swore upon their knees to renounce heresy. All this, and much more, will I pass over. It is my duty, however, to mention the names of those who were leading spirits and instigators, for the most part, of those devilish persecutions, and they were no other than the Jesuit Fathers Adam Krawarsky, Andreas Metsch, Leonard Oppel, Kaspar Hillebrand, George Ferus, Ferdinand Kollowrat, Friedrich Bridel, and Mathias Vierius. What were the terrible results of this reign of terror, more especially to the unfortunate Bohemians, are related by the Jesuit historian Balbin, who was an eye-witness of the horrors he depicts; he says, indeed: "It is truly astounding that, after all that has taken place, there were any remaining inhabitants to be found;" but he adds, it is an established fact, on the other hand, that "the existing population of these desolated lands completely recognise Catholicism, and Evangelical faith was entirely exterminated."

As a third proof of the extraordinary influence exercised by the Jesuits in the course of the great religious war in Germany,

I must bring to notice the extinction of Protestantism in Silesia; and, as a fourth, the murder of the great Frieslander, the Imperial Generalissimo.

The Silesian insurgents had, in the year 1621, submitted to the Emperor Ferdinand; not, however, by force of arms, but in consequence of a solemn treaty entered into between the parties, which ensured a general amnesty to the inhabitants for their participation in the Bohemian insurrection, and granted a confirmation of all their rights and privileges, more especially that of religious liberty. This treaty was promulgated throughout the whole of Silesia, by the Emperor himself, on the 17th of July 1621, by means of public Patents, and no one living in the country could have thought there was any possibility that any Prince or Emperor could have been so dishonourable and devoid of all shame as to break such a solemn oath and engagement. But Ferdinand II. showed himself to be a worthy pupil of the Jesuits, and the Fathers Martin Becanus and William Lamormain knew how to quiet his conscience. There consequently began a systematic persecution of the Silesian Protestants in the year following, and, as they did not at once burst out into rebellion, the same means were used to obtain this end as had been resorted to in Bohemia. "Extermination of heresy," was the watchword which the sons of Loyola preached from morning to night, and the Lichtensteiner, together with other inhuman warriors, served on this occasion as "Saviour." With what unmeasured cruelty they, however, conducted themselves, may best be understood by this, that a Jesuit even, Father Nerlich of Glogan, was unable any longer to witness it, and on that account demanded his withdrawal from Father Lamormain in Vienna. But enough has been said on this subject. Silesia was, in this way, regained by the Jesuits, but in such a manner that the country lost half of its inhabitants, and sank into the greatest state of misery!

I come now to speak more particularly of the fourth proof of Jesuit influence; of the murder, namely, of Albert Wenzel of Wallenstein, Duke of Friesland, Mecklenburg, and Sagan, beyond doubt the greatest General of all those who commanded the Catholic armies in this war. The Jesuits had selected him as leader, on account of his having made the House of Hapsburg the all-ruling Power in Europe, and Ferdinand II.

the absolute ruler of the German Empire, for the sons of Loyola never for one single instant left out of sight their great aim and object, that, namely, of a universal monarchy. He, then, the Frieslander, was *the man* for the business in hand; not merely on account of his great talents as a commander, but, still more, because he had been educated at the College of Olmutz, and consequently his views were completely in accord with theirs. For a long time both of these parties had agreed well together, for at least the Frieslander had to thank the intercession of Father Lamormain, the most influential man at the Imperial Court, and in reality the Prime Minister, for the bestowal on him of the Dukedom of Sagan and Mecklenburg. Thus Wallenstein, his palm having been well greased, that is to say, having rich presents bestowed upon him, set himself zealously to work along with his coadjutors, to obtain for the Order of Jesus a firm footing in this hitherto Protestant country belonging to the Empire. As, however, later on, Wallenstein, on account of the great straits to which the country was at that time reduced, had been appointed to be Generalissimo, with full dictatorial powers, and had taken such unlimited advantage of his dictatorship that not only the army, but the Court also, came to be completely under his control and guidance, a frightful feeling of resentment was aroused towards him in the mind of the Father Confessor of the Emperor, who had hitherto alone managed him, and conducted the ship of the State. This feeling of resentment on the part of the Jesuits became exchanged for perfect fury when they considered that the Frieslander had been raised to the giddy height on which he now stood, properly speaking, on their own shoulders; and they, therefore, at once resolved upon his downfall, as soon as they became convinced that they could no longer make use of him as their tool.

Of this state of matters, too, the Frieslander was not, indeed, in ignorance, and he frequently expressed himself to his most intimate confidants as hating the Jesuits from the bottom of his heart, so that, as soon as it was possible for him to do so, he would be prepared to hunt them out of the Empire. The sons of Loyola, however, were beforehand with him, and in combination with Maximilian of Bavaria, and his other enemies, succeeded, at the beginning of the year 1634, in persuading the Emperor Ferdinand that now the time had arrived when this

troublesome dictator was no longer required. The mere deposition or removal of the hated man was not sufficient for them, as they had been taught to fear him; what they desired was his death and complete disappearance from this world's stage, and, therefore, through the medium of Father Lamormain, they talked over the Emperor without much trouble, and got him to attach his signature to a death-warrant, which was carried into effect at Eger on the 24th of February 1634. It was they, besides, who made use of messengers and riders, in order to communicate with the treacherous captains under the Frieslander's command, and more especially with Gallas, Butler, and Piccolomini, and it was in their college at Prague where, according to the evidence of contemporaries, the decisive consultations took place as to the carrying out of the death-warrant.

The fifth proof of the extraordinary influence of the Jesuits upon the course of the great religious war in Germany lay in the nefarious Restitution Edict, of which they were the framers, and which the Emperor Ferdinand II., instigated solely by their advice and suggestions, issued, on the 6th of March 1629, just as the fortunate turn of the war had placed him at the zenith of his power. According to this proclamation, the Protestants were required to give up all the cloisters, foundations, bishoprics, and church property which had been acquired by them since the Treaty of Passau in 1552, in order that the same should be restored to their rightful, and formerly Catholic, owners. This, at first, immensely rejoiced the hearts of the whole Catholic priesthood, the bishops and archbishops of Germany, as well as of the Pope of Rome himself; but it was only at first, as it became apparent, after the lapse of a few years, what was the real meaning of the edict in question. It came out that the Emperor Ferdinand, who retained expressly for himself the free disposition over those church properties, was by no means disposed to restore them to their former owners, but wished, on the contrary, to keep them for his own use and for the extension of his power, and, in fact, did so retain them for the most part.*

* Pope Urban VIII., on that account, also complained in the strongest manner possible, in the year 1632, and replied quite ludicrously to the Jesuit Cardinal, Peter Pazman, whom Ferdinand had sent to him:—"The great advantages which Sweden had at that time gained, were, undoubtedly, only a divine punishment for the non-restoration to the Church of the Church properties taken from the Protestants, and for the retention of the same for State purposes."

His edict set forth that the sons of Loyola had framed the proclamation in order that they should be able to expel by force those persons adhering to the Evangelical faith in all the territories evacuated by the Protestants, with the view of taking possession of all the churches, and everything pertaining to them; in this way, they acquired them for their Order. With this object in view, also, the sons of Loyola were never, on any occasion, missing whenever an Imperial army entered a conquered city, the plea being that they must needs be required to incite the inhuman warriors to a still greater degree of fervour "to couch their lances for God's honour" against the Protestants, inflaming them to perpetrate, that is to say, even still more horrible deeds of cruelty. They must needs make their appearance wherever the Imperial or Leaguist banners penetrated, in order, with the aid of the soldiery, to see that such scenes of butchery were fully carried out, quite unrestrained, and to the same extent as were witnessed at the beginning of the war in Bohemia and Silesia! It is mentioned, for example, that Father Lorenz Forer, Professor at the Jesuit school of Dillingen, admonished the commander of the Imperial army with such words as these: "Estote ferventes," that is to say, "Do not slacken in your zeal, but seize and commit to the flames in such a manner that it will be necessary for the angels to draw up their feet, and the stars begin to melt." It is also recorded that Father La Mornay, at the storming of the city of Olmutz by the Imperial troops, murdered, with his own hand, three Protestant clergymen, and, as a reward, granted free absolution from all his sins for such a deed of horror to a brute who had dashed against a wall the head of a child who was clinging to his feet. Then, again, the Fathers Jeremias Drexel, Franz Dübuisson, and Ignatius Plachy, together with many others of their brethren, often put themselves at the head of the battalions, and at the battle of Breitenfeld, in which Gustavus Adolphus completely defeated Tilly, a number of Loyolites were found among the dead. In this way, too, they entered Raufbeuren, and many other Suabian Imperial towns, along with the Imperial garrison troops, nine men in number, and, in the year 1630, compelled all the Protestant inhabitants either to migrate or else become Catholic; between such alternatives they allowed of no exception, not even in the case of the dying, the sick, the old, as, for

instance, in that of the Burgomaster Lauber, who was seventy-six years old. It was thus, also, that Father Lamormain came in person to Augsburg, with the view of carrying out the Edict of Restitution, in conjunction with Konrad Reising, the rector of the college there, when, with the help of the soldiers which they brought along with them, all the Protestant schools and churches were either closed or pulled down; those of the inhabitants, too, who still adhered to Protestantism were driven to Mass with whips, and even migration, in this instance, was not allowed, unless they left their property behind them. "Such was the state of affairs throughout the whole of the Empire," writes a chronicler of these times; "whatever the Jesuits wished for was, by the Emperor's orders, forcibly carried out by the Spaniards against the Bavarians—what the commissaries insinuated, that the soldiers executed—and is it not sufficient to make mention of the miserable and frightful murders, robberies, and incendiarisms which were perpetrated?"

As the sixth, and last, proof of the influence of the Jesuits over the course of the Thirty Years' war, I may adduce the extraordinary efforts of the sons of Loyola in producing and maintaining a preconceived understanding to prevent, at any price, the conclusion of peace as long as a single Protestant existed. In the year 1632, Cardinal Richelieu endeavoured to put an end to the war, and in a manner which truly does great honour to this distinguished statesman. At that time Ferdinand II. was, through the victorious career of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, hurled from his proud and giddy height into the dust, and, being in the direst need, it appeared, without doubt, that the House of Hapsburg would be compelled, after a short war, to conclude a very humiliating peace with the brave Swedish King and his Protestant allies, in the event of Maximilian I. determining to maintain a neutral attitude with his League. In this wise, Bavaria might have been able to remain completely exempt from the war, and to raise itself up to be an intermediate power, so considerable, indeed, as to give the tone to Germany, thereby conferring such an advantage as any wise ruler might well have seized with both hands. The French Ambassador, Charnac, made use of all his eloquence in order to induce the Wittelsbacher to take this view, and was supported by all the weight of the Committee of Country

Delegates then assembled at Munich. But what would have become of a Hapsburg universal monarchy, according to the plan and design of the Jesuits, if Maximilian had been induced to take this course? The latter fraternity, therefore, bestirred themselves to the uttermost on the occasion, and Adam Contzen,* the Father Confessor of Maximilian, moved heaven and earth to dissuade him from according his consent to such a pernicious plan of action. He—and, as a matter of course, all the other Jesuits about the Court of Munich blew quite the same little horn—was of opinion, with others, that should the Electoral Prince refrain from taking a part in this war for the faith, he would not only forfeit all his preceding renown, but stigmatise himself with an indelible mark of shame. He, moreover, asked the Prince Elector how he could reconcile it to his conscience to favour the victory of the heretics by entering into a treaty of neutrality with the Swedish King, and whether, in that case, he had taken into consideration that he would be necessitated to grant toleration to the Protestants in Bavaria. In short, he contrived to establish in the mind of his high confessant such a panic that Maximilian determined to prosecute the war still further, and to allow himself to be used as an advanced rampart against the Swedish King, to the unspeakable misery of Germany in general, and of Bavaria in particular.

In this way it came about, entirely through the Jesuits, that peace was not concluded in the year 1632, and in the same manner in the years 1635 and 1638 their efforts in this direction were equally successful. In the year 1635, the Austrian Court, by the so-called Peace of Prague, succeeded in dissolving the alliance of Saxony and Sweden; and this said peace was of incalculable value to the Emperor Ferdinand, as his resources at that time were completely exhausted, so much so as to render it almost impossible for him to carry on the war any longer with all of his former enemies. Nevertheless, the Jesuits, with Father Lamormain at their head, continued to hurl

* Father Contzen, born in the year 1575 at Montjoye, in the Dukedom of Zülich, entered into the Jesuit Order in the year 1595, and became in the year 1617, from being Professor of Theology in the College at Mayence, Confessor of the Bishop Johann Gottfried of Würzburg. He was advanced, however, after the death of Johann Buslidius, in the year 1623, to be Confessor to the Electoral Prince Maximilian I., and remained in this influential position up to the time of his death, in the year 1635. I may observe, by the way, that Buslidius had been for twenty-eight years the keeper of Maximilian's conscience

fire and flames over this peace, and sought with all their eloquence to prevent the Catholic Electors from giving their consent to it, while they daily continued to urge the Emperor to break it. With this said instrument of peace, religious liberty would, of course, have been granted to the Lutherans, and the enforcement of the Jesuit Edict of Restitution have ceased.

The Hapsburger was now driven to such shifts that he was unable to do anything else but render obedience to his Father Confessor, and he consequently, compelled by necessity, had only to await a more favourable opportunity. Ferdinand II. at this time died, having drawn down upon himself the curses of Germany, as the people, through him, had fallen into a most miserable condition. They at once implored Amelia Elizabeth of Hesse, the guardian of the new Emperor, Ferdinand III., then a boy of eight years of age (1637–57), to hold out the hand of peace under the same conditions as Saxony had done. The new Emperor, being strenuously urged by Bernhard of Weimar, now empowered the Electoral Prince, Anselm Kasimir, Archbishop of Mayence, with the conduct of this highly important business, and he succeeded in bringing it to a conclusion in August 1638, under very favourable conditions to Austria. All the secular counsellors of Ferdinand exulted much over this treaty, and, for the most part, the majority of the ecclesiastical dignitaries were also delighted. It was only the Jesuits who resisted it with hands and feet, and uttered such a wail of misery over it that even the reformer—Hesse was an adherent of Calvinism—was obliged to agree to promise legal toleration to the most hated of all hated creeds.

What a piece of good fortune was it for them, however, that the Emperor had, as Father Confessor, Johann Gans,* the most skilled of all their body, and it was a still greater stroke of good luck that, through their urgent entreaties, the monarch allowed himself to be induced not to ratify the treaty! The Landgravine, therefore, renewed an alliance with Sweden, and her brave army henceforth fought on the Protestant side up to the termination of the war.

* Johann Gans, born in Würzburg territory, and a Jesuit from 1610, accompanied Ferdinand III., previous to his accession to the throne, in his campaign as camp preacher, and became afterwards his confessor for fully twenty-two years. He survived his master, moreover, about five years, as he died in the year 1662, while the Emperor died in the year 1657.

Thus did the Jesuits go on further and further, and it was in vain that the deputies who were, in the autumn of 1640, assembled at Ratisbon, urged the Emperor to grant a general amnesty, for the present at least, whereby a reconciliation might have been effected between Austria and the Protestants. The Emperor, however, did not do so, not being able to get the consent of the Jesuits thereto. On the contrary, they opposed the idea of a general amnesty as a thing thoroughly sinful and objectionable, and with the greatest bitterness continued to urge the further prosecution of the war, which should never be allowed to cease before the complete extermination of the Protestants was effected; and this is proved by a public document published at that time, in the name of the Order, by Father Lorenz Forer, of whom I have already made mention.

Ultimately, however, the demand for an amnesty became of necessity altogether too urgent for the Emperor to be able to adhere to these principles as laid down by the Jesuits, and consequently peace negotiations were commenced in 1643, at Osnabruck and Münster, between the different contending parties, together with foreign countries, France and Sweden being powerfully represented. All Germany now breathed afresh, as it was clearly to be perceived that the work of peace was taken up in real earnest, and, tired to death with the long fearful struggle, it was hoped by both Catholics and Protestants that an end should thus be put to the war as soon as possible; for still, during the time the negotiations were proceeding, combats and battles went on as before, and to the blood-thirsty deeds which had already taken place new ones were constantly being added. In spite of everything, it was, notwithstanding, fully five years before these negotiations were brought to a conclusion; and who was it that was to blame for all this delay, during which the poor Fatherland was completely exhausted almost to destruction? It was no one else than the Order of Jesus! The first thing that was demanded and required by the Protestants was unconditional religious liberty, as well as rights and privileges, especially as regards those appertaining to them by birth, equal with those enjoyed by the Catholics. Unless these essential conditions were at once conceded no consent could be given by them to any peace, as otherwise they would be left without any rights; but even these

preliminary conditions were rejected by the Jesuits as an absolute religious outrage, while they urged the Emperor rather to hand over the finest districts of Germany to France and Sweden than to give his consent to such terms. And not only did they continue to urge this upon the Emperor, but they also brought all their influence to bear upon the lesser and greater Catholic powers and Imperial Princes which were represented in the Peace Congress. What, however, the result of their machinations must have been can be best measured by the fact that at that time there was neither a single prince throughout the whole Catholic world, nor, indeed, a minister and statesman, whose conscience was not in the keeping of some member of the Society of Jesus. They so contrived to manage, above everything, that the peace negotiations should be carried on entirely at Münster and Osnabruck, as in both of these towns they possessed colleges, and the Bishop of Osnabruck, the leader of the Imperial Catholic Princes, happened to be their particular friend. This said ecclesiastical dignitary, by name Francis William, an illegitimate son of Duke Ferdinand of Bavaria, was educated by the sons of Loyola at their college in Ingoldstadt, from the time of his being nine years old, and he consequently imbibed similar principles to those of his cousin Maximilian, and could not, therefore, be less Jesuitically inclined. Whatever influence he then exercised by his great eloquence and his high connection, at the Congress, whither he had been sent as representative of seventeen Catholic votes, was in the spirit of his teachers, and even the two Generals of the Order, Vitelleschi and Caraffa, who held that high office at the time of the Congress, and were personally present at it, could not have watched over the interests of the Order better than he did. Equally active as himself, too, were the Jesuit professors who conducted the instruction given at the colleges of Münster and Osnabruck, and more especially the two Fathers, Johannes Mühlman and Gottfried Coeler, together with their Rector, Johannes Schüchling, all of whom could not be excelled in Jesuitical cunning, and who, in fact, were perfect specimens of their Order. There was no ambassador there from any of the Catholic Princes with whom they had not daily intercourse, and there was no chamber where they had not their spies, who could not even be excluded from the residences of the Protestant plenipotentiaries. The garden-pavilion of the

Müuster college, however, was the great Catholic rendezvous where their consultations were held, under the presidency of the Spanish ambassador, their resolutions being moulded, as may well be imagined, in true Jesuit style.

By such means they succeeded in putting off the work of peace during a period of fully five years, and, assuredly, had not Ferdinand III., in the year 1648, given authority to his ambassador, Count Maximilian von Trautmannsdorf, "the Angel of Peace," as he was rightly called by many, to view with favour the desired concessions demanded by the Protestants, in the question of religious liberty—had it also not been that at this time the impetuous Wrangel had succeeded in completely shattering into a thousand pieces the last army which the Emperor had been able to bring to the front, things would have continued as they were. Under such circumstances, however, as those stated, he was obliged to yield, and thus it came about that the earnestly desired peace was at length concluded, on the 24th October 1648, which went by the name of the Treaty of Westphalia.

But how did matters look at that time in Germany? Ah! indeed, the Thirty Years' war, with its terrible ills produced by fire and sword, had brought about such a condition as pen could hardly describe. Thousands of towns and villages were in ruins; the most luxuriant plains, whole districts of country, before pastured by flocks and herds, were now converted into wildernesses where only wild beasts were to be found. There still remained in existence, it is true, but brutalised, and sunk as low often as mere animals, young and old, buried, alas! in such complete ignorance, that many could not tell the difference between Christ and the Devil. In short, it was a condition of things which could not be more pitiable, and which many years of peace could not by any possibility restore. And still, notwithstanding all this cruel suffering, the Jesuits had strained their very utmost in order that a union might not be brought about; and when at length it was effected in spite of all their endeavours, they refused to take the state of affairs at all into consideration, and received it with a hearty curse.

It was not, under such circumstances, to be wondered at, that instead of, as they had hoped, extending their power and influence over the whole of Germany, they had now to be con-

tented with only two-thirds of it. On the other hand, they could, it is true, boast of the conquest of those two-thirds as being a victory of greater importance than that which they had attained in any other European State, as at the conclusion of peace they were in possession, in Austria, Bavaria, and the other different ecclesiastical principalities, of no fewer than one hundred and eighteen colleges throughout the whole Empire, along with a corresponding number of residences, as well as novitiates and profess-houses; yet still, notwithstanding all this, there could not be a greater grief for them than to see as a certainty that, through the Peace of Westphalia, so large a field for their operations had been snatched from them by a stroke of the pen, so to speak.

VI.—The Sway of the Jesuits in England and other Northern Kingdoms.

The Jesuits were not nearly so successful in establishing themselves in any of the northern European states, with the single exception of Poland, and on that account I will be very brief in this last description of Jesuit progress.

By the tyrannical conduct of Henry VIII., England became disunited from the sway of Rome, and as long as this monarch lived everything having the name of Catholic was banished from his country. The founder of the Jesuit Order grieved very much indeed over this circumstance, and at once despatched his two disciples, Pasquier-Brouet and Salmeron, in order to ascertain whether there was no soil to be found to his mind for the construction of a colony. Brouet and Salmeron soon became convinced that there was nothing to be done there, and at once embarked for the Emerald Island, as Ireland is commonly called, in order to give support to the inhabitants thereof, in their strenuous resistance to Henry VIII. and his reforming efforts. But here, also, they were not allowed to remain long, as Henry very soon brought his rebellious subjects into subjection by means of blood and iron; and the Jesuit emissaries had to fly for their lives. Little was also effected in Scotland, as John Knox, the great reformer, had the whole population at his back in his controversy with the Papacy.

These conditions, so inimical to the Jesuits, changed for their

advantage after the short interregnum of Edward VI., when the daughter of Henry VIII., by his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, Mary I., commonly called Bloody Mary, and in Scotland Mary Stuart, the daughter of James V. and of Mary of Loraine, respectively came to the throne, as both sovereigns had been strictly brought up in the Catholic faith. Notwithstanding however, that such gigantic efforts were made by the Romanists, with the powerful co-operation of the sons of Loyola, especially the two Fathers Edmund Hay and Thomas Dasbire, to eradicate the remnants of Protestantism—notwithstanding that great cruelty was also exercised, and so much Protestant blood was shed, still, for all this tragical state of things, the Jesuits had eventually to evacuate Great Britain completely, as soon as the celebrated Elizabeth in England (anno 1558), and the Earl of Murray, as Regent for the under-aged James VI., in Scotland, seized the reins of government (anno 1568). As a matter of course, however, the sons of Loyola, in their exertions to establish their influence in the British Islands, did not entirely leave off their machinations, but, on the other hand, continued them still more, as well in Rome itself as on French territory, by the erection of seminaries in Douay and Rheims, and, later on, in St. Omer, Liege, and elsewhere on the continent, with the view of educating young Englishmen according to Popish and Jesuitical views and doctrines; from these institutions emissaries proceeded from time to time to England, under all sorts of disguises, in order to create dissension in the kingdom.* Still the prime and original aim and object thereof—namely, to found permanent settlements—the Order never succeeded in effecting; and Great Britain may well boast of hardly ever having seen the banner of Loyola displayed on its soil. Equally might Denmark and Sweden participate in this boast, though in the latter country this result was not achieved without contention and strife.

After that here—I mean in Sweden—the Reformation had been introduced by Gustavus I., and Catholicism had been completely extinguished, the Jesuits entertained the belief that, under the second son and successor of this ruler (1568–1592), the proper

* As such emissaries, Edmund Campian, Rudolph Serevin, Alexander Briant, and Robert Person, were especially conspicuous during the reign of Elizabeth, disguised at one time as soldiers, and at another as merchants. Person was also the author of various lampoons against the Queen, and the same was the case as regards Edmund Campian.

time had arrived for making a favourable impression for themselves in Swedish territories, seeing that John III. had married, in the person of Catherine, a sister of King Sigismund-Augustus of Poland, a very good Catholic princess, who contrived to indoctrinate him completely after her own wish. They did not dare, however, to go about the matter openly, because otherwise the people, being zealous for their Evangelical faith, would have certainly risen in rebellion; the King consequently was talked over quite quietly, and induced, in the first instance, to allow of some Jesuit Fathers coming into the country secretly. The Fathers then made their appearance with Lorenzo Nicolai from Louvaine, and conducting themselves as Protestant theologians, in this manner, through the peremptory decree of John, situations were found for them in the newly-erected University of Upsala. Their secret operations, however, proceeded in much too slow a manner to please Eberhard Mercurien, the General of the Order in Rome, and he consequently despatched Anton Possevin, whose acquaintance we have already made in Savoy, in order to induce the King to allow the worship of the Catholic religion to be exercised openly. Possevin, who came, however, in the capacity of an Imperial ambassador, did not carry the matter so far as that, but managed at the same time that John came over secretly to Catholicism, and after that he had taken Father Stanislaus Versovicius, his wife's spiritual adviser, to be his own Father Confessor, he caused a chapel to be erected in his palace, in which he permitted Mass to be read daily, according to the Catholic rite. Of far greater consequence, however, was it that, in order to make it possible for his son and successor to be elected King of Poland, he allowed him to be brought up in the Catholic religion; and in this manner Sweden was prepared to a certain degree, so that the true faith might, on the accession of Sigismund, be publicly introduced. Both of these circumstances seemed, in fact, to be on the eve of being accomplished, for the latter was properly elected King by the Poles in the year 1587, as the next heir of Sigismund-Augustus II.; and as, in the year 1592, John III. died, the young monarch thus succeeded to the throne of Sweden. What could now be more natural than that he who had been educated by the Jesuits, and was completely in their hands, should, on his accession, being urged on by them to do so, seek to find an entrance for

Catholicism into the kingdom of Sweden also? The Swedish Deputies, on that account, assembled on the 9th of January 1593, at Upsala, and unanimously passed a resolution that for the future the Augsburg Confession of Faith should alone have any effect throughout the whole of their Fatherland; this was signed by all present, viz. by the senate and knighthood, by the clergy, by the ministers of state, by the governors of provinces, and by all the burgomasters.

What, then, did Sigismund do? To commence with, he tried to get possession of the Swedish throne without taking the required oath; failing, however, to succeed in this, and seeing that an insurrection threatened to break out, he acted on the advice of the Jesuits, and swore everything that was demanded of him, but with the Loyolite inner reservation of at once breaking his oath whenever it suited him so to do.

He thus succeeded in getting himself crowned, and did not trouble himself any more about his oath, but brought his beloved Jesuits into Stockholm, and gave over to them several of the churches which he had seized and taken from the Protestants. Besides which he appointed Catholic councillors, and permitted processions to be formed; he required, too, that Jesuit villages should be allowed throughout the whole country, and revoked the Resolution of Upsala on the ground of its being illegal. This proceeding, of course, exceedingly displeased the Swedish Deputies, who at once energetically protested against it; but finding their efforts of no avail, they raised an army and defeated the troops brought from Poland by Sigismund, and, declaring the Swedish throne to be now vacant, they at length placed Duke Charles of East Gothland upon the throne on the 18th of March 1607.

The short triumph, then, of the Society of Jesus had now come to an end, and its disciples were at once sent to the rightabout, and never again returned to Sweden. But no, I am wrong in saying so, as they did return once more under Queen Christine, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, "the lion of midnight," who accomplished such great things for the Protestants during the thirty years' war. They did not, however, come openly as Jesuits, but secretly in the disguise of savants, as in the case of the physician Bourdetol, and the two mathematicians, Paul Cassati and Francis Malines; or as the innocent chaplains of foreign ambassadors, as, for instance, the Fathers Mannerschid

and Anton Macedo, the former of whom accompanied the Spanish, and the latter the Portuguese ambassadors. They did not even obtain anything of advantage for their Order, or for the Catholic religion, from the Queen, when the said monarch laid down her crown previously to abjuring her faith, which she did on the 24th December 1654, at Brussels, at the hands of Father Guernes; this change of religion, indeed, did not produce in Sweden the smallest results. It is affirmed, indeed, that when she came back on a solitary occasion to Stockholm, she did not even once exercise her newly-assumed religion.

Quite a different result was obtained, indeed, by the sons of Loyola in Poland, in which country the Catholic religion still prevailed, even after the Reformation, although not a few of the inhabitants, to the extent of something like a fourth part, recognised the Protestant faith. The first person in that country who brought the Black Fathers into it was the Bishop of Wilna, under whose protection Father Magius founded a college there, which was afterwards regarded as a nursery for all the later Jesuit colonies in Poland and Lithuania. The Jesuits had chiefly to thank for their prosperity Stephan Bathori, who, in the year 1576, was elected by the Poles to be their King, for the cunning Fathers so contrived to ingratiate themselves, during the ten years in which he held the reins of government, that he almost overwhelmed them with riches. In this way there were established in the territory of Cracow, in addition to a profess-house and novitiate, not less than seventeen colleges and seminaries, besides eight residences, the number of members of the Order amounting to about six hundred; while in the territories of Warsaw and Livonia there were two profess-houses, one novitiate, fifteen colleges, and four residences, with about five hundred members of the Order. They, indeed, even pushed their advanced posts as far as Riga and Smolensk, obtaining a settlement in the distant town of Novgorod. Whatever advantages, however, they in this way obtained for themselves, they caused infinitely greater injury to the Polish nation; for as soon as the sons of Loyola got a really firm footing in any locality, they began, partly with closed and partly also with open vizor, to take the field against the Protestant and non-Catholic party, which had, up to this time, according to established law, enjoyed complete religious liberty, and there arose then, in consequence of this

state of things, those internal disturbances in the kingdom which eventually, after the lapse of a century, terminated in the downfall of Polish independence. I need hardly here enter into any particulars descriptive of Jesuit proceedings, as the manner in which the Loyolites went to work was precisely the same as that pursued by them during the great religious war in Germany. I must content myself by remarking how the enlightened among the Poles saw clearly, by the end of the 16th century, from what source arose the disorganisation in the State, and to what it must eventually lead. It is stated in a memorandum communicated to the nobility of Prossnowitz, among other things, as follows:—

"The Jesuits have no idea of taking the trouble to persuade those of a different belief from themselves, but, on the contrary, just busy themselves in persecuting and harassing them, continually keeping up a state of religious rancour. They make use of their most experienced and sharp-witted members more in flattering the ruling passions of those about the Court than in restricting themselves to the education of the youth, whereby influence might be brought to bear on the election of kings, as well as the issue of decrees made on royal authority. It was they who initiated the disturbances in Livonia, Riga, Lithuania, and Volynia, and it was they who were the means of expelling the Protestant clergymen from Cracow, without any respect to sickness or old age, in order to take possession of their churches, and, indeed, under these circumstances several temples of God were even set on fire. The colleges, seminaries, and profess-houses which they build resemble palaces and fortified citadels, and seem exactly adapted to enable traitors to hold out against the Fatherland. It is their design and chief object to create disturbances, and to resist all who are known as honest and good patriots. On this account there is nothing else for it, in order to save the State, but to drive them out of it, and from the whole country, as the celebrated Dr. Pir and the Imperial Chancellor, Zamoyski, have already expressed themselves."

It was in this manner that the well-minded among the Poles thought as to the Society of Jesus at the end of the 16th century; but the latter had at that time gained such a firm footing, as well at Court as among the nobility, giving the tone to Polish society, that their opinions were also acceptable to the

Parliament, and consequently, in 1717, the sons of Loyola at length attained the object they had in view, namely, the complete suppression of all that was anti-Catholic, as well as the deprivation of the political rights appertaining to the dissenters. On account, however, of this fanatical line of conduct a civil war broke out, whereon the latter class were taken under the protection of Russia; matters, indeed, reached such a pitch that the affair at last ended in the dissolution of the Polish kingdom, and its partition.

It still remains for us to speak of the sway of Jesuitism in Russia, the most powerful of all the northern kingdoms; but this may be done in but few words, as the Order never obtained much power in that country. It is true, certainly, that the above-mentioned Father Possevin made an attempt to establish for himself a position in this very extensive dominion, and in various disguises endeavoured to effect something in the provinces bordering upon Sweden. Wherever he knocked, however, no one opened the door to him, as the people, both high and low, continued to adhere to the long-established Greek faith, and would have nothing to say whatever to the combatants for the Roman Catholic Church, more especially as regards Papacy. The consequence was that Possevin left Russia, with the few companions who accompanied him on his several erratic crusades, without having accomplished anything whatever; at length, however, at the beginning of the 17th century, a way suddenly presented itself for penetrating into the great northern empire, and although the path was indeed but a very crooked one—almost, it may be said, a very criminal one—the Jesuits still did not for a a moment hesitate in forcing a passage for themselves. It so occurred that after the death of the Czar Iwan II. Wasiljewitch, surnamed "the Terrible," there came to the throne the under-aged grandson, Feodor I. Iwanowitch, in the year 1584, and for him Prince Boris Feodorowitch Godonow, the husband of his sister Irina, wielded the sceptre. As regards this Boris, however, a tyrannical and ambitious man, it was whispered about that he had caused the only brother of Feodor, the Grand Duke Dmitri or Demetrius, to be murdered, in order that he might the more easily seize the reins of government after the death of the sickly Feodor. The course of things, also, seemed to confirm this suspicion, as Feodor, and together with him the last of

the stock of Rurik, actually died in the year 1598, when Boris at once possessed himself of the throne, and the majority of the people, even including the nobility, recognised him as Czar. The extreme severity, however, with which he sought to carry out, among the Russian people, his detested innovations, as well as the circumstance of his conferring favours upon foreigners resident at his Court, raised against him a number of enemies, so that a spark was only required to cause flames to burst out from below the smouldering ashes. During this time of fermentation a man presented himself on the frontiers of Poland claiming to be the murdered Dmitri, but who, in fact, was no other than a young monk escaped from the Greek cloister of Ischudow, having the name of Grischka Otrepiew, and this man fell into the hands of the Polish Jesuit Father, Nicolaus Knermkowsky. This false Dmitri, brought into a Jesuit college in Livonia, was there educated in the Catholic religion, and no doubt at the same time instructed as to the part he was required to play, as testified, at least, the impartial Thuan in the history of his times. After this individual had been properly schooled, the Jesuits then presented him to their true friend and patron, the Wojewode of Sandomir, Mniszeck, and contrived to allure the latter completely by a promise of marriage between his daughter Marina and the new comer. In this way the Wojewode was at once induced to recognise the impostor as the veritable Dmitri, and by reason of his powerful influence, as well as by the still greater interest of the Jesuits, they succeeded in gaining over to the side of the pretender not only the King Sigismund III., but also most of the Polish nobility; so much so, that Mniszeck was enabled, in the autumn of 1603, to collect together a large army with the view of fighting, in the interest of his son-in-law, against the Czar Boris. The war began in the spring of the year, and out of hatred to the stern Boris, not a few of the Russians came over to the invading pretender.

In the course of twelve months, then, matters advanced so far that the possessor of the Russian throne might well see in prospect his decisive discomfiture, and in order to secure the succession for his only son Feodor, who was beloved by the Russians, he ended his life by taking poison. Feodor was, as a matter of fact, made Czar, but about two months afterwards, during an unfortunate battle, he was taken prisoner by the

victorious Dmitri and forthwith strangled. The latter then made his entry into Moscow in great triumph, and with the utmost pomp caused himself to be crowned Emperor.

Who could now exult more than the Jesuits? Their great *coup* had proved successful, and the false Demetrius, who had given his promise that they should be domiciled throughout the whole of Russia in the event of his pretendership proving successful, now sat upon the golden throne of the Kremlin. Dmitri V., as he called himself, in fact, now proceeded to take steps to fulfil his promise, and built for his advisers and protectors a magnificent college in Moscow. He also replied to Pope Paul V., with whom he now entered into correspondence, that his intention was to make the Catholic religion supreme throughout Russia, if he were only allowed the time requisite to overcome the prejudices of his subjects. Circumstances were now, in short, highly favourable to them, and the Order of Jesus began to dream that they were already masters of the whole of Russia. The goddess of fortune, coming so suddenly, was, however, succeeded as unexpectedly by misfortune. Dmitri had scarcely established himself on the throne a year and a half when, at the beginning of the year 1607, just on the very day that he was solemnizing his marriage with Marina daughter of the Wojewode of Sandomir, an insurrection broke out, and the people, led on by Prince Wasili Schuiski, proceeded to storm the Kremlin. Dmitri and his Poles, indeed, fought valiantly, but numbers soon prevailed, and Dmitri himself fell under the blows of Wasili Schuiski.

Thus did his government come to a quick termination, and at the same time, as may be well understood, there was also an end of the existence of the Jesuits in Russia, as Wasili hunted them as well as the Poles out of the country, and henceforth the Greek religion remained for centuries predominant throughout this great Empire.

I have now brought to a close the prolonged chapters upon the sway of the Jesuits in Asia, Africa, America, and Europe, and it only remains to express a hope that the reader has not become weary in following my statements. Small, indeed almost imperceptible, was the beginning; but immeasurably great almost overpowering, in fact, was the ultimate result. A hundred

years after the foundation of the Order, its General ruled as absolute monarch in all parts of the world, and the different kingdoms of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America lay at his feet divided into provinces. Over each province was placed a provincial, as lieutenant of the General, and every month it was the duty of this provincial to send in his report to his General. The rectors of colleges as well as the superiors of residences, and the professors and heads of seminaries and novitiates, along with the leaders of missions, had to do so likewise; and from these thousands of reports the General was in possession of the most accurate information regarding all that was going on in the world. Moreover, by means of the Father Confessors at the various Courts, he was initiated into all the secrets of these latter, and he was, indeed, better informed respecting them than even the respective ministers themselves. One chief thing to be guarded against, however, was that none of these tale-bearers should prove false to him, and on that account each one of them was provided with an assistant who was also in direct communication with the General; and this control was so precise, that each of the above-mentioned provincials, rectors, superiors, or whatever other office might happen to be held by those in high positions among the sons of Loyola, had to be careful to report nothing but the exact truth. The consequence was, that the Society of Jesus, at the height of its prosperity, could be likened to nothing better than to a huge net, which extended itself all over the world, the cords whereof were all collected into the hands of the General; in this net the greater part of mankind tumbled about, just as fish when the fisherman draws the meshes together closer and closer. However great, then, any king or monarch might consider himself, he was but a weak vessel compared to the General of the Society of Jesus; it was therefore said of Claudio Aquaviva, who governed the Order between the years 1581 and 1615, that he once exclaimed, "Why are there not regions beyond the stars, that one might be able to conquer other worlds than that pertaining to earth?"

BOOK III.

THE MORALITY OF THE JESUITS;

OR,

THE VOW OF CHASTITY.

MOTTO:

Kommt die Treu vor der Jesuiten Haus,
So sagt mann ihr; der Wirth sei aus;
Kommt die Weisheit gezogen dafür,
Find't sie zugeschlossen die Thür;
Kommt Zucht und Ehr dieselbe Strass',
Sie müssen alsbald fürbass;
Kommt Christenlieb' und wär' gern ein
So will Niemand ihr Thorwart sein;
Kommt Wahrheit und klopft an,
So müss sie aussen bleiben stahn;
Kommt Gerechtigkeit vor das Thor,
So findet sie Ketten und Riegel vor;
Kommt aber das Weibsvolk hergeloffen,
So stehen ihm alle Thüren offen.

Drum Jeder komm' und schau' euch an,
Hier ist die Deck' euch abgezogen;
Die Wahrheit hat nun dargethan,
Wie ihr bis jezt die Welt betrogen.
Man kennt die Sodomiterei,
Die ihr verübt in euren Schulen;
Doch wer mag melden ohne Scheu
Eur fündhaf unnatürlich Buhlen.
O Schlangenzucht! O Natterbrut!
Die Wittwen, die euch sind zu Willen,
Genügen nicht? Auch nicht die Gluth,
Die ihr mit Honnen pflegt zu stillen?

Aus dem "Jesuitenspiegel."

CHAPTER I.

THE OLD ADAM UNDER THE MASK OF HOLINESS.

[This book has been somewhat modified to render it presentable to English readers. One chapter has, indeed, been omitted *in extenso*; even with these alterations there is much which would have been better omitted, were it not that it has not been deemed right to sacrifice entirely historical accuracy at the shrine of morality and propriety.]

I WOULD willingly have shrouded this chapter, or, indeed, the entire book, in the mantle of night, as the theme of which it treats is not such as to enable anyone to dilate on it with any degree of pleasure; but, before everything, truth must have precedence, and, moreover, how can one form a proper judgment of the real character of the Order of Jesus, if this side of their ways and doings be not brought before the judgment-seat of public opinion? I mean that side of the question relating to matters connected with morality. But, further, it would undoubtedly have been the case that the sons of Loyola, as in the first period of their existence, would have been looked upon in quite a different light, had it not been possible to break down quickly the gigantic tower of Jesuit power and influence, of the immensity of which I have given a description in the former book, and had revelations as to the true state of the foundations upon which the fabric rested been excluded from consideration. On this account my historical description of the Jesuits would have been very incomplete had I, from a feeling of delicacy, omitted the book concerning the "Morality of the

Society of Jesus," and spared the reader from becoming acquainted with facts which must fill him with disgust as well as abhorrence. On the other hand, I shall proceed to make mention of even the most reprehensible matters, in such a way as not to soil my hands, and, moreover, it must be permitted to me to make my descriptions with as much brevity as possible.

"It were much to be desired," said the holy Basilius, the great founder of Eastern monkdom, "that all those who take upon themselves the 'vow of chastity,' should completely renounce all worldly pleasures, and have nothing whatever to do with the senses, but be entirely released from them altogether; but, unfortunately, let such persons do what they will, they still find that, after all, they are but men, and cannot completely banish from themselves at all times the feelings incident to frail mortality." The truth of this proposition is acknowledged by all celebates, whether they be monks, nuns, or ordinary ecclesiastics, and priests have to undergo frequent severe battles with themselves in this respect. Many, feeling themselves valiant, have subdued their passions by starving, and other means; but by far the greater majority have found themselves unable to conquer their natural inclinations, and have thus sinned just as other children of Adam and Eve. So, by degrees, vice got the upper hand in the cloisters as well as among the ordinary priesthood, and, at the time of the Reformation, the whole of the Catholic clergy, and all appertaining thereto, were sunk in the deepest mire of iniquity. They were regarded on all sides with reprobation; and in this consisted the reason, as I have already above observed, why the Reformation made such gigantic strides. The sons of Loyola were only too well aware of this, and, on that account, strove to place themselves in marked contrast with the monks and ordinary clergy. Their own good sense told them that it would be an impossibility for them to obtain the smallest influence among Christian humanity as long as they gave way to such vices as prevailed among the other tonsured classes; and, on the other hand, they might, indeed, feel it to be certain that it would astonish the world, and be a marvellous example to the priests, if they succeeded in establishing for themselves a reputation for such purity of morals as could be boasted of by an Anthony, Pachonius, or Basilius. It must, therefore, at all times, be the great aim and endeavour of the Order to gain such a reputation,

and, from the days of Ignatius onwards, all Generals issued the strictest orders in reference thereto. For this reason appeared the orders "that in passing through the streets, the sons of Loyola should walk along casting on the ground downcast looks, and especially turning their eyes away from any daughter of Eve they might happen to meet." Further, should a woman knock at their door, they were enjoined "not to open it, but the door-keeper should send her away with as few words as possible." Should a woman desire the services of a Father Confessor, "she must be directed to go into a church, and there must he proceed. The Father must, on the other hand, hold his conversation with her through a grating, as well as with his face turned away from her; moreover, another brother should always be standing at some little distance off, in order to observe what went on, but not so near as to overhear, so that nothing else than the confession should be allowed to take place. Should a case at any time occur, where a sinful daughter of Eve entered a college or profess-house, with the object of visiting any Father, in spite of all precautions to the contrary, then a lay-brother should immediately lead her out by the hand, while the door-keeper collected the dust upon which she had trodden and threw it out at the door, in order that none of the other members might be contaminated with its contact." Such were the strict directions given by the Generals for the guidance of members in relation to the conduct which ought to be pursued by them in reference to the weaker sex; and, as blind obedience was their first rule, these directions were imperatively to be observed. It was delightful, indeed, to notice how chastely the Fathers conducted themselves with their eyes, ears, tongue, and hands, just as if they had not been born of woman; and they behaved themselves, even to the most beautiful and youngest creatures, as if they had been blind and dumb. It seemed, indeed, as if they had sworn the deepest hatred to the whole class, and, when compelled to speak to a woman in public, they did so with such a disdainful air, as to make it appear that they looked upon the whole of the daughters of Eve as lost creatures in God's sight, and sure of eternal damnation. Was there any wonder, then, under such circumstances, that Christendom should become full of the fame of the Jesuits, and even that they should be reverenced by many as almost saints? Great care was also zealously taken by them

to promulgate everywhere this repute, and to cause the common people completely to be carried away by reading the tales describing the strict innocence of the pious Fathers. Their virtue being thus so great, and the praises which they gave themselves so highly sung, they, of course, stood in most extraordinary favour with the Virgin Mary, who testified this by manifestations given by her to certain members among them. There thus appeared to Father Beraldus in broad daylight, in St. Paul's Church in Rome, an angel from heaven, bringing, together with many salutations from the Mother of God, a girdle which possessed the property of immediately removing all impure thoughts from the minds of those who simply touched it. For this reason Beraldus was obliged, by order of the General, to cut up the wonderful ornament into small pieces, in order that these fragments might be distributed among the Jesuit Colleges as far as they could go; and, wherever such fragment was to be found, no transgression, as regards morality, could ever occur, but perfect paradisiacal innocence reigned!

To another member of the Order, Father Julius, who in the year 1585 was Professor in the Collegium Romanum, there appeared every night a wonderfully beautiful maiden who played very delightfully on the lute, and solicited him to make love to her. The Father, in his distress, complained to the Rector, who advised him to get up and flog himself as soon as the maiden made her appearance, until she had vanished. The Father, of course, followed this advice at once, and the next night flogged himself so unmercifully that his blood ran in streams. Upon this the maiden ceased to play, and said to him in a sweet voice, "Oh, pious Father, I come from the Virgin Mary, who has sent me to put you to the proof. As, however, you have gallantly fought and gallantly conquered, behold, therefore, take this garland of purity, which the Holy Mother of God sends to you to enable you to remain as constant as you have hitherto been, in order that you may receive the unwitherable crown of everlasting life at a future time, amid the choir of chaste and pure virgins." With these words, she vanished, and was no more seen. She, however, left behind her the garland, which consisted of different kinds of wonderfully beautiful flowers, possessing precisely the same properties as the girdle of Father Beraldus. Out of reverence,

however, for the Virgin Mary, and as the flowers were so very beautiful, it was not divided in pieces, but was placed among other holy relics, of which the Order of Jesus, later on, had to boast, and there it always remained in its ever-enduring pristine freshness. Very many similar stories now became current, in each of which the sons of Loyola were represented as truly supernatural beings, only to be compared to the Archangels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. Indeed, one of these little books of self-praise * affirms that the Order of Jesus had overcome all improper tendencies, and, on that account, whenever a member of the same lay on his death-bed, Jesus Christ in person came to his bed-side in order to take the soul of the dying one into His keeping. Yet, the more the Jesuits loaded themselves with praises, the more general became the opinion which, even in the first century of their existence, was held here and there, that all this was deceptive and merely outward—in fact, only a pretence of holiness. "Their downcast looks," it was said, "when they happened to pass the weaker sex, their contemptuous style of conversation when in the company of females, in fine, their whole behaviour, as if they were never touched by the failings of mankind—all this was merely put on in order to deceive the world, while secretly and in private they were no better than their fellow-creatures; and this, indeed, without the smallest qualms of conscience, as they have their own peculiar principles of morality, and laugh in their sleeve, holding the idea that God has favours for those who castigate their flesh." Such opinions became prevalent very soon, not with the many, indeed, but only among a few; those few, however, gave themselves the trouble to watch very particularly the mode of life among the Jesuits, and the consequence of this was that many things came to light, through which their worst surmises became confirmed.

Let us hear, for instance, what took place among them in 1560 at Monte Pulciano, a small town in Tuscany. They had there founded a college derived from charitable contributions, which they readily obtained; and hardly had the building, together with its adjoining church, been erected, than all flocked to their confessionals. The Fathers especially knew how to get the

* This document bears the title:—*Imago primo Seculi Societatis Jesu*, i.e. a picture of the Society of Jesus in the first century of its existence.

female inhabitants of Monte Pulciano into their power, and maidens, as well as married women, confessed to them with the most amiable candour. In this manner, several tender relationships sprung up between the Father Confessors and their fair confessants; but both parties so contrived to conceal this that, although it was here and there whispered that something was going wrong, still, for a long time everything remained concealed, until at last the jealousy of one old maid let out the secret. The Rector of the College, called John Gombard, received visits at the same time from two sisters, an elder and a younger one, and first lavished his attentions pretty equally between them. Latterly, however, he more especially favoured the younger of them; thereupon the elder became so enraged that she revealed the whole proceedings to their brother. He at once forbade his two sisters to have any dealings with the Rector, either in the confessional or out of it, and at the same time made a complaint to the Bishop; the latter, moreover, unexpectedly caused a domiciliary search to be made in the College, when a quantity of gallant love-letters were discovered which had been exchanged between the Jesuits and their female confessants. It was at the same time noised abroad that one of the pious Fathers had been more than usually indiscreet, while the misdeeds of some others amongst their number became the theme of general conversation.

This, of course, had the effect of setting all Monte Pulciano in such an uproar that the Jesuit College was very nearly taken by storm. The people, however, thought better of it, and left the punishment of the guilty to the Episcopal See, which at once instituted a searching inquiry. Rector Gombard, however, did not wait for this, but took flight under cover of night, and the General Laynez at once expelled him from the Order. Nothing, however, was done to the rest of the Fathers, unless their transfer to other colleges be looked upon as a punishment, that of Monte Pulciano being closed, because the inhabitants withdrew all their support and ceased to have any relations with the occupants thereof.

This was, indeed, an ugly circumstance, but still worse and more vile stories followed, and obtained currency, like wildfire, over the whole civilised world, so that the Society had much difficulty in defending itself against the evil reports which over-

whelmed it. Thus, the tale of Father Majotius and his fair confessant, the female miller of Azenay, near Bourges, was in everybody's mouth, and, indeed, a particular brochure about this scandal made its appearance in the year 1576. Still greater indignation was aroused when the Jesuits endeavoured to represent that the relation of their brother with the miller maid was only that of a father towards his child. Satirical squibs now appeared on the subject, the most cutting of which was that published in the year 1610, under the title of "Address of thanks from the butter-dealers of Paris to Monsieur Courbouson, the panegyrist of the Society of Jesus." It then became public that the Father Peter Galess, Rector of the College of Bordeaux, kept a private journal, wherein he preserved a list of his fair confessants, and noted at the same time the happy hours he had passed in their company. In a similar way it came to light that Father Fronton Gadauta, Rector of the College at Fontan, and his successor in office, Peter, passed every day in the week in the company of ladies, selected out of the most distinguished in the town, being in the habit of shutting themselves up with them for four or five hours together during the day.

The following cases may be also noticed:—A woman of Poitiers, living a life of luxury, represented herself, during fully ten years, as sick, and sent alternately every day for Fathers Bonnet and Danceron, while she smilingly declared that those two pious Fathers were the best solacers she had ever met with for her ailment.

Father Galozin, Professor of the College of Metz, succeeded at length, partly by persuasion and partly by force, in triumphing over the scruples of the daughter of the royal Governor, but as he was not sufficiently careful, the pair of lovers were surprised on one occasion, the consequence being that the Governor, in his fury, caused the ears of the seducer to be cut off.

Father Gilbert Russow, who had been sent as secret agent of the Order to the town of Narack, conceived such an attachment for a washerwoman that, taking him for nothing more than a Catholic priest, she found herself compelled, with the view of saving her reputation, to demand that he should marry her. The Father, of course, was unable to gratify her in this respect, and the affair at once came before the law courts; but the

cunning Jesuit—money and persuasive words effect much—brought to the front a woodcutter, who took upon himself the responsibility which should have devolved upon the pious Father. The scandal to which he had given rise did not injure the good Father in the eyes of his superiors, and the General in Rome rather approved of his sagacity, and afterwards advanced him to the post of Provincial of the Upper Rhine provinces.

Father Johann Delvoss, who had for twenty years excited religious fervour in the town of Luneville by his pathetic preaching, allowed himself to be surprised with a notoriously profligate person, in a bath at the mineral spring of Sundgau, to which he had betaken himself for an ailment of the breast, and on that account had to implore pardon on his knees from the Provincial Boer.

Father Oliva, Professor at the College of Valencia, represented a peasant girl, whose full bosom had inspired in him a violent passion, to be his nearest relative, and hired a room for her in the neighbourhood of the college; he visited her there, giving out that he had family business with her connected with an inheritance, and not infrequently passed many hours with her, in order, as he expressed it, to exercise discipline over her, as she was not sufficiently advanced in piety!

Stephan Petiot, the Provincial of Guienne, obtained for himself the reputation of being one of the most holy of men, and when he preached in the principal church belonging to the Order, the space was found to be far too small to contain all the worshippers who thronged to listen to him. This, however, did not prevent him from becoming violently enamoured of a nut-brown maid, and persuading her to assume the disguise of a peasant boy in order to enable her to gain access into the college. In this disguise the girl now paid the Father frequent visits, and as often as she came he shut himself up with her for hours together; this, latterly, however, did not satisfy him, but he got her placed as his servant, and had her to wait upon him day and night. This went on during several months, and probably the matter might have continued for some time longer undiscovered, had not the woman possessed a tongue. But, being induced by sickness to speak, the girl revealed the whole affair to her former Father Confessor, Nathaniel Sichard, and he, of course, took care that an end should be put to the

matter before it should come to the knowledge of the world. Nothing, however, happened to Stephan Petiot, except that he was warned to be more circumspect for the future, as, had such a scandal become public, the whole Society of Jesus might have sustained the deepest injury.

We learn that Father Coprevitius, Professor at the College of Grätz, occasioned an unmarried young lady belonging to the Court of the Archduke Charles to get into disgrace, and that concerning this a terrible disturbance took place among the cavaliers and ladies of this pious Hapsburger. But the fellow brethren of Coprevitius neither lost their senses nor presence of mind, for the Rector of the university merely sent the erring sheep with a commission to an old friend of the Order, the occupant of the Lubian Bishopric in Spain, of the name of Thomas Cremius, who retained the fallen brother on the occasion entirely for himself. The lady, however, was under the necessity of making a four years' journey, travelling about the different baths, after which she returned again to the Court, as fresh and brisk as ever, just as if nothing whatever had taken place. And as for the erring professor's offspring, one of the Fathers took charge of it immediately after its birth, and nothing was heard afterwards as to what had become of it.

I could still continue to give hundreds of such instances on the part of the Jesuits, or rather thousands;* it must, however, be observed, that only a very few of such crimes among members of the Order ever became known, as the first care among the Jesuits was to conceal all that occurred, which was done with such skill that it should not reach the ears of the people. A sin perpetrated was a purely accidental affair. The principal thing was the publication of the scandal, the blame cast thereby on the Order, which, by the notoriety of every such crime, must have the mantle of holiness in which it enveloped itself damaged considerably. On this account care was taken not to awaken public attention by the punishment of such failings. They contented themselves with the private censure of the party, or his removal to another sphere of action, in order to

* I recommend to anyone wishing to inform himself on this subject the book entitled, *Histoire du P. La Chaise, Jesuitical Confesseur du Roi Louis XIV., contenant les particularités les plus secretes de sa vie, ses amours avec plusieurs dames de la premiere qualité, et les agréables aventures qui lui sont arrivées dans le cours de ses galanteries.*" 2 vols.

put a stop to any talk about the matter. Should, perchance, the affair come under judicial cognizance, they never rested until the accused member was cleared, as the world must on no account be allowed to feast its eyes on the humiliation of a brother of the Order! The best proof that the Jesuits were in the habit of acting in this way, may be gathered from the following couple of stories, the first of which occurred at Salamanca at the beginning of the 17th century :—

Father Mena was held there in great estimation, as well owing to his mode of life, which resembled that of the holy martyrs, as by the surpassing gift of eloquence with which he was endowed. In appearance he was pale and haggard, with eyes deeply sunk in his head. His gait indicated the deepest humility, and his simple aspect displayed a modesty which was the admiration of all. But when he stood in the pulpit and thundered against the depravity of the world sunk in iniquity, such fire proceeded out of his mouth that all his listeners shook with emotion, and a visible quaking of despair seized upon the hearts of even the most obdurate. Under such remarkable circumstances, it was not to be wondered at that many of the inhabitants of Salamanca chose Father Mena to be their Father Confessor, and more especially the female sex thronged to him from the highest classes to the lowest. Now, among the fair confessants there also happened to be a very beautiful maiden of striking appearance, whose understanding, however, did not at all correspond with her bodily attractions, and, as she was generally regarded as a kind of simpleton, Father Mena, whose heart was inspired with a glowing desire of obtaining possession of this charming being, hoped to be able to turn this circumstance to his advantage. After, then, he had properly prepared the maid, who came to him every week for confession, he at length proceeded further with his project, and explained to her that God had ordered him in a revelation, with a view to the completion of his sanctity, to take upon himself the sacrament of marriage with her. Whatever good reasons the Father might have given, however, in support of his proposal, and notwithstanding the credence the lady gave to almost every word he uttered, she was so terrified by such a proposition that she was at once seized with a desire to make her way out of the confessional. He, however, succeeded by honeyed words in preventing her

from doing so, and represented to her that her reputation would in no way suffer any injury from this projected marriage ordered by God, as he, under another name, possessed a small settlement, in which they might meet undisturbed, and that not less care would be taken to preserve secrecy in the event of her confinement. If she still cherished any doubts in her mind, proceeded he, with calculated slyness, regarding the necessity of complying with this command of God, she always had it in her power to consult one or other of the learned divines belonging to the university; but, on the other hand, it would be necessary for her to preserve the most profound silence towards the laity and secular community, as she would otherwise draw down the anger of heaven upon her. With these representations the first fears of the chaste maiden were, up to this point, overcome, and after the Confessor had mentioned to her a couple of Fathers of his acquaintance with whom she might take counsel, she left the church, partially convinced that she was destined by God to be rendered holy in the world by a secret marriage with Father Mena.

What now, then, took place? As soon as the beauty had left, the Father hastened to the two theologians with whom she might take advice, and represented to them that he had a very conscientious confessant to deal with, who would only follow his instructions after other learned men should express themselves as favourable to the necessity of her doing so. He then asked his colleagues whether they had any reason to distrust him, or whether he had not given proof of his ability for instruction in matters of conscience, derived from the practice of many years. Seeing this to be the case, and as he had proved it to be so by the mode of life which he had hitherto followed, he hinted that his colleagues need not, therefore, go into any details, but merely counsel the maiden to follow implicitly everything recommended by Father Mena. This the two theologians most willingly agreed to do, as they knew their companion to be a very straightforward man, besides being regarded as the best preacher of morality in Salamanca. When, then, she came to them for advice, and from a sense of shame did not know what words to make use of in expressing herself, they declared to her that whatever was proposed by Father Mena was certain to be right and good, and on that

account she ought without hesitation to follow implicitly any advice given by him. There was thus no longer any doubt remaining in the mind of the poor deluded fool, so on the next occasion when she came to him for confession he learned, to his inmost joy and satisfaction, that she was now fully prepared to follow the will of God. He then uttered a benediction on himself together with her, by the most truly blasphemous ceremonies, and they both at once withdrew to the above-mentioned retreat, where they lived together for a very lengthened period.

During all this time Father Mena continued to attend to his spiritual duties, and busied himself especially in preaching with such zeal and fervour that his great reputation went on increasing year by year. At last, by some unlucky accident, the profound secret of this disgraceful relationship came to light, and then the Holy Inquisition got hold of the errant couple, who were at once conveyed to the prisons of the Inquisition in Valladolid. The woman now, on the very first examination, made a full confession, and as thus the base conduct of Father Mena was brought to light, in all its enormity, everyone believed that the Society of Jesus would at once expel the mangy sheep out of the Order as a reprobate, *for the protection of its purity*. Such, however, was not at all the case, but, on the contrary, the Society espoused the cause of their member with such zeal as to produce the greatest astonishment regarding the matter. The Jesuits, however, well knew the reason why, and the result showed that they had rightly calculated. As this scandalous story now caused such a commotion all over Spain, and, indeed, elsewhere, the idea might take hold of men's minds that all the members of the Order were more or less profligate, and saints merely in appearance, and, therefore, cost what it might, Father Mena must be cleared from all imputations. A physician, therefore, was bribed by a large sum of money to declare that the simple woman was a complete fool, and this worthy doctor administered to the poor creature a sleeping draught of such potency that she never awoke again. At the same time the Provincial obtained from another physician a certificate that Father Mena was so dangerously ill that a further detention in the prisons of the Inquisition must bring about his certain death. Provided with this certificate, the Society,

which was at that time almost all-powerful at the Court of Spain, proposed that Mena should be brought into the Jesuit College in order that he should be better attended to, but, of course, only until such time as his health should be re-established. In this respect, however, the Inquisition took such precautions that several of its officials were appointed to accompany him, who were instructed never to lose sight of the patient. To all appearance Mena now became daily weaker, so much so, indeed, that the officials fully expected his decease. They were consequently not at all surprised one day, when engaged at their dinner—and the Jesuits took care to feed them right well—to find that all the bells of the college commenced to ring, thereby announcing the death of the poor patient, and, as may be well imagined, they did not hasten to make any inspection of the corpse, except for form's sake, some hours later, in order to enable them to make a report to their chief; and as they then found the Father lying in his coffin in Jesuit attire, they took their departure from the college to convey the news of his death to their General. The Father, however, was by no means dead; quite the reverse, indeed, for as soon as the officials had left he got out of his coffin, and after the death colour with which he had been painted was washed off, they put him, well disguised, on a quick-going mule, which soon conveyed him out of the country to Genoa. In the coffin they laid a wax figure, made to resemble him as much as possible, which was also dressed in Jesuit costume, and the burial then took place with much pomp. In this manner the Society contrived to put a speedy termination to the trial that had been instituted; and, of course, it was everywhere given out that the whole com plaint had arisen merely from the diseased imagination of a demented person, as there never had existed a more holy man than the much-maligned Father Mena.

The second affair which I wish to relate occurred in the town of Granada, also in Spain, in which the Jesuits possessed a very beautiful college, with large properties and endowments attached thereto. Among the latter there happened to be a pretty landed estate in the village of Caparazena, the management of which was entrusted to Father Balthasar des Rois. This latter, however, fell in love, it seems, with the wife of a peasant of the place, a very robust woman of well-developed figure and

warm temperament. It was not very difficult, therefore, for the Father to overcome her scruples, and, in order to carry his wishes into effect undisturbed, he appointed the peasant to be steward, with a considerable salary. Thereupon the peasant was, of course, greatly delighted, and several months elapsed before he discovered the reason why the Father had favoured him so highly. The other people in the village had better eyes, however, and at length made the peasant aware of the state of the case. He, therefore, at once spoke about it to the Father, who denied all this as a pure calumny, and the woman, who was much flattered with the attentions of the holy man, confirmed all that he said. The peasant was pacified, but only for the moment, as the thorn of jealousy had sunk deeply into his heart, and he was therefore resolved to make certain of the matter. One day, therefore, when the Father was expected from Granada, he went out very early into the fields, telling his wife at the same time to give him something cold to take with him to eat, as his occupation would not admit of his return home until late in the evening. The woman joyfully did what he told her, and then placed herself at the window in order to look out for the beloved Father, whom she expected to make his appearance within a few hours. The peasant, on the other hand, sauntered about, not, however, to go to the fields, as he had said, but to return home again after a short time by a bye-path, when he slipped quietly into the house by a back-door, and equally quietly he went inside and hid himself, waiting to see what happened. Shortly afterwards the holy man arrived, whereupon the infuriated husband sprang out and stabbed the pair with a knife with which he had previously provided himself for the purpose. The Father was killed on the spot, and the woman also died shortly afterwards; she lived, however, long enough to make a full confession to a neighbour who had been quickly called in. The situation in which she was found with the Father completely justified the peasant, according to Spanish law, in vindicating his sullied honour with the dagger. He thought so, at least, and so did the secular court before which the affair was first brought, and which, after hearing the evidence of the neighbour, found the peasant not guilty. The Jesuit College in Granada, however, was anything but satisfied with this judgment being unable to

endure the ignominy attaching to them, in that one of its members had thus rightfully met with his death by the dagger; and the Rector urgently petitioned at once, therefore, for a new inquiry, on the ground that the first had been conducted with partiality. He also personally betook himself to the spot, accompanied by a notary from Granada, and even, after all that had already taken place, endeavoured, by means of presents, promises, and threats, to bring over to their side the people who had in the first instance given evidence against the deceased Father. They, in this way, succeeded with not a few, the final result being that those persons at once contradicted all the evidence they had previously given. Those, however, who were opposed to them, in the face of this strong contradiction, admitted that they, at least, could no longer recollect with certainty, and, consequently the offence was made out to be at least doubtful. In addition to this, the Rector, by his generosity, obtained new witnesses, who at once swore that Father Balthasar was a most holy man, whom no one ever saw engaged in any other way than praying, with his rosary in his hands, and that, therefore, the story of his proceedings with the deceased must be rejected as perfect nonsense, as she had long passed her first youth—she was not quite twenty-eight—and consequently must be looked upon as an old woman. These and similar declarations were collected by the Rector with much zeal, and the notary carefully committed them to paper, and thus the matter advanced so far that this evidence was laid before a new court of investigation, and the severe punishment of the murderer demanded. It still, however, remained a matter of doubt whether the bribed witnesses would have stood their ground, as the sorely-pressed peasant requested that he might be confronted with them face to face; in consequence of this, it was suggested to the poor man, by some one professing friendship, that the best thing he could do would be for him quickly to make himself scarce, as he would doubtless be hanged as a convicted murderer. The man, from fear, followed this advice, and as his disappearance was silently facilitated, he made his escape quite undetected, while, as he had thus gone away under suspicious circumstances, the Jesuits triumphantly exclaimed that the guilt of the man was as clear as daylight, as consciousness of this had induced him to take to flight. This cry they repeated so often

that they at length succeeded in bringing over even the judges to their views; in short, they carried the matter so far that, supported by their false witnesses, the poor peasant, betrayed by such villainy, was presumed to be proved guilty, and condemned "*in contumaciam*," to the halter. Thereupon, on this sentence being given, the sons of Loyola, by way of putting a crown upon this tragic comedy, caused the whole of the law proceedings to be printed, along with the judgment thereon, and distributed them through the whole town exactly as if they had gained a great victory. Indeed, this Balthasar des Rois was, indeed, little short of being canonised as a martyr of purity; at all events, the Jesuits believed that they had proved this much, at least, that among their Society there was not one who could be afflicted with weaknesses as other children of men.

A third story of a similar kind relates to an escapade which took place in the town of Poitiers on the part of Father Mania, one of the most distinguished Jesuit preachers of St. Didier, and a widow of position; but I shall refrain from entering into particulars, as the scenes enacted were, if possible, of an even more scandalous description than those already related.

Of a fourth story of this kind I must at least say a few words, as it will afford not a little amusement to the reader. In the middle of the 16th century there lived, in the city of Bordeaux, a seamstress, who essayed to increase her resources, to a certain extent, by her charms, and, on account of this kind of life, had become notorious throughout the whole city. On one occasion this seamstress, after carrying on this double trade from her sixteenth to her thirty-second year, became seriously ill, and, in her terrible fear of death, caused Father Gaska to be called to her, in order that she might receive absolution from him for her long-continued sins of many years' standing. The same, however, a Jesuit highly esteemed above all for his piety and advanced age, made the Divine wrath so hot for the woman that she promised that, as soon as she became again convalescent, she would enter into a certain reformatory which had been founded in Bordeaux for the reclamation of sinners, and never again, for the remainder of her life, have anything to do with such matters. The woman in due course recovered, and, as the good Father Gaska was entrusted with the special supervision of the asylum, his wishes could, of course,

not be objected to by anyone. Nor was there any occasion for regret at her admission, as the seamstress at first conducted herself in a most exemplary manner, and fulfilled well her duties in every respect; as, however, her health became more and more re-established, and her bodily charms by degrees returned to their former condition, she began to experience again at night powerful temptations, of which she, naturally enough, made mention to the Father, her Confessor. He, however, represented to her that all such came from Satan, and gradually brought her to the conviction that the Devil had cast his eye particularly upon her. It came to pass now, that at the end of fourteen months this individual began to show signs by no means agreeable to herself or those around her. A fearful commotion now took place in the establishment, as it could be proved that no male person ever entered the building, with the exception of Father Gaska alone, and he, owing to his great sanctity, was, as a matter of course, beyond all suspicion. Further, it could be also proved that the woman had never crossed the threshold of the institution, which precluded the possibility of the only remaining means of accounting for her condition. She moreover declared, with the greatest confidence, that the Devil himself could alone have brought about this infernal mischief, and that she was prepared to take the sacrament on it that this was so. Confusion now became worse confounded. Physicians, who were now called in, declared that the woman must be out of her mind, as improper proceedings with an immortal being were not to be thought of; this view of the case, however, savoured so much of heretical reasoning that Father Gaska, in conjunction with several of his other colleagues, rejected it with indignation. The physicians now became silent, and contented themselves with merely shrugging their shoulders, in order that they might not be accused of heresy. The Jesuits, on the other hand, convoked a commission of learned theologians to consult upon the matter. Fathers Antonio Palomo and Martin de la Conchille, who were charged with drawing up the report, showed themselves to be conspicuously active on the occasion, and the pious Fathers cited so many instances from the Fathers of the Church, and especially from Augustine, that no clearer proof could be adduced. In fact, it was finally concluded that the Devil himself, and no one else, could have had

any dealings with the seamstress. It may be well imagined what a prodigious sensation this case caused throughout Bordeaux; so everyone was, of course, curious to learn how this offspring of the Devil would look when it came into the world. Now, the poor person gave birth presently to a little boy, having neither cloven hoofs nor the other characteristics of the Devil, but just resembling any of the other children of men. Nevertheless, the whole town rushed to take a look at the son of the Devil. Indeed, the house of the penitent barely escaped being taken by storm, so much so that Father Gaska and his associates were obliged to remove the mother and child out of the town—the mother, in order to convey her to a far distant place of retreat; the little boy, however, in order that he might be brought up by a hermit in the Pyrenees, who would soon drive the Devil's nature out of him. Moreover, the public had to be pacified, and it became so, although for a considerable time afterwards people spoke about the Devil's son, partly with horror, and partly with scorn and disdain, according as people were more or less enlightened. The mysterious veil in which this affair was shrouded was at last, however, very nearly lifted, and an eternal disgrace cast upon the pious Father Gaska. About ten years afterwards, the female guardian of the seamstress acknowledged to the doctor who attended her as she lay on her death-bed, that during several months she had been, by order of Father Gaska, obliged every Saturday night to bring a tumbler of wine to the seamstress, after she had mixed in it a white powder given her by the Father, which had the effect of regularly throwing the seamstress into a very deep sleep, and that then the Father introduced himself, remaining with the sleeper usually for one or two hours. At the same time, too, that she made this acknowledgment, she handed over to the physician a small quantity of the powder which she had preserved, and which on examination proved to be a strong opiate. The proceedings of Father Gaska now came to light in all their villainy, and the physician hastened at once to an advocate of his acquaintance, in order to consult with him as to what course he should pursue in this most extraordinary case, and as to whether he should not lay the proofs before a court of justice. The advocate, however, advised him to leave the matter alone, as, in the first place, Father Gaska had died in the meantime,

and could not now be awarded punishment; and, secondly, the Jesuits would be sure to know how to induce the seamstress to make a disavowal of the circumstance, so that the physician would be looked upon as a liar; and, thirdly and lastly, it was well known that all who dared to attack the Order of Jesus came very badly out of the business, and therefore it would be wiser to avoid this danger and not run any risk in the matter. Against such arguments the physician had nothing to advance, and on that account he left legal proceedings alone. This, nevertheless, did not prevent him from inditing in a special treatise, which was found among his papers at his death, a description of the shameful deeds of the Jesuits.

From what has gone before, one sees sufficiently how uncommonly active the sons of Loyola were in allowing nothing to come out respecting their Order, on which account they awarded no punishment for many of the sins to which flesh is heir.

I will not continue to dilate upon this subject, but prefer quoting the words of a writer of the 17th century, who had been for several years among the Jesuits, and who was well acquainted with all their proceedings. The author alluded to relates as follows:—*

"As the people belonging to the Order of Jesus conceived themselves to be especially ordained to take the nuns under their protection, they frequently remained six whole hours before the grating (the nuns, as is well known, could only talk with those of the opposite sex through the grating of the reception room) and conversed with those whom they selected. I could, however, take my oath that not a word of any importance passed between them as regards conversion to sanctity, but that, on the contrary, their conversation consisted for the most part in loose expressions and other amatory words.

"In short, a lay person would throw up his hands in amazement on hearing the style of conversation which the Jesuits were wont to carry on with the nuns, and, moreover, they never addressed them otherwise than in such terms as 'my sweetheart,' 'my treasure,' 'my well-beloved,' and similar expressions.

* This is the well-known Peter Jarrigius, otherwise called Peter Jarrige, whose work on the Order of Jesus came out for the first time in the year 1682.

"But you must pardon me, dear reader, if I refrain from very shame from portraying the subject in all its vivid colours; on the other hand, you may take my word for it, that I might easily bring forward many shocking things respecting the shameful deeds of the Jesuits, truly surpassing, in this respect, everything that has ever taken place in the world."

So writes my authority, and I might here conveniently bring this chapter to a close, were it not that I must make some allusion to the ill-famed institution of the "Female Jesuits," of which in our day almost nothing is known. The year in which this institution came into existence cannot accurately be determined by anyone, as the sons of Loyola, who were alone in a position to give correct information on the subject, preserve complete silence respecting it, no doubt on very good grounds. The fact of the matter is, however, that "Female Jesuits" not only existed in the year 1600, throughout the whole of Italy, but were also widely disseminated on this side of the Alps, in Northern Germany, and in the south of France. It is, further, a fact that they enjoyed the same privileges as the Jesuits themselves, that is to say, they resembled the latter to a hair-breadth, both in name and attire, that they possessed colleges, novitiates, and profess-houses, just as the sons of Loyola did, and held the same description of government, with a female General at their head. It is also a fact that they stood in closest relationship with the male Jesuits, having their abodes situated near to them in all towns.

No such thing of the kind had hitherto occurred in Christendom. There were monks and nuns of all descriptions, and the most different names; there were also those who had assumed the same title, as, for instance, Dominicans and female Dominicans, Franciscans and female Franciscans, &c. &c. &c. But female beings like the female Jesuits, who had taken on themselves the three vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, led by no means a life of contemplation, in devoting themselves to the service of God, and denying the world; quite the contrary, they wandered about here and there without any fixed place of residence, desirous of living like women of the world; so whenever they made their appearance, they assumed the rights of priests accustomed to baptise, confirm, and render consolation, just as the ordinary priesthood; they endeavoured especially to

figure as spiritual advisers to men of certain age and condition, and under the name or seal of Female Confessor, to be to them as already many a confessing child had been to its Father Confessor; and, lastly, without hesitation and without the least regard to shame, they went about publicly declaring themselves to be the second half of their namesake brethren, the Jesuits, and boldly alleging that it was only in the first instance, through their intimate connection with them, that the Order of Jesus had been made perfect. No! Indeed, such kind of things went beyond all conception. Moreover, the female Jesuits did all this without being authorised so to act by the Papal See; they were guided by merely their own sovereign will, and did not even consider it requisite to publish their statutes or to announce their existence to the Roman Curie. On that account Pope Urban VIII. was induced to proceed against them with all the available means of his apostolic power, and he issued a fulminating Bull, in which he decreed their institution to be not only abolished for ever, but also cursed as a vicious creation. This Bull, dated 21st May 1631, which was posted up in all the churches of Rome, is well known throughout the whole of Christendom, and of course still exists as a proof of all that I have stated respecting the Female Jesuits; it contains the perfect truth, though too mildly expressed, and I cannot therefore refrain from reproducing verbatim certain passages. It thus proceeds immediately after the introductory sentences:—

"We have heard, not without the greatest mental consternation, that, in Italy and beyond the mountains, certain women and maidens, after having assumed the name of Female Jesuits, have for several years assembled themselves together, without any approval or consent of the Pope; that, under the pretext of leading a holy life, they possess certain houses of the description and form of colleges, as well as profess-houses, over which a mistress, under the title of Female General, is placed; that, with the same object, they have taken upon themselves the vows of Obedience, Chastity, and Poverty, and followed all other usages and customs of the Jesuits; that they have, however, as well adopted many things very unsuitable for the female sex, and directly contrary to the decorum and modesty appertaining to the same. . . . Considering, therefore, that such creatures give occasion for much indignation, we have determined to eradicate

these unwholesome weeds, as we are of a mind not to tolerate such wickedness. On this account, therefore, after consultation with our holy Cardinals and Inquisitors, we now command that this alleged female society be entirely abolished, annulled, and done away with, and ordain that they, the Society of Female Jesuits, be ineffectual from the beginning, and null and void, being herewith at once swept away, buried in oblivion, and completely eradicated from the Church of God."

Thus speaks Pope Urban VIII. What further evidence do we require?

CHAPTER II. IS OMITTED.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES, OR THE REFINEMENT OF ENJOYMENT.

In the first chapter of this book I have treated of the ordinary sins of the flesh among the Jesuits; those most excusable, as arising from the weakness of human nature. In the third chapter I come to speak of the refined sins of the Jesuits; those, namely, founded on religious deceit, beginning with heaven and ending with hell.

Self-inflicted punishment had already, from great antiquity and among the most varied systems of belief, been looked upon as a religious duty, and even had become prevalent among Christians, who thought to gain heaven thereby, crawling into caves of the earth, or passing their lives attached to pillars and loaded with chains. Later on there arose in the west of Christendom voluntary flogging conjoined with fasting, praying, pilgrimages, and everything of a like nature, and the more a man lacerated the body by means of rods or straps, the purer were the tears of joy shed above by the angels and archangels; so was it taught by the priests. Even Ignatius Loyola, as we have already seen in the First Book, lent himself to such a belief, and, at the commencement of his religious career as well as later, brought himself into such a state by fasting, flogging, and several similar asceticisms, that he was often nearly at the point of death. With the view, however, of habituating his Order to this Christian work of self-inflicted punishment, he wrote, as I have previously

mentioned, his celebrated book on *Spiritual Exercises*, and ordained that these should form the basis of education among all his disciples. "In order to enable anyone to become a true warrior of Christ," taught Ignatius, "one must rigorously punish the members of the body, as in this lies the secret of taking up the cross; for, as Jesus Christ, from his immeasurable love for mankind, allowed himself to be crucified, so must the soldiers of his army equally make themselves lambs for sacrifice." Moreover, continues Ignatius in another place, "we Christian warriors hold these punishments to be necessary, seeing that everyone who wishes to gain a step in heaven can only kill vice and control animal instincts by the dagger of suffering, with which alone can one tame the earthly man, and compel him to wander completely in the path of grace and virtue."

What was taught, then, in the *Spiritual Exercises*? Of course, together with many other mysticisms and extravagances, there was a complete state of ecstasy, in which flogging played the principal part. There was also conjoined with it, a great amount of very frequent daily prayers and spiritual conversations, as also various fastings, genuflexions, and other similar things. Under the circumstances mentioned, it may readily be supposed that the Jesuits never neglected to carry out the spiritual exercises thoroughly, frequently, as regards their confessants, insisting on the application of the scourge as the most efficacious punishment for the sinning body. On the other hand, in consideration of the weakness of human nature, they obliged none to flog their own persons, but, on the contrary, undertook the task themselves most willingly, exercising it very softly with fine rods and straps only, or even with the bare hands—never with proper scourges, or those on which thorns were fastened. Such scourging and flogging with rods, then, was termed "discipline," that is to say, the flogger was the "discipliner," and the flogged, "the disciplined." There was also a twofold kind of discipline, namely, *disciplina sursum*, or *secundum supra*, and *disciplina deorsum*, or *secundum sub*, which mean nothing else than this, that in the former case the blows were applied above, upon the breasts, shoulders, and neck, in the latter upon the loins, hips, and thighs. This last mentioned was also called the "Spanish discipline," as it was very much used in Spain, and came into use through the Spanish

Jesuits; but it ought more properly to have been called "female discipline," as, for the most part, women alone were thus disciplined. The Jesuits maintained that the weakly frame of women and maidens was too severely tried by the upper description of discipline, while the inferior parts of the body were much more capable of sustaining such-like punishment; they administered, therefore, the *disciplina deorsum* to their confessants with the greatest vigour, even when the latter remonstrated against the proceeding. Other children of men were, however, of opinion that the sons of Loyola were actuated by very different motives; be that as it may, the reader may be assured of the correctness of what I state when I assert that those parts of the body which were subjected to discipline were completely uncovered. But the reader will doubtless be curious to know if the daughters of Eve submitted tamely to such discipline as that I have described? I rejoin that they did so. Moreover, it was not by any means merely a few women and maidens, who might be regarded as an exception to the rule; but they came in shoals to throw themselves into the arms of Jesuit discipline, the main attraction being that fanatical religious practice which found expression in the *Spiritual Exercises*. The Jesuits instituted such arrangements as enabled them to satisfy the general throng by means of the so-called affiliations and congregations—also termed sodalities, and retreats; that is, in plain language, brother and sisterhoods, the members of which came together, if not daily, at least weekly, partly in public processions, in which they proceeded through the streets dressed in the most wretched attire, often half-naked and barefoot, allowing themselves to be flogged until they bled, partly praying in the churches and large saloons, singing, confessing, and communicating, as well as carrying on other penitential practices. This, however, was indeed a spectacle that must have produced a most extraordinary impression upon people religiously disposed, and the sons of Loyola were so cunning as to make the Mother of God the patroness of these sodalities, expending, as well, great quantities of incense upon such occasions; the throng, therefore, always continued to increase in numbers. We read, for instance, that, in the year 1552, some Fathers of the Society instituted a small community in the town of Louvaine, in Holland, consisting of about

ten women, in order to study religious exercises; in the course of the year, however, this community increased to such an extent as to form four congregations, amounting to nearly a thousand members. One of these bodies consisted entirely of noble ladies and of those in high position, contrasting with the three others, in which the industrial and civil element played the chief part; but it was precisely the noble sodality which was most zealous in the penitential exercises, and no single partaker in them omitted allowing the Spanish discipline from being administered to her by the Father Confessor.

This despicable conduct, in submitting to every kind of condition, excited the greatest indignation among the men, and, at their instigation, the whole of the clergy, together with the professors of the University, combined in order to put a stop to the scandal. The congregations were, therefore, prohibited by the magisterial authorities, and a penalty was attached to the practice of the spiritual exercises. But the ladies, being accustomed to the correction of the worthy Fathers' rods, besought their spiritual advisers to continue the practice in spite of the prohibition, and carried the matter so far, indeed, that eventually the magistracy were constrained to withdraw it. One knows well how much female influence may effect! The Jesuits conducted themselves in a precisely similar manner in the town of Bruges, and the three Fathers, John Ackerborn, Peter Wills, and Adrian von Wolf, managed to perform there the most marvellous things. But the worthy Father Gersen surpassed all in supremely foolish behaviour by raising the dress of a peasant girl, whom he happened to meet in the fields, and flogging her until he was no longer capable of moving his arm. He appeared to have been afflicted with a mania for flogging. Some, however, are of opinion that very different objects actuated his proceedings. In Portugal, especially in the capital, Lisbon, there likewise existed several congregations during the reign of King Alphonso, partly male and partly female, and Father Nunnotz was at the head of them as chief leader. Here, too, in particular, the female sodalities pursued quite an extraordinary career, and, as at Louvaine, the exercises consisted in fasts, confessions, and prayers, but the chief thing of all was the Spanish discipline. After Nunnotz, Father Malagrida was the hero of the day in respect to ascetic

exercises, and he conducted a penitential sisterhood among the ladies of the Court. All desired to be flogged by him, as it appeared he knew how to handle the rod with peculiar effect, and those submitting to it affirmed that they experienced far more agreeable "discipline" than when it was administered by any of the other Fathers. Spiritual exercises made also gigantic strides in Spain from the commencement; and all, especially those belonging to the female world, hastened to enlist themselves in one or other of the numerous sodalities. The bishops, however, and with them the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Martinez Siliceo, at their head, took great umbrage at these proceedings, and, at the Synod of Salamanca, demanded that the Ignatian exercise-book should be thoroughly examined previous to the continuance of the exercises being permitted. It now came to this, in spite of the great influence that Father Araoz had upon Philip II., that when the improprieties of the Spanish discipline became exposed to the light of day, the Inquisition interfered in the matter, and, in 1570, forbade for the future any such practices, as well especially as the employment of rods or even hands in the administration of the discipline. To this prohibition the Jesuits of Marcia, Toledo, Seville, Saragossa, and other towns in which they had colleges or other houses, replied by the institution of splendid processions, in which the most beautiful women in extraordinary numbers took part, all being barefoot with naked shoulders and legs, some being in such a condition of primitive innocence that all honest matrons who still retained possession of their reason scornfully pointed at them with their fingers. Moreover, during the course of such processions, every now and then a halt was made, and then the ladies uncovered themselves still more in order to allow the use of the scourge. In short, indecency now attained to such a height, and the Jesuits publicly pushed the matter so far, as to irritate the Inquisition to the uttermost.

It was now to be seen who would prevail, they or the Dominicans; and, of course, the sons of Loyola, on account of the extraordinary influence they had acquired over Philip II., hoped eventually to obtain the victory. But, behold, in a short time it became apparent that the fearful power held by the Inquisition was incapable by any means of being overcome. On the contrary, it had taken such deep root in Spain as to strike

terror into the heart of any enemy whatever; and, consequently, the sons of Loyola came to the opinion that it was better to yield at once, and to give up the practices, in order not, in the end, to lose more ground. They, therefore, from this time forth, renounced the flagellation processions, as also the public practice of the spiritual exercises; but, on the other hand, they received the ladies three times a day in their churches, with the view of administering the communion to them, and at night they secretly opened their colleges to them, in order that the consolation of the Spanish discipline might still not be wanting. The whole difference then consisted in this, that what had hitherto been done openly and publicly was now practised quietly and secretly, and that the numbers of recipients of the discipline became somewhat diminished, because the intrusion into the Jesuit colleges at the hours of midnight as regarded certain unmarried maidens under good supervision, and, still more, married women, was attended with considerable difficulties. Notwithstanding this, however, very many still came, as the Jesuits with much pride affirmed,* and thus, considering the hour at which the discipline was now wont to be administered, the scandal became greatly increased instead of being diminished. In France, at that time, the Jesuits proceeded in the wildest manner with their flagellant processions, especially during the period that the government was carried on by Catherine de Medicis, as on one occasion, at Avignon, she herself headed the sodality of ladies, and it further became known that she was accustomed to administer the discipline to the younger ladies of the Court with her own hands. Her son, Henry III., was also a great friend of the flagellant processions, and regularly made his appearance at them provided with his rosary, wax candle, crucifix, rod, and prayer-book. Such a high example was, of course, contagious, and it thus became easy for the Jesuits to form congregations and sodalities in the large towns where they possessed establishments of any description. In this respect Lyons and Toulons, as well as Avignon, which has been already mentioned, were especially distinguished, but Paris itself became still more zealous than all of them. There women and maidens were almost daily to be seen running about in the

* Compare with the Jesuit work, *Imago primi Sæculi Soc. Jesu*, Lib. vi., cap. i., p. 739.

streets with nothing on them but a loose garment, and with scourges in their hands; and even ladies of the highest rank, as, for instance, the Duchesses de Guise, de Mercœur, d'Aumale, d'Elbeuf, and others, exhibited themselves in a state of semi-nudity, in order to show the example to the other women of Paris. On the other hand, nowhere else did scorn and satire show themselves so bitterly as in Paris, and lampoons made their appearance in regular showers, in which the Jesuit exercises were put in the pillory. For this reason permission was very soon granted by the Jesuits to their confessants, especially among those of high rank, to have their faces covered during the practice of the spiritual exercises, and, consequently, masks were alone to be seen in the later processions; but the by-standers, of whom there were not infrequently some hundreds or thousands, when the exercise processions appeared in the streets, guessed who the different persons taking part in them were, and then greeted them with such telling and stinging wit and ridicule, that the penitents might well have wished themselves anywhere else. On this account, as a matter of course, a considerable degree of cooling down in respect to the exercises now set in, and as at length, under Henry IV., self-inflicted punishment and flogging, and, above everything, the Spanish discipline, with all its accompanying improprieties, came to be strictly forbidden by the Parliament, under a severe penalty, this fanatical bigotry began to assume narrower dimensions, and eventually completely vanished from sight in public. But, be it well understood, in public merely; for in private, within four walls, these mystical religious exercises continued in full force, and especially in the south, where French women of rank would rather have given up everything than relinquish the stimulus of the rod thus applied.

I finally come now to speak of the reception which the book of *Spiritual Exercises* met with in Germany, and the *Chronique scandaleuse* of Bavaria reports so much on the subject, that one might easily fill more than one chapter about it. Moreover, the women of Bavaria and Switzerland, as it appears, acquired such a peculiar taste for allowing themselves to be disciplined by the Jesuits in the Spanish manner, that it was only the immense confidence which married men and fathers were accustomed to place in the piety of the sons of Loyola

which makes it conceivable how the practice of such exercises did not completely disturb the peace of families. It still, nevertheless, happened here and there that a Father was occasionally thrown down a staircase or turned out of the house in some unpleasant manner; moreover, the popular wit, displayed in certain comic songs of the day, showed in what estimation the secret discipline of the worthy Fathers was held. One of these songs, indeed, puts the following words in the mouth of one of the sons of Loyola:—

Komme hinter ihr geschlichen
Mit dem Monsieur Birkenstrauss;
Rasch das Maüslein abgestrichen,
Werd' auch, was da woll' daraus!

Could any better proof be required as to the way in which the spiritual exercises were brought into use in the Fatherland, in so far as the Jesuits were concerned? And what was the result? One instance will suffice to indicate how matters fared amongst the fraternity of pious Fathers.

I allude to the "Girard-Cadière" affair, or, if one would rather have it, the scandalous law-suit between the Jesuit doctor, John Baptist Girard, and the maiden Catherine Cadière,* which caused so much commotion in the world that whole folios were written concerning it, and thousands of men contended with each other in deadly strife regarding its issue. And, indeed, it may be rightly considered that never was there a case which placed the despicable proceedings of the Jesuits in a more glaring light, and not a single one of the many misdeeds perpetrated by the sons of Loyola has administered to them so severe a blow as this very Girard-Cadière affair. On this account the reader must permit me to narrate the story somewhat in detail.

Catherine Cadière, the daughter of a merchant called Joseph Cadière, and of Elizabeth his wife, *née* Pomet, was born in Toulon in November 1710. She had no sisters, but only three brothers, one of whom occupied himself with mercantile pursuits,

* The chief work regarding this trial appeared under the title *Recueil général des Pièces concernant le Procès entre la Demoiselle Cadière et le Père Girard*, comprising not less than eight thick octavo volumes. Extracts from this work, moreover, appeared in almost all the languages of Europe, and engravings were made by amateurs of many of the scenes, and these were afterwards collected into a large folio volume.

a second joined the Order of Dominicans, and the third devoted himself to the study of theology, in order to be fitted hereafter for the duties of an ordinary priest. She herself remained from her earliest youth under the paternal roof, until at length the father died somewhat prematurely, leaving, however, behind him a considerable amount of property, and consigning her to the care and protection of Mother Augapfel. The latter, as may be supposed, bestowed every possible attention on the education of the daughter, and the beautiful maiden, rather inclined too much to devout extravagance, flourished amazingly. She was simple and indolent, full of excellent qualities both of heart and mind, being distinguished among all her companions for gentleness and maidenly beauty.

It was thus with Catherine Cadière when, in April 1728, the Jesuit Father, John Baptist Girard, was transferred by his superiors to Toulon, in order to conduct there the Jesuit seminary for naval preachers, and also to officiate as spiritual adviser and preacher in the aforesaid town. After a short time a change now came over the beautiful maid, which was entirely, indeed, through the fault of the said Father Girard. Let us now consider this man a little more in detail. Regarding his early youth there was but little known, and the same may be said likewise as to his parentage. Still, however, it appears that his great-grandfather, Balthasar Girard of bad repute, was the murderer of the Prince of Orange. He entered the Order of Jesuits in his fifteenth year, and ten years later, in the year 1721, was sent to the island of Martinique in the West Indies in order to contribute his assistance to the missionary work there. He appears, however, to have led here not the most correct of lives. Before the world he particularly put on all the appearance of a most strictly moral man, and he likewise distinguished himself by his great eloquence, and was also conspicuous otherwise for his spiritual endowments. His superiors, therefore, in order to give him a more suitable sphere of action, transferred him to the town of Aix, in Provence, and there he proved himself to be, both as preacher and spiritual adviser, a wise judge and observer of human nature; consequently, in the year 1728, he was advanced, as before mentioned, for his services, to be Rector of the seminary in Toulon. Such were the antecedents of Cadière and Girard. It is especially

to be observed regarding Father Girard, that from the first day of his residence in Toulon not a syllable was breathed against his course of life, and to all appearance he seemed to be so thoroughly taken up with his religious devotions, that he was looked upon by everyone as a perfect pattern of respectability and virtue. Besides which, he displayed such charming eloquence, and at the same time presented such an agreeable exterior, that all flocked to listen to his sermons and attend at his confessional. He especially knew how to make himself beloved by the ladies, and a number of women and maidens selected him as adviser of their consciences. This confidence won for him many friends, and he spoke out his mind most freely to every beauty—strongly, pathetically, and significantly. He thus proceeded cautiously at the commencement. Moreover, he considered it to be more prudent, instead of entering the house openly by the door, to make his advances with subtlety, until he had duly proved the ground and felt his way. After proceeding so far, however, and, discovering some at least who seemed suited to answer his purposes, he began to speak of the spiritual exercises, and now his little flock became desirous of atoning for their past sins, and he thus apportioned to each of them different exercises which might prepare them for the crowning act of all—to wit, the discipline. All went on now beyond expectation; as he proceeded, in fact, to the flogging part of it with each individual penitent, all submitted to the operation without the slightest opposition. As may be well imagined, on the first few occasions he permitted them to uncover only a small part of the shoulders, in order that his victims might become accustomed to the kind of thing by degrees, and only after about a month, when he had overcome with much trouble the inherent sense of shame in them, did he require them to submit to the Spanish discipline.

At the beginning of the year 1729 Catherine Cadière, attracted by his great reputation, selected Father Girard as her Confessor, and this maiden, distinguished for her beauty and corporeal charms, as well as remarkable for her simplicity of heart and devotion, and almost extravagant piety, came into his meshes. One day, as Cadière was paying him a visit in the refectory of his seminary, finding her in a peculiarly yielding mood, after urgently plying her with soft reproaches for not

having visited him during several days, he bent over her, and implanted on her mouth a gentle kiss. He then besought her to follow him into the confessional, and after making minute inquiry there into all her dispositions, affections, and inclinations, he directed her to communicate every day in the different churches of the town, and prognosticated for her that she would presently be favoured by heavenly appearances and visions, and after stretching her imagination to the utmost, he dismissed her at last under the promise that she would daily unreservedly communicate to him a most accurate report concerning herself. Cadière strictly obeyed. She went every day to take the communion, conjoining thereto long prayers, as well as almost excessive fastings, precisely as her Father Confessor had prescribed for her. The nervous system consequently soon became over excited; in other words, she fell into a condition of hysteria, in which state she at one time saw heavenly, and, at another, infernal visions, whereby her blood became more heated, her fancy more confused, and her thoughts more elastic. It thus came so far as this, that she complained to the Father that her whole soul was so fired with holy love for him that she could no longer pray aloud, and that she suffered from such very frightful torments, of which she could not divine the cause. Girard quieted her in this way: "Prayer," he told her, "is only a means of attaining to God; when one has once attained to Him, and has become united to Him, then this is no longer necessary. The love, however, which you bear in your heart to me, need not occasion you any trouble, as the good God wills it that we should be united to one another; I bear you in my lap and heart, and you are nothing else than a soul within me, indeed the soul of my soul." With these words he fervently kissed her on the mouth. In the meantime, while the praying, fasting, and communicating were going on with ever-increasing zeal and fervour, her condition became continually still more and more disturbed, and she was now not unfrequently seized with cramps and fainting fits, as also, moreover, all those indications set in which usually accompany somnambulism. Her visions now increased in frequency, and she often conducted herself like one possessed, and on these occasions broke out into fits of cursing and reviling, and it was only when Girard approached her couch that she became pacified, as he alone possessed the requisite influence

over her spirit, and consequently the Confessor had always unimpeded access into the house of Cadière. During one of her attacks, Cadière one day conceived an impression that she saw before her the soul of a mortal sinner, and at the same time she heard these words, "When thou wilt save me from this state, thou must allow thyself to be taken possession of for a whole year by Satan." Upon this the maiden became immensely terrified, and at once made a report of the vision to her Confessor, begging, at the same time, his assistance against such evident Satanic vexation. But what did he now do? Instead of pacifying her, he distinctly declared to her that it was her duty to save this soul, and that she must, therefore, give herself up to Satan for a year; indeed, he urged her to it so vehemently that she gave her consent to everything, and swore, with a holy oath, according to the following formulary: "I submit myself, and am ready to say, do, and suffer everything that may be required of me." From this time forth—it was towards the end of the year 1729—the poor child imagined herself completely in the power of Satan, and in this state frequently broke out into most horrible reviling and cursing, so that her mother and brother were terrified about it. But another far more important result was that the beautiful maid, in consequence, greatly suffered in health, owing to these attacks, and was obliged to keep to her bed, or at all events to her room, during the whole time, and that thereby Father Girard had the opportunity of remaining alone with his penitent, not for a quarter or half an hour, merely, at a time, but for the whole day, from early in the morning until late at night. He alone, and no other, had any power over her and the Devil; could, then, access be denied to him at any time? Besides, was he not generally considered to be a demi-saint, especially by the mother of the patient, a very piously disposed and bigoted woman? It would, indeed, verily be looked upon as a deadly sin to think any evil of him; and, consequently, it was permitted to him at all times to come to the poor Cadière without the least let or hindrance, in order to enable him to prevail over the exorcisms of Satan. When he happened to be with her, the door was immediately locked upon them, and no one, not even the nearest relation, was allowed to open it until he considered it proper to allow it.

We draw a veil over the remainder of the story, and pass on to

the period when the wretched girl was taken to the cloister of St. Clara at Ollioules, on the 6th of July 1730. Who could now be a happier man than Father Girard? His joy, however, soon turned out to be of but short duration, as we shall presently find. Girard allowed the first fourteen days to pass without visiting his beloved one; he personally, then, appeared at the cloister, and easily contrived to persuade the Abbess to allow him to see Cadière, and enter into correspondence with her. Of this permission he took the fullest advantage, and, upon the pretext of hearing her confession, remained for many hours with her. He was still, however, very circumspect at first, although all his letters abounded in extravagantly loving expressions, containing bits of moral teaching and spiritual advice "for his dear child favoured by God."

So matters went on to the holy Father's taste for a considerable period; but at length, the continuance of the love affair being now no longer practicable in Ollioules, he consequently suddenly declared that as Cadière had now sufficiently benefited humanity by her holy manner of life in the cloister of St. Clara, as well as in Toulon, it was now time she should be transferred to another cloister, in order that it also might enjoy the fruits of her holiness. He, therefore, selected a cloister of the Carthusian nuns at Premola, near Lyons, as the next abode of the novice, and made arrangements for her transfer there within the next few days. In the meantime, however, the Abbess, having ascertained what had been going on, speedily informed the Bishop of Lyons of everything that had taken place, and he at once ordered Cadière to remain where she was. He, furthermore, forbade her from employing Father Girard any longer as her Confessor, and, at the same time, prohibited the latter from ever again entering the cloister of St. Clara. He also, some days afterwards, charged Abbé Camerle to convey Cadière, for her greater security, in a carriage to the country house of Monsieur Panque, not far from Toulon, he being a near relative of his. Lastly, he appointed Father Niclas, Prior of the Carmelite cloister of Lyons, to discharge the duty of Confessor to Cadière, with instructions to watch her as carefully as possible for the future. An ungovernable rage now seized upon Father Girard when he got tidings of the Bishop's regulations; still greater, however, was his fright, as he imagined

that Cadière might already have made a full confession. However, he soon regained his usual presence of mind, and at once despatched one of his hitherto trusted friends, Mademoiselle Gravier, to Cadière at the country house of Panque, partly to find out exactly what had taken place, and partly in order to get away the many letters he had written to her. This latter was for him a matter of life and death, as, supposing the amorous correspondence were found, the disgraceful relationship between them would come to light, and, on this account, he had selected Gravier particularly as his ambassadress, as Cadière had complete confidence in her. The mission, in fact, succeeded beyond all expectation, for not only did Gravier obtain possession of all the desired letters, with the exception of a few which still remained in a box at Ollioules, but Cadière, in order to please her beloved Confessor, delivered to her also the whole of the mystified and unmystified writings, by the reading of which she had formerly been attracted by him. Girard now felt as if he had been newly born. He had in his possession the chief *corpus delicti*, and anything which might be verbally said against him he could deny. Who, then, could do him any serious harm? But this time it happened otherwise. The new Father Confessor soon had reason to surmise what had been the true relationship which had subsisted between the Jesuit and his confessant, and this suspicion soon found confirmation in the fact that Cadière several times secretly left the country house by night, in order to visit, in the Jesuit seminary at Toulon, her fondly-loved former Confessor. On this account, he pursued an investigation of the matter still further, with much assiduity, and, by his strong remonstrances, brought it to this point at last, that the maid at length revealed to him the whole secret of this shameful transaction. He was, indeed, truly horrified at such wickedness in a priest of the Lord; and in one, moreover, who had passed for being so holy, he would have considered it to be quite impossible. He, of course, at once laid the whole matter before the Bishop, who forthwith himself hastened to the country house in person, in order to obtain confirmation of the shameful transaction from the lips of the wrongdoer herself. What a horror! The Bishop, of course, swore to avenge the insulted Church, and to free the town of Toulon from this voracious wolf. But Cadière, overwhelmed with tears, besought him on her knees, for the honour of herself

and family, to throw a veil of silence over the past, and her brother, the Dominican, whom she had brought along with her as a witness, also entreated the Bishop with the same object. Added to all this were the representations of the Abbé Camerle, who brought the Bishop to be of opinion that it would be such a terrible scandal to the whole of Christendom, were the affair to become publicly known, that it would be wiser not to allow justice, for this time, to take its course. The Bishop, in short, was soon made to depart from his original intention, and at last promised to consign the whole hideous story to everlasting oblivion. He could not, however, bring himself to allow Father Girard to continue to act any longer as spiritual guide, and, consequently commissioned Father Niclas, the prior of the Carmelites, along with Father Cadière, the Dominican, to undertake the spiritual supervision of the whole of the confessants of Father Girard. It seemed now that the whole of this frightful crime was to be buried in everlasting oblivion, and it would most certainly have so happened had it not been for the boundless spiritual arrogance of the Jesuits.

They could not at all brook the idea that their Rector, hitherto regarded as being so holy, should in future be debarred from hearing confessions, and he himself hurled fire and flames at the notion of a separation from those who had, up to this time, been his confessing daughters. The town of Toulon was, moreover, overrun with all kinds of reports as to what had taken place, and these latter did not, assuredly, at all redound to the credit of the sons of Loyola. Lastly, who could guarantee that Cadière herself might not, sooner or later, reveal the matter, or come forward with a complaint? Something, therefore, must be publicly done, in order to make the Society of Jesus secure against all injury, and such could best be effected by causing the confessant of Girard to be judicially, but in a very partial and summary manner, condemned as a liar and calumniator.

Thus did the Jesuits reason with themselves, especially so Fathers Girard and Sabathir; indeed, as regards the former, his very existence being now at stake, and love being now blown to the winds, there remained nothing else, in his case, but Jesuitical arrogance, more especially as the latter was to play the principal part in the trial. The black-cloaked fraternity, backed as they were by the Bishop's official, who was his vicar in all secular

judicial affairs, hoped that, as the ordained criminal court in ecclesiastical matters was completely favourable to them, they might with facility obtain the sentence they desired. Accordingly, after a consultation with their adherents, they suddenly declared to the Bishop that they felt themselves quite unable to reconcile themselves to the policy of silence ordained by him, and they, at the same time, handed over to the Episcopal Ecclesiastical Court a well drawn-up document in which they strenuously called for the most minute investigation. "Either," said they, in this memorial, "Father Girard has committed the crime of which he has been accused, in which case he should receive the severest punishment, or he has not done so, when his accuser must be put down as a thoroughly depraved calumniator." Urged in this manner, the Bishop ordered his official to proceed, as in duty bound, and the latter at once commenced the investigation by the interrogation of Cadière, of her brother the Dominican, and of her then Confessor the prior of the Carmelites. In this respect he went to work with great partiality, as it will afterwards be proved that the declarations of the three under examination were either not accepted at all, or, what was worse, were recorded most inaccurately, and, moreover, Cadière, from a feeling of shame, became confused in her replies. The commencement of the process in this way proved to be very favourable for Girard, as, also, did the next stage in the proceeding. After the first hearing by the official, the business came on before the criminal court, which thereupon made itself acquainted with the so-called "*species facti*," that is to say, the documentary evidence which could be adduced by the complainant. None was forthcoming, however, with the exception of five letters, three of which were directed to the Abbess of Ollioules, and two to Cadière herself, the wily Father having contrived, as before stated, to have the others destroyed. Upon this, the hearing of the witnesses was now proceeded with, and here also was but little brought to light very damaging to the pious Father, because the judges stood in the most intimate relationship to the Jesuits, and the declarations inimical to Girard were consequently gone into very superficially, or designedly drawn up and modified. On the other hand, the statements previously obtained by the Jesuits, through bribery, and fabricated, of course, in favour of

the Father, were dwelt upon in detail, and, more especially, the statements of the Rector's former confessor, which, as a matter of course, abounded in declarations favourable to Girard's reputation for godliness and morality, were most carefully noted. In short, the court of justice did not even refrain from illegal acts, and, in order that no trick or artifice might be forgotten or omitted, the judges assembled every evening in the seminary of the Jesuits, where, together with Fathers Girard and Sabathière, they concocted everything that should be produced next day. At length they carried the matter so far as to convey Cadière herself into the Ursuline convent in Toulon, over which the Jesuits had the right of supervision, and they then, in order to make her life as miserable as possible, confined her in a room where a lunatic had shortly before died, and where the smell and foulness of the air was quite pestilential, a bundle of foul straw being all that she had for a bed. In order, indeed, that her measure might be full, the Ursuline nuns were brought forward as witnesses against her, and swore that everything that she had hitherto alleged was nothing more than falsehood and calumny, and that, without doubt, she had been bribed by the enemies of Loyola in order to do them an injury. In spite of all, however, the matter did not come so speedily to a termination as the Jesuits imagined. On the contrary, it attracted such an immense interest throughout the whole of France, that the King, at the request of his Council of State, ordered the strictest investigation to be made into it, and entrusted the conduct thereof to the Supreme Court of Aix. The affair now entered upon a new phase, and the whole civilised world watched its progress with the greatest anxiety. The Jesuits, however, now seeing that it was to them a matter of life and death, called up the whole influence that the Society could muster in order to obtain a favourable result for themselves, and were so unsparing in their expenditure of money in bribes to the judges and witnesses, that it amounted to more than a million of francs. Whatever intelligence, cunning, and wickedness could effect was devised, and the perjuries perpetrated were to be counted by hundreds.* Father Girard ostensibly

* Whoever is interested as to the details of this trial, and especially as to the web of Jesuit deceit, let him read the first volume of the work, *Process zwischen dem Pater Girard, S.J., Rectoris des Seminarii de la Marine du Toulon und der Jungfer Cadière.* Cöln, 1732.

produced before the court all the letters which he had formerly written to Cadière but they were not the identical ones, being specially fabricated and antedated, and accordingly breathing nothing but solicitude for the well-being of his confessant. Witnesses came forward who accused the Prior of the Carmelites and the Dominican Father Cadière of having formed a conspiracy against Father Girard, and of having pledged themselves to ruin him, as well as the Order of Jesus, in the eyes of the world by the trumped-up falsehoods of Catherine Cadière. The nuns of Ollioules were so worked upon that they retracted all that they had laid at the door of Father Girard, and, on the contrary, made out Cadière to be a person unworthy and abandoned, who had tried to seduce the worthy Father. Cadière herself was particularly tortured and tormented, both physically and morally, in a most barbarous way, and threatened with eternal ruin and deprivation of all spiritual consolation if she did not at once sign a declaration that the accusation which she had made against Father Girard was a falsehood and a calumny. She was, indeed, formally exorcised before a number of ecclesiastical and other witnesses, and so depressed by maltreatment and attempts at casting out of the devil, that she fell into a faint of several hours duration She was, lastly, subjected for three days, viz. the 25th, 26th, and 27th of February 1731, to an uninterrupted course of interrogation from morning till night, and it was hoped thus to confuse her by putting cross and crooked questions, while by the exceptionable means of suggestion she might be brought to contradict herself or be shown to be mentally incapable. On the first day she remained stedfast to her former declarations, and distinctly recapitulated, in clear undoubtful words, all the shameful proceedings that had taken place between herself and Father Girard. She did so as well on the second day, without losing her presence of mind. On the third day, however, according to a statement made by a daughter of a widow, by name Guiol, who had a hand in the affair, a narcotic drug was given to her in her breakfast by her attendant, the action of which was so potent that she was for some time unable even to recognise her own mother. On this account an application was at once made to the court for an investigation into the treatment she had experienced;

but this petition met with no attention, and the inquiry proceeded further without interruption, after the poor creature had in some measure regained her senses. The result was that she, whose mind had been already unhinged by constant ill-treatment, threats, reproaches, and intimidation, as also by the stupifying effects of the drug before mentioned, became still more confused, so much so, I affirm, that, after long and strenuous remonstrance, she recanted not only all that she had previously advanced to the prejudice of the Jesuit Girard, but also on the question being put to her as to who had instigated her to invent such a tissue of untruths, replied that "Father Niclas," the Prior of the Carmelites, was the originator of the whole scandal, and that it was he alone who had persuaded her to proceed legally against her former Father Confessor. What rejoicing now arose among the Jesuits when this confession came from the lips of Cadière! At last, after they had striven for months past, with such an infinity of trouble, and such an immense expenditure of money, the innocence of Girard and the saving of the honour of the Society of Jesus might be published to the world! Still, however, the matter did not by any means proceed so quickly. The court of justice, indeed, ordered the immediate transfer of Cadière into the cloister of the Visitation in Aix, in order that she might be kept there in strict seclusion until the sentence was promulgated. So far well; and it might, too, be foreseen very well, as a certainty, that this said sentence would be made as severe for the female calumniator as for the co-conspirator, the Prior of the Carmelites. It was a pity, however, that Cadière, as soon as she had regained her senses, averred that her last confession had been absolutely false, and was obtained from her simply by compulsion, and everyone of any intelligence gave credence to her in this respect. Nothwithstanding, however, that Father Girard, as may well be imagined, strenuously denied with a bold face all the proceedings with Cadière imputed to him, as well as all the grave charges that had been especially advanced against him, he could not altogether hold his own, as several of the witnesses stedfastly adhered to the evidence they had already given; some few of them, at least, testified to the truth of what Cadière had brought forward against him, and those few already threw quite an extraordinary light upon the affair. He thus ultimately was induced to admit

that his confessant had for a long time suffered from hysterical attacks, by which she was deprived of consciousness for hours together, and that he had shut himself up with her alone during all this time. He further acknowledged that he had administered the Spanish discipline to her.

All this did he, indeed, confess, being unable altogether to deny the testimony brought forward against him, as his understanding told him that he must not make himself suspected by being too obstinate. He affirmed that he had the right, so to speak, of interpreting his deeds and actions, as well as his own words, and was thus consequently in a position to make them out to be as innocent as possible. But he might say what he liked, in what he himself acknowledged was there not a clear admission that he must have stood on a peculiarly confidential footing with his confessant? On such terms, indeed, as were evidently entirely contrary to all decorum.

It was thus, then, not to be wondered at that there was hardly anyone in the lay world who looked upon Father Girard as innocent, and, on that account, credence was even given to Cadière, as, by a solemn protest made on oath, she cancelled all the proceedings which had taken place during her third hearing, affirming that the pure truth was only contained in her first confession. Still further, indeed, as Cadière, by the advice of her advocate, now complained to the Council of State regarding the abuse of ecclesiastical justice, and appealed claiming a reversion to the former mode of investigation; her petition was at once complied with, and the Parliament of Aix decided to refer the case for final determination to the last court of appeal. The trial thus began afresh from the commencement, and the Jesuits then incessantly used all their influence in order to bias the new judges in their favour. Repeatedly did their friends, both male and female, work upon the members of Parliament, repeatedly did they make use of threats of eternal punishment, repeatedly did they employ gold in such quantities that, to the vast amount already expended, yet another million was added. In this manner, in fact, did the sons of Loyola win the judges over to their side, and another great advantage that they had was that the celebrated advocate, Thorame, was retained by them to plead for Girard before the Court. They, moreover, dared to

reckon upon the Procurator-General for themselves, as also the Chief Attorney of State, and secretly, too, even the president of the court sold himself to them, body and soul. Under these circumstances, then, they might well calculate upon a favourable termination to the case, more especially, also, as Cadière could neither command many friends nor much money. One thing, however, had been forgotten by the sons of Loyola—that is, the sense of justice, which can never die out from the mind of man, and it was this feeling that obtained for Cadière such a distinguished advocate as Chaudon, who, if he did not excel Thorame in acumen and craft, was, at all events, his superior as regards knowledge and skill, and thus prevented, at least, all of the judges, or even a majority of them, from being blinded by the gold of the Girard party. I shall not now dwell any longer on the particulars of this scandalous story, most scandalous, indeed, in more ways than one, but hasten to bring it to a conclusion. On the 11th of September 1731, Thorame, Father Girard's advocate, made this proposition, "That Cadière should be sentenced in the first place to do penance before the Church of St. Salvador, and then be hanged and strangled." This sentence was, however, peremptorily rejected by far the greater majority of votes of the members of the Court of Justice, which consisted of twenty-five. A counter proposition on the part of Chaudon ran thus, "That Father Girard should be sentenced to death for having been completely proved guilty of ecclesiastical incest, as well as of the degradation of his priestly office, by repeated crimes against morality," and not fewer than twelve judges voted for it; one was, therefore, wanting in order to constitute this to be the conclusion come to by the Court. The other twelve judges agreed upon a third proposition, of the nature of a compromise, which ran as follows: "That Father Girard, in consideration of the evident imbecility of mind that had come upon him, and which had made him to be an object of derision to his confessants, should be acquitted of the *gravamen* of the crime and misdemeanor laid to his charge, and, on the other hand, should be dealt with by the Ecclesiastical Court; secondly, that Cadière should be given over free to her mother, with the sole penalty of bearing the expenses incurred by the Criminal Lieutenant of Toulon, but without interest on former costs; thirdly, that Niclas, the Prior of the Carmelites, as well as Cadière's brother, both

of whom had been accused of conspiracy against Girard, should be acquitted and released from prison; fourthly and lastly, that the documents, which had been drawn up for the parties, so far as they might be prejudicial to the honour of the Church, should be torn up and destroyed by the chief clerk of the Court." As regards the second and third propositions, then, the former was rejected, while in the case of the latter, the votes being equally divided, it rested with the casting vote of the President; he, however, being a friend of the Jesuits, voted, as a matter of course, for the latter, and accordingly the above-mentioned compromise, which allowed all the parties to go free, was passed, as the decision come to by the Court. Some of the judges, indeed, being strongly biased in favour of the Order of Jesus, were of opinion that it was right that some sort of punishment, at least, should be inflicted on Cadière, in order that she might not be able to boast of having completely escaped scot-free, but the rest of the members of Parliament were not in the least to be moved. "What!" said one of them, full of indignation, "we have just acquitted a man who is perhaps one of the greatest criminals in the world, and are we to assign the least punishment to this poor girl? Rather let this palace be consumed by fire, and ourselves buried in the ruins." These stirring words took effect, and Cadière was released out of prison. So ended the case of Girard *v.* Cadière, which caused such an enormous sensation throughout the whole of Europe. It terminated, according to the meaning of the sentence, without result, and still, what an uncommonly clear signification lay therein. And why? Had not the Order of Jesus accused Cadière and her brother, along with the Prior of the Carmelites, of being false accusers and conspirators; why, then, did they go unpunished? On the other hand, was it a light matter to bring charges of the most serious nature against a priest of the rank of Rector of the Jesuits? Certainly, had Father Girard been innocent, Cadière would not have escaped death, and the Jesuits had thus, with all their enormous influence and their terrific expenditure of money, contrived to do no more than prevent their brother being condemned to death. That he deserved such a fate, however, no right-thinking man in the whole civilised world could have the slightest doubt, and, on the promulgation of the sentence in Aix, it was indeed found to be necessary to have a large military force in order to be able to

convey him in safety through the howling crowd. But even further than this, the Archbishop of Aix, although not such a crow as to pick out the eyes of another, publicly came over to be of the opinion of those who designated the pious Father as a criminal, and maintaining that he was guilty, not only prohibited him from ever again mounting a pulpit, from which he might boast of his triumph, but banished him out of the town of Aix and entirely out of the whole of his Archiepiscopal See. Girard thus dared not to return to Toulon, as it was feared that his doing so might have caused an insurrection, and he consequently took up his abode in Lyons, and, not long after, in about a year, took his departure out of the world, people affirming that the sudden death of such a strong man could be looked upon no otherwise than as a judgment of God upon him. What did it matter that the Jesuits tried in every possible way to write him up as a persecuted saint? None gave any credence to them, but thousands upon thousands came to the conclusion that a society which had not only refrained from expelling out of their body, as a mangy sheep, a criminal, evidently of the grossest description, but had taken him up in their arms and elevated him up to heaven,—that such a society, I say, was no better than the criminal himself.

A few words must, lastly, be said concerning the future fate of Cadière. On leaving the Court of Justice, she was greeted with the most vociferous cheers, and all made haste to tender to her the deepest sympathy. She was, indeed, regularly fêted as a heroine, and a number of poems made their appearance in which her stedfastness, and especially her beauty, were extolled with the highest praise.* On the other hand, the tongue of malice and calumny did not remain silent; all maidens, especially those who had Jesuits for Father Confessors, being disposed to defame her secretly in all kinds of ways. Her residence in Aix, consequently, soon became in the highest degree intolerable, and she also found it to be equally impossible

* She was a brunette of middle stature, of peculiarly mild and agreeable features, with an uncommonly symmetrical figure. She was especially distinguished for a truly wonderful harmony in her whole appearance, as well as for a fulness and freshness of which it would be difficult to find the like; and, above all, her contemporaries extolled her dark, piercing, softly languishing eyes, corresponding exquisitely with her luxurious black hair. In a word, it would be no easy matter to find more charms united in a female form than in Catherine Cadière, the victim of the Jesuit Girard.

to remain any longer in Toulon. Her mother, therefore, quickly disposed of all her property, and one fine morning both mother and daughter disappeared without leaving behind them a single trace of where they had gone. The sons of Loyola put themselves to no end of trouble to find out the place of her abode, and many persons who, it may be stated, had been initiated into the secret were, under various pretexts, thrown into prison, with the object of inducing them to let it out. History is, however, silent as to whether they were successful, as the world never heard anything more of the poor unfortunate creature. Several people affirmed that she had gone over the water into some foreign country under a feigned name; others would have it that, out of disgust for the world, she had immured herself in some cloister, to which her mother had made over all her property. The majority, however, maintained that the Jesuits having discovered her abode, she had then been secretly removed from the world by poison.

BOOK IV.

THE DISINTERESTEDNESS OF THE JESUITS,

OR,

THE VOW OF POVERTY.

MOTTO:

Die Schwarzröck sind die Hirten der Erde,
Die Bürger des Erdkreises sind die Heerde;
  Die Weid' ist ihr liegendes Gut,
  Die Woll' ihr Reichthum und Blut.
Wer aber bestimmt die Platze zum Weiden?
  Das ist in Rom der schwarz' General,
  Der da herrscht aber Papst und Könige zumal.
Er scheeret die Wolle, das Schaaf müss es leiden,
  Und müss noch danken demüthiglich,
  Dass er mit der Wolle begnüget sich;
Denn wenn er auch noch das Fell wollt' nehmen,
Wer Konnt's ihm wehren? . . . . .

Aus dem Drama: "Der Weinberg des Naboth."

CHAPTER I.

THE CONFESSIONAL AS THE KEY TO THE MONEY-CHEST.

THE first great nail in the coffin of the Order of Jesus was, as I have just shown, the vices which the sons of Loyola practised to such an extraordinary extent; the second still greater and still more important death-blow which I conspicuously bring to notice was their inordinate desire to attain riches, by any kind of means, even the most exceptionable. We have learned through the First Book of this work, how very much the founder of the Society of Jesus sought to symbolize, through his own proper example, Christian humility, poverty, and self-sacrifice in the highest degree, and he urged with iron austerity that his disciples should imitate him in this respect. We also know that he claimed for his Order at the same time, with the view to the establishment, endowment, and maintenance of colleges, seminaries, novice-houses, and other educational institutions, the privilege of accumulating as much money and goods as could be gathered together, and that he attached at least as great importance to this matter as to the symbolizing of Christian poverty, self-denial, and simplicity. Both rules—riches for the Order, and poverty for the individual son of Loyola—were, in accordance with the intention of the founder of the Order, kept with a truly rigorous consistency; and there was required of every Jesuit, on his entrance into the Society, the double duty to gain at once as much as ever was possible for the latter, and to sacrifice for the general benefit—that is, for the Order and its

General—all that he should personally win or acquire, himself living in the greatest frugality and poverty, under the obligation of self-renunciation. This was for mortal man a task very difficult of fulfilment, and, indeed, was almost impossible; consequently it was never in reality carried out, but merely in appearance—only so far as was necessary to lead mankind into error. And why? Were not the more initiated soon well aware that, neither in the Jesuit profess-houses nor in the colleges and other institutions of the Order, was there even the least restriction in relation to eating, drinking, or other enjoyments of life? It was true, indeed, that there secretly reigned in certain things a luxury that was not to be met with in even the most wealthy houses—a luxury of such a refined description as to promote the very vices which it was the duty of the fraternity to avoid. All this gradually became known, but only, as before said, among the more initiated circles, as the great mass of the public allowed themselves to be deceived, through many dozens of decades, by the external appearance of indigence maintained for mere outward show, and strangers taken into a Jesuit institution saw there nothing but plainly furnished apartments, along with a corresponding simplicity in other respects. Yet far more is behind the scenes. As regards the riches which were collected by the Order for the general benefit, is one actually to rest satisfied that they were solely to be used for the educational establishment, as laid down by the statutes of the Order? How, then, were there so many paid spies who were maintained at the several great and small courts, sunk in vice? With what were the situations of Father Confessors to ministers and other influential personages bought, frequently at uncommonly dear prices? How much did the alliances and marriages cost, which the Order of Jesus brought about among the great of the earth for its own advantage, and how much was expended on mistresses and other similar creatures? Certainly the great mass of the people might be managed through fanaticism, flattery, and bigotry; in higher circles, however, very different machinery must be set in motion, and the acquisition and oiling of this machinery cost money, and, indeed, a very large amount.

From these few indications one perceives why, in spite of all this display of poverty and indigence by individual members, the Society of Jesus had need to accumulate riches of every kind,

and it succeeded in this to such an extent that, so early as the year 1626, the University of Paris complained of the immensity of these possessions. "Along with their colleges," so it is stated in that written complaint, "are conjoined the best and richest benefices, landed estates, and foundations, and their revenues are now so great that they can no longer, with any amount of cunning, conceal that such is the case. On this account their houses can no more be termed houses, but resemble rather kings' palaces and residences of princes of the blood, as regards splendour and magnificence."

Such was the case in France itself, and, indeed, in all other countries in which the Order of Jesus had procured an entrance. And another question may now be put, How and by what means had these riches been accumulated? The Jesuits, of course, maintained that it had all been effected in a straightforward, honourable, and honest manner, namely, by presents made to them by believers, of their own accord; and there cannot be any question but that much money and property came into their possession in this way. Moreover, as we have already seen in the First Book, the Popes, almost without any exception, showed themselves so favourable to them, that to obtain they had only to indicate a number of incomes which the Roman Senate had at its disposal; they also stirred up the orthodox believers, by special Bulls, to accord benevolent contributions to the Order, while on the reverse, they launched heavy denunciations against all who endeavoured to hinder any such benevolence. Lastly, it is an acknowledged fact that a very considerable amount was derived from the masses read by the sons of Loyola, not to speak of rosaries sold, as in prosperous times the former averaged half a million annually, and, *nota bene*, those half million were only read for deceased persons who had shown especial liberality to the Society. Notwithstanding all this, however, it would appear incredible that such colossal riches as the Jesuits possessed could have been acquired merely by these means, and thinking people soon began to be of opinion that the sons of Loyola employed besides "entirely different" ways to succeed in their object. And it was not difficult to produce the necessary proofs for such a supposition as soon as they had observed more closely the behaviour which the Jesuits assumed towards the rich and highly conditioned, while as Father Confessors

towards the rulers of the world these spiritual guides were actually obliged, by the command of their General, to stir up their confessants continually to exercise benevolence towards the Order of Jesus, and experience proved that they fulfilled this obligation most assiduously. One has only to run through superficially the history of Bavaria and Austria, or that of Spain and Portugal, to be enabled to seize such things by the hands, so to speak, and such was the case, also, in all other countries and territories in which the sons of Loyola had made a nest for themselves. In a word, it was soon perfectly apparent to the intelligent that the sons of Loyola claimed for themselves, as a kind of monopoly, the spiritual counselling and conscience-keeping of all the rich people and persons of rank, and that they succeeded, by their unremitting exertions, in confining the remaining monks and members of Orders to the confessions of the poor and those of low degree. But how was this? Simply because much was to be obtained from the wealthy and opulent, whereas one must needs go away empty-handed from those in humble spheres of life.

But these are only general statements; in particular cases, however, things came to light which proved that the sons of Loyola made use of the confessional in a way which may be denominated scarcely less than dishonourable. Thus, when examining the matter in regard to Venice, it will be seen, by letters which were found, that they made use of the confessional in order to pry into family secrets, and in particular into the circumstances of private individuals, and that they sent an accurate report to their General in Rome on the subject every six weeks. There was traced, too, on investigation of the Jesuit College at Ruremonde, in the Netherlands, a letter of the General Ricci, in which the chiefs were instructed in what way they might be able to prevent rich widows from contracting a second marriage. Thus they raised a hope in several of their confessants that they would be assured of happiness after death as soon as they should give themselves up wholly and entirely to Jesuit guidance; for example, the rich Marie de la Coque, after she had made a will in favour of the Society of Jesus, allowed herself, on the persuasion of the Father La Colombière, to be bled, always on the first Friday in every month,

"in honour of the holy heart of Mary"; this continued from 1674 to 1690, until she at length died from loss of blood in the latter year. In this manner they intimidated many of their flock with the eternal pains of hell in such a truly barbarous manner, and did not grant them absolution until the fraternity had obtained a certain sum. The well-known Jesuit, Salmeron, made them pay as much as a thousand gold dollars. Thus, the two Fathers Alegambi and Ortiz carried on with the Countess Magdalena Ulloya, the widowed grand stewardess of the Emperor Charles V., to such an extent, in regard to being possessed with a devil, that she made over 16,000 ducats to them, in order to drive out Satan; while in a precisely similar manner Father Canisius transgressed as regards the two Countesses Ursula and Sibilla von Fugger. Again, two other Jesuits, for the sum of 200,000 florins, finding that a very rich but half-witted man, in regard to his fate after death, wished for some assurance, furnished him with the following passport to eternity:—

"We, the undersigned, as priests of the true religion, attest and promise, in the name of our Society, which possesses the necessary authority in such cases, that it takes under its special protection Mr. Hippolyte Bräm, licenciate of law, in order to defend him against the whole power of hell, in the event of its desire to undertake anything against his honour, his person, or his soul; this we confirm by oath, employing in such a case the authority of our most illustrious founder, in order that the above-mentioned Bräm may be presented, through him, to the most holy chief the Apostle, with all the fidelity and precision to which our Society is bound. For the further confirmation of this, we have stamped it with the secret seal of our Society. Given at Ghent, on the 29th of March 1650. Francis Seclin, Rector of the College; Peter de Bic, Prior and member of the Society of Jesus."

From these few instances it may be perceived how the Jesuits proceeded in order to acquire for themselves a rich inheritance from the dead, or a no less valuable present from the living; and it is hardly necessary for me to add that they especially, on this account, looked well after wealthy widows. One knows, indeed, how much easier it is to deal with that description of God's creatures than with married women of the same age, or

with those of the male sex; consequently, the Superiors selected only such members of the Society to be Father Confessors of widows as seemed most likely to secure the end in view. They required to be men of the so-called best age, that is to say, not too young, in order to avoid scandal, but also certainly not too old; men of a cheerful, lively temperament, of a strong and stately frame, and especially well endowed with the gift of eloquence, in order to be able to ingratiate themselves with the ladies. They should be not merely Father Confessors, in the proper sense of the word, but also, at the same time, bosom friends to whom the widows might entrust all their little secrets and take counsel in worldly affairs; with whom, too, they would willingly enter into conversation about the news of the day, presuming that the pious Fathers take as much interest in the state of the bodily condition of their penitents as in the health and welfare of their souls.

Such counsellors ought to have much good fortune with widows requiring consolation, and as in the case of sickness they never stirred from the bedside, it could not fail that a passage in their will in favour of the Order was almost always found. Again, when the sons of Loyola keep a particular look-out upon rich widows, they by no means, on this account, also neglect to obtain from them other information, especially interesting themselves in drawing the sons of rich parents into their Order. These novices are then at once subjected to a strict examination respecting the age and worldly circumstances of their father, and not the less questioned as to their blood relationship, and as to whether here and there some inheritance may not be still expected. The rector thus becomes acquainted with all family particulars on these matters, and, making a careful note thereof, he confirms the same by information derived, in an underhand mode, from other sources.

One need not have the slightest doubt that in this way the Order was accurately apprised respecting the private affairs of its members, and that it knew what part to play in the event of death taking place. Indeed, the Fathers acted mostly with an energy and perseverance which would, in fact, be deserving of admiration were it not that their impudence and interestedness were also apparent, arousing a feeling quite the contrary to that of admiration!

A couple of instances may make this clear to the reader. The Count Carl Zani, son of the Count Johann Zani, at Bologna, in Italy, allured by the sons of Loyola, entered into their Society in the year 1627, but was required, before he could obtain his father's permission to take this step, to enter into a written bond, attested by a notary and witnesses, that as long as he continued to be a member of the Jesuit Order he would renounce his whole paternal inheritance, and would never at any time make any claim to the estates, either for himself or for the Society of Jesus. His elder brother, therefore, Count Angelo Zani, inherited after his father's death the whole possessions, and it thus appeared that the sons of Loyola obtained no special advantage from the entrance of Carl Zani into their Order. But in the year 1639, immediately after entering upon his inheritance, Count Angelo died; not, however, as is supposed, without the skilful assistance of a Jesuit physician who treated him. And now the sons of Ignatius exploded the long-laid mine. Carl Zani hastened to make at once a request to the General to be permitted to resign the Order, in order that, by returning into the secular state, he might be enabled to lay claim to the great inheritance, and the General did not delay in causing the necessary papers to be delivered to him through the Provincial Menochio. However, previous to this, he was required to make a promise on oath that, after settling the business connected with the inheritance, he would again re-enter the Order, and, on this account, a bond was laid before him which, literally translated, ran as follows:—

"After that I, Carl Zani, shall now receive from the Society of Jesus my letter of discharge respecting which I made a petition, before the same shall be handed to me by the highly-esteemed Father Provincial, Stephan Menochio, I make a vow to God, and in his presence, by which I bind myself, on my conscience, to his Divine Majesty, that after the receipt of my letter of discharge, and as soon as I have brought into order the matters on which account I made the request, I will address the most urgent solicitation to the Superiors, as well as to the Society, that I may be again received back into the same, and, indeed, at that very time which may be considered to be most right and convenient by the most worthy Father Vincenz Maria Bargellini, who was assigned to me as my companion for the regulation of

my affairs, considering that I will thus engage to abide by this, his reasonable order and judgment, setting aside all scruple, and in order, with God's help, to give satisfaction to my vow, to place at the disposal of the college all that falls to my lot by the inheritance."

After the execution of this bond, Carl Zani obtained the necessary documents, and at once put off the Jesuit costume, on the 27th November 1639. It was, of course, not difficult for him, as next of kin, to enter into possession of the said inheritance, and now not only was he looked upon as a rich independent cavalier, but he was also beset, on all sides, to enter into the state of matrimony, in order to continue the race of Zani, and many of the most beautiful ladies were suggested to him. The above-mentioned bond, sworn to on oath, now greatly troubled him, and he hastened then to Rome, in order to obtain from Pope Innocent a release from his vow. The latter, however, lent an ear to the Jesuit General, and thus neither money nor fair words had any effect upon him. In the meantime, Carl Zani became dangerously ill, and the Jesuits besieged his bedside day and night, as may be well imagined, in order to extort from him by pressure a will in their favour. They were successful, too, shortly before he breathed his last, in obtaining such a deed, wherein he bequeathed to them all the possessions belonging to him; and now, of course, they fell upon the rich inheritance with great eagerness. But lo, behold! the male relations of the deceased produced an ancient family statute, according to which Carl Zani had no right whatever to dispose testamentarily of the family estates which were an allodium (that is private property in contradistinction to freehold property), and there now at once arose a law-suit, which occupied the judges of the Roman Rota for many years. In the course of the law-suit the sons of Loyola persuaded themselves not only that they would not succeed in winning the same, but that they would be compromised thereby, through their insatiable avarice, as well as owing to the peculiar manner in which they acquired inheritances; and, consequently, they addressed themselves to Pope Alexander VII., the successor of Innocent X., with the most urgent appeal in respect to a so-called sign-manual of grace. The Pope granted it to them, that is, he ordered the counsellors of the Rota to bring the matter to a

suitable compromise, and thereupon the estates and possessions to which it referred were divided into twelve parts, five of which the Jesuits obtained, while seven were allotted to the rightful heirs. Thus the sons of Loyola swallowed up a part, and, indeed, a very large part, out of the estate, although their claims were entirely unjust; in addition to this, they had the pleasure of having almost entirely ruined the rightful heirs by the costs of the law-suit.

Another not less remarkable inheritance suit came before the world at the end of the 16th century in France, under the government of Henry III., and likewise ended in favour of the Jesuits, although in this instance they were no less in the wrong than in the case just related.

Peter Airault, Criminal Lieutenant at the Presidial Court of Angers, possessed an only son, Réné, a lad of great attainments, who had a brilliant future before him from the riches and rank of the family, and he placed the lad for the completion of his education in a Jesuit college which was very celebrated in his eyes from its great advantages in regard to learning. He did not, however, take this step without beforehand expressly declaring to the good Fathers that he destined his son to be his sole successor, and that he therefore wished him to be brought in contact with those youths only who were to be devoted to secular and not ecclesiastical pursuits. The sons of Loyola promised most faithfully and religiously to meet his wishes in this respect, and they would have perhaps done so had young René been merely a poor lad without prospects. But in this case it was quite the reverse, as he not only was to inherit, in the first place, a large property from his father, but also a rich estate belonging to his grandmother had already fallen to him. Could, then, the Society of Jesus let such a fat booty slip from them? No, this the pious Fathers could not bring their hearts to do, and they gave themselves so much trouble that the long and short of it was that, after a three years' residence in their college, the youth confided to their care put on the habit of the Order. The father, on being informed of this, became furious, and instantly appealed to the law court in order to regain his son. The Jesuits, however, explained, in justification, that Réné had voluntarily entered the Society, and that now his connection with it was indissoluble. The Criminal Lieutenant appealed at

once to the Parliament of Anjou, and it adjudged the accused to deliver up their novice as being detained contrary to law. With the judgment in his hand, Peter Airault now hastened to Angers, and, supported by an armed force, knocked at the gate of the Jesuit college. But what was the answer which was given to him? Young Réné had flown under cover of night, and no one knew what had become of him. The Criminal Lieutenant could not believe this, and searched throughout the whole college. Still nowhere did he find his son, who was, in fact, not forthcoming. He had long before been secretly conveyed, for security, into a college in Loraine, thence into Germany, and lastly to Italy. The precaution had, moreover, been taken to strike out the name of Réné Airault from the register of the college, as one who had disappeared, and to substitute for it another unsuspected name, under which the newly-acquired member went henceforth. The extraordinary cunning of this method of procedure soon showed itself. King Henry III., urged by the unhappy father, intervened through his ambassador, and, appealing to Pope Sixtus V., demanded from the Holy See a mandate in favour of his Criminal Lieutenant. To comply with this demand, the eldest son of the Church ordered the Jesuit General, Claudio Aquaviva, to lay before him the list of the whole of the members of the Order, not omitting even the novices. The General obeyed at once, without delay, as he knew that it was impossible to find the *corpus delicti*. So it happened, and the Pope as well as the King had to be content with the answer that no Réné Airault could be found among the members of the Society of Jesus. In the meantime years elapsed, and no trace was discovered of the missing youth. And as it now became evident to the elder Airault that his son had taken part in the Jesuit conspiracy, and must have been privy to their intentions, for otherwise he would certainly have taken an opportunity of allowing his father to hear from him, at least once at all events, he consequently made a will before a notary and witnesses, wherein he gave his curse to the son, and disinherited him, so far as the laws would permit. Immediately thereupon he died, deeply pitied by all who knew him.

But what took place now? Hardly had the deceased been buried when Réné Airault came upon the scene and demanded what was due to him. He made his appearance, not as a Jesuit,

but as a civilian, and explained his long absence on the ground of his thirst for seeing foreign countries. He could not be refused the estate of his grandmother, as it had been up to this time administered by the Orphan Court, and with as little trouble did he take possession of the immovable estate which his father had not the power of alienating from him by his will. Scarcely, however, had he obtained possession of his property when he declared himself a member of the Society of Jesus, and gave over the whole of his newly-acquired inheritance to his superiors, as in duty bound, as he had now reassumed his black garment, and no Jesuit dare possess any property of his own.

Thus did the Order of Jesus arrive at its end, and what now mattered the judgment and disdain of the world?

A similar instance of sneaking after an inheritance occurred a short time afterwards in Flanders, where the Jesuit Grebert, after he had, during thirteen years, filled the tolerably important position of an ecclesiastical coadjutor, retired for a couple of years into the lay condition in order to lay claim, at the expense of his brother, to the family patrimony. So again there was a question of many years of litigation, which, in the second half of the 17th century, the Knights of the Purgstalle of the Riegerburg in Styria carried on with the Society of Jesus.

But where would this end if I were to enter into this affair, and the many dozens of other cases of the same nature? I must be satisfied, however, with the account of one other case, namely the great law-suit which the sons of Loyola carried on respecting the considerable lordship of Büren in Westphalia, hoping that the reader, from the public exposure of this more than wicked affair, may obtain a true picture of the proceedings of the Jesuits in relation to matters of inheritance.

In the year 1610, Baron Joachim of Büren, a good Protestant, died, leaving behind an only little son, of course also Protestant, of the name of Moritz, over whom his mother, a no less zealous Protestant, acted as guardian. Because, however, at that time —it was previous to the Thirty Years' war—Protestants and Catholics for the most part associated quite well together as long as they were not hounded on by their clergy, the widow Elizabeth had no scruple in selecting as friends also some Catholic ladies among the nobility of the neighbourhood, especially in the neighbouring small town of Paderborn, and

these paid her frequent visits. Of course this could not long remain unknown to the Jesuits, who had at that period just settled in Paderborn; and while they at the same time learned that the widow possessed more good nature than understanding, they at once concocted a plan to convert young Moritz von Büren, with his mother, to the Catholic Church, in order to incorporate with their possessions the two-fold inheritance, especially the beautiful lordship of Büren. This was indeed a bold undertaking; but the sons of Loyola had one among them, in Paderborn, who was popular with everyone on account of his softness of manners and subtlety in social intercourse, more especially in everything which might ingratiate him among women; and consequently they hoped through him to overcome all difficulties. In fact, Father Friedrich Roerich, the name of this individual, immediately set to work with the greatest zeal in the prosecution of his task, and having been introduced by the above-mentioned ladies to Frau Elizabeth von Büren, he very soon succeeded in gaining the confidence of the latter. After he had now established himself as house friend and adviser in worldly matters, he did not desist until he had also advanced to the rank of spiritual adviser, and the long and the short of it was that, after three years of unremitting exertion, he enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing the widow von Büren publicly go over into the only saving Church.

This took place at the end of the year 1613, and the natural consequence was that the education of young Moritz was at once placed entirely in the hands of the sons of Loyola; for how could a convert who required to show some zeal for the new religion act otherwise? The result was that the now nine-year-old boy was first placed in the Jesuit college of Paderborn, where he remained until the year 1617, at which time his mother married for a second time, with the High Bailiff William of Westphalia. Thereupon he was taken to the celebrated Jesuit institute at Cologne, where he was so manipulated, and his mind, inclined to extravagant ideas, was so worked upon with endless skill, that on attaining the age of seventeen he wished to forego the seductions of this sinful world, and to enter at once as a novice with the sons of Loyola. The latter believed that both his mother and stepfather would gladly say Yes,

but they were mistaken. On the contrary, both parents earnestly expressed their opinion that the youth should, first of all, look a little about him in the world, that he should be sent on his travels to the various capitals and courts of the globe, as then was the custom, and by a prolonged residence in them become acquainted with the manners of the times. The Jesuits consented to this, as they did not wish to run counter to the powerful High Bailiff, and Moritz commenced his educational travels at once, in the year 1621, with their approval. They contrived, however, that a certain Balthasar Bonninghausen, a young man who had been brought up by them in their principles, and was entirely devoted to their interests, should accompany him as tutor and marshal, and by this means they always were enabled to obtain minute particulars of every step and proceeding of their former pupil.

I will not enter upon a description of all the adventures and travels of the young von Büren, but only remark that, after a prolonged residence in France and Spain, he went to Italy in order to visit Eternal Rome. Scarcely, however, had he arrived there than he deemed it most important to have himself presented to the Pope, and, above everything, to pay his humble respects to the Jesuit General Mutius Vitelleschi. He was not, however, satisfied with making the latter a respectful visit, but he declared to the General that it was his intention to enter into his Order as soon as it was possible for him to do so, and the great man saw at a glance that the youth was entirely in earnest as to this. The General, however, did not at once pounce upon him, but rather advised him to delay for a little carrying out his pious intention, and in the meanwhile to prepare himself quietly for taking so great a step, as such things ought to be well considered beforehand. The advice sounded quite fatherly to von Büren, and was accepted also by him; but the motives which induced the General so to act were of a very different character. Young Moritz was now only in his nineteenth year, and as he was still a minor he had not, as yet, any valid power of disposal over his lordship of Büren; nor had he, during the lifetime of his mother, those estates at his command, which he would only inherit at her death; and the General thus contemplated nothing else, by his advice, than to induce von Büren not to enter the Society of Jesus previous to his mother's death,

or before he was of age. Of course, it was not for the sake of obtaining the amiable person of von Büren for the Society of Jesus—as an historian expresses it—but, on the contrary, only in order to get possession of his great landed estates and properties! After von Büren had returned home from his travels, he was urged by his mother and stepfather, with all their might, to take unto himself a spouse, as he had no legitimate successor, and the beautiful lordship must in this case go to a collateral relative; but upon this point the youth showed himself to be inexorable. He could not marry, because he had secretly taken an oath that he would later on belong to the Order, and his Father Confessor thought it well to remind him of the eternal punishment in hell, which every perjured person of any description irrevocably obtains. On another point, on the contrary, he complied with the wish of his mother, namely, that he should select some secular field of employment, and felt himself much flattered when the Emperor Ferdinand II., through the efforts of the Jesuits, nominated him in October 1629 to the office of President of the Imperial Supreme Court of Judicature. He entered, at the same time, upon the control of his lordship, although to a limited degree, as his mother, so long as she lived, was entitled to draw a certain income therefrom.

But, at length, this came to an end, as the death of Frau Elizabeth took place in the year 1632, and now the sons of Loyola urged him earnestly either to enter into their Order at once or, at least, to make a will in their favour. Moritz von Büren promised to do both, only he begged to be allowed some respite, in order that he might previously have an opportunity of making an explanation to his stepfather and sisters, who had claims on a certain portion of the revenues. Thus year after year went past, and on this account they became more and more impatient. They now raised another storm against him in the year 1640, and he then was prevailed upon to execute a will on the 21st of April of the same year, by which he bequeathed the whole of his possessions, without exception, to the Society of Jesus, with the object that after his death a college should be erected in Büren. He also nominated the Bishops of Münster and Paderborn, as well as the Emperor himself, to be executors of this his will, and accordingly the sons of Loyola believed that any possibility of its being upset had now been extinguished.

Moreover, in order to make the matter even more certain, they persuaded their faithful pupil, some years afterwards, to enter formally into the Order; this happened in April 1644, and they now hoped to be able to levy an embargo on these great possessions, even during his lifetime, and they did this at once, although with the foresight of leaving to von Büren the appearance of still having the enjoyment of the same. In truth, however, he was merely administrator, being so completely under the supervision of the Superiors that he dare not do the slightest thing without them, and the whole of this juggling had no other object than to throw dust into the eyes of the world. Taking into account their avidity of all sorts, it would not have been wise, indeed, if the sons of Loyola had contented themselves with a simple seizure of the lordship; they acted, however, discreetly in preparing people gradually, and especially the relations of the Büren race, for the great stroke which was to follow, as it might be hoped that the latter would thereby become the more easily reconciled to the unavoidable. They succeeded for a time in the deception, but only for a time. As, after some years, the High Bailiff, William of Westphalia, who was a good Catholic, indeed, but, at the same time, a most haughty nobleman, came to a knowledge of the secret, feeling himself most deeply aggrieved at the Jesuitical intrigues, he at once, with all the energy at his command, urged his stepson not only to annul the said will, but also to return into the world and bid an eternal farewell to the Jesuits. At the same time he represented to him how much his sisters and other relations would be injured by this donation of the Büren lordship to the sons of Loyola, and how the sisters, as well as himself, were fully justified in claiming, on this account, the protection of the law, so that by the persistent refusal of Moritz to lay aside the Jesuit habit it would become necessary for them to institute a law-suit, which, prosecuted between near relatives, must give rise to much vexation and scandal in the world.

However, he might preach as much as he could, the stepsisters might pray as incessantly and as long as they were able, Moritz von Büren remained obstinate, and neither gave to his stepfather any motive founded on reason, nor yielded one iota to his sisters' tears. Consequently the threatened law-suit now commenced, and the High Bailiff was justified when he called.

attention to the scandal that would be occasioned thereby on such things coming to light, as must necessarily fill the world with disgust and abhorrence.

Indeed, the sons of Loyola showed thereby such a detestable and violent desire for thieving, that the Bishop of Paderborn, Dietrich Adolphus von Reck, in whose diocese the lordship of Büren was situated, saw himself necessitated to occupy the same with troops in August 1657, and this sequestration continued fully three years, until at length the Emperor Leopold I. induced him to evacuate it in the year 1660.

The year following, Father Moritz, as Von Büren had been called since 1644, died, without, however, having seen the end of the great law-suit. The same lasted, on the contrary, seven-and-thirty years, as it only ended, indeed, in a compromise, in the year 1698, according to which the sons of Loyola retained the stolen inheritance, paying the then very considerable sum of 45,000 gold dollars out of it.

From what has now been related, the reader will have been thoroughly convinced respecting the eminent talent which the Jesuits displayed in inheritance-hunting; with this talent, however, they conjoined shamelessness, which went as far even as baseness, and this, also, will best be made apparent by some examples. Count de Marle, formerly Equerry of the Prince de Condé, had an only son, and placed him in the Jesuit educational establishment of St. Acheul, in order to have him there educated. The pious Fathers became acquainted, through the son, regarding the particular circumstances of the father, and as they ascertained that he would have a very large inheritance to leave behind him, they determined to win over this said only offspring for their Order. This was, however, not such an easy business, as the young de Marle was of a very jovial nature, and would hear nothing at all about entering into the ecclesiastical state. On the contrary, he threatened the Superiors of the said ecclesiastical institution, that if they pestered him any more with any such proposals he would run away and make his father acquainted with everything about it. Thereupon, the sly Fathers suddenly changed their tactics, and afforded the sprightly youth so many opportunities for frivolous amusements, that the same would have been a more than steady man if he had allowed those opportunities to pass by without making

use of them. The more, however, that the son transgressed, the more they wrote lamentable letters respecting him to his father; so much so, that the latter became quite inconsolable.

It was now arranged between the father and the rector of the institution that the young scapegrace should be transferred from St. Acheul to the Jesuit seminary in Bordeaux, with the hope that perhaps a change of teachers and fellow-scholars would be beneficial; but, unfortunately, there was still no improvement, according to the reports of the principal of the seminary, at least, and the poor deluded father received no other information. Indeed, they took care to prevent the son from writing, and when he, at any time, ever did so, it was a letter dictated by the principal, or, at all events, corrected by him. As, however, the young de Marle became no better in Bordeaux, he was conveyed, as a last resource, to Forcalquier, and the father wrote to him that he would withdraw all interest in him if he ever again heard bad news about him. The son, deeply affected, firmly resolved to be foolish no longer, and prosecuted his studies for some time. This, however, did not at all suit the taste of the sons of Loyola, and they consequently contrived to bring the youth into connection with a companion who might again awaken in him the old inclination for folly. Of course, the reports sent to the old Count became bad again, indeed, worse than ever, and thereby his grief and anger reached to the highest degree. In this frame of mind, induced to do so by the Rector of the seminary at St. Acheul, he wrote such a reproving letter to the son, that the latter, in a state of desperation, made his escape from Forcalquier and betook himself to the wide world.

The pious Fathers had now brought the matter to the pitch it was intended from the commencement; whereupon the inconsolable father at once resolved to sell all his estates, as far as he could do so, and to take refuge, with this dowry, among the Jesuits, in order to die happy in their pious company. Nothing more was heard of the son, and it is probable that the pious Fathers prepared a speedy death for him.

Almost more disgraceful, even, is the following story. Among the countries into which the sons of Loyola frequently endeavoured to penetrate, although without bringing about, at once, any particular result, was especially European Turkey,

and Father Sarot, among others, gave himself trouble quite beyond the common to make proselytes among the Greek Christians in Roumelia. His object appeared, however, to be much less for the welfare of their souls than for looking after their property, as he attached himself at once merely to the rich, and he favoured, above all, with his exhortations, well-endowed widows.

To the latter class belonged a certain Sophia Nara, a woman who possessed in gold and valuables more than forty purses, that is about 30,000 florins, and Sarot, who had soon discovered this, did not desist until the good Sophia went over to Catholicism from the heretical sect of Armenians to which she had belonged, and at the same time consigned her whole property to the Society of Jesus, in consideration of the promise that she should be bountifully cared for during the rest of her life. This was a good stroke of fortune, as the woman was no longer young, and, besides, soon became sick, which encouraged a hope that the pension would not long have to be paid. But Sarot had reckoned, as is said, without his host, and during the next two years the lady advanced not a single step nearer the grave. He now, however, began to be more close, and denied her, indeed, about half the allowance she had previously enjoyed, as she had evidently fallen into a long tedious sickness; her nephews, to whom the woman at once turned, would have nothing more to do with her, after she had made it known that she had sunk all her goods and chattels with the Jesuits. Thus, the condition of the poor Sophia became always more unbearable, and as she was now confined to her one solitary room, which she could no longer leave on account of weakness, she was nearly out of her senses with despair. Once more she applied to her nephews, and once more received for answer that she should look for support to those to whom she had assigned her property. The deplorable creature now collected together all her strength, and crawled into the street. Here, falling down, she was raised up by some compassionate soul, and conveyed in a carriage before the house of her relative. They knocked at the door, and begged for compassion for her. At first the nephews were deaf to all entreaties, but at last they opened the door and admitted her. The aunt related everything—how she had been treated from the first up to the present time, how they had at the commencement allured

her with flattering speeches, and how latterly they had given her kicks. All were filled with pity for her, and were enraged at the vile conduct of the sons of Loyola.

The Armenian Patriarch, at that time present, was made acquainted with all the details of the transaction. The woman acceded with joy to his admonition to return into the Armenian Church, and, after this was accomplished the Patriarch promised to use all his influence in order to recover the property which had been given away. The Prince of the Church kept his promise, and made a complaint to the Pasha. The Pasha was no less resolute, as he caused Father Sarot to be fetched, and ordered him, with the alternative of having his ears cut off, to give back the whole of the donation. The Father, however, affirmed that he had received only four, instead of forty, purses, and swore to this falsehood on the cross of Christ. Herewith content, the Pasha allowed him to go at liberty, and the Father rejoiced, internally, that he had, at all events, saved thirty-six purses. Immediately thereupon he found it well to vanish during the darkness of the night, as he learnt that the nephews were not satisfied with the decision of the Pasha, but had taken the trouble to collect facts by which the true condition of their aunt's property, and also the perjury of Father Sarot, could be proved. He found it well to disappear, said I; but, as to this, I mean merely out of Roumelia, not out of the world, for a short time afterwards he turned up in Italy, and the General rewarded him for his excellent service with a situation of Rector. But enough of this! Enough, for it would only disgust most readers to listen to further proofs of the shamelessness of the sons of Loyola as to inheritance-hunting. Involuntarily the other question comes up for consideration, whether all the Jesuits thought and acted alike. One might be of opinion that it was a sheer impossibility that, in a Society numbering so many members, who in part, at least, were highly gifted—that, I say, in such a Society there should not exist some brethren who would be ashamed of such a vile transaction as that of notorious inheritance-hunting. One might be of such an opinion, and I believe rightly so, but what does that matter? The Superiors of the Society, and especially the General in Rome, knew every member perfectly, while annually the most detailed spying reports must necessarily be forwarded, and consequently they were

aware exactly for what position this one or that one was best suited. Is it to be believed, however, that one who, in the matter of inheritance-hunting, thought even but a little un-Jesuitically, would be appointed to be Father Confessor, and, indeed, Father Confessor to a rich widow? Suppose this to be the case, however, had the mistake been made at any time of an unsuitable person being assigned as Father Confessor to this or that high personage, would not this error be at once rectified by the substitution of a fit and proper successor? The Superior retained the full right of disposal over the members, and notoriously made the most unlimited use of this right. To obey was the duty of every one of them, as otherwise punishment was certain, and the result most disagreeable. Suppose, however, the most extreme case, namely, that a member had contrived to deceive all his brethren as to his true character, and had made use of his position of Father Confessor to restrain his confessant from making a will in favour of the Order, or even had not encouraged him to do so; suppose such a case, what would be the consequences?

The instance of Father Zimenes gives us the best reply. He was Father Confessor to a rich widow of Madrid, and as she lay on her death-bed, in the year 1633, made her will; he did not use all his influence with her to bequeath her means to the Order, but, on the contrary, admonished her to leave it to her rightful heir. So the widow did, indeed, and more than that, she confessed immediately before death to her relatives the noble conduct of the Father; from these relatives, however, the Jesuits at third hand learned this, and four weeks afterwards the worthy Zimenes was no longer among the living. He died in the profess-house in Madrid of a sudden attack of heart disease, as his fellow members affirmed; he was, in truth, however, as most clearly came out on the subsequent expulsion of the sons of Loyola, condemned to death by his Superiors, and slowly killed by the deprivation of all food and drink. He ought to serve as a warning to his fellow members; and this has certainly been the case, as no one ever afterwards heard that a Jesuit had advised anyone not to bequeath his property to the Society of Jesus. On the contrary, they proved themselves in this respect, almost without exception, so zealous and expert, that no other Order can be at all compared with them in this particular; and an author of the last century gave them, on that

account, the characteristic nickname of "Legacy hunters *par excellence*."

I must not, however, conceal on this occasion that several booties escaped them from the fervour of their zeal. As best proof that it is wiser in all things to be content with moderation rather than to covet everything, I allow myself to confirm this by a couple of examples.

In Brussels there lived at the beginning of the 17th century a couple of rich relatives—a brother and sister—quite pleasantly and in perfect accord with each other, although the sister was a little over-pious, while the brother entertained rather free views in regard to matters of religion. They were neither of them any longer young, and there could be no question of marriage either in the one case or the other; on the other hand, there was no lack of other sources of enjoyment, and the brother took especial trouble in visiting every year for a couple of months foreign lands and cities. On one occasion the latter set off again on such a journey, and as he contemplated remaining away for a lengthened time, he previously made his will, in which he designated his sister as his sole heiress; not that there was any thought about dying, but merely to be prepared for all contingencies, as a matter of duty. It appeared, however, that the brother remained away much longer than he had any intention of doing, and as he did not during the whole of this time allow a single word to be heard from him, the sister began to have foreboding of something being amiss. She was strengthened in this foreboding by her Confessor, a worthy Father belonging to the Society of Jesus, who looked already upon the death of the brother as certain, and built joyful hopes upon it. Upon her entreaty, moreover, he promised, in order that she should not be any longer vexed with uncertainty, to cause information to be obtained through his fellow members, who had their places of residence all over the world, and on this account she told him everything that she knew as to the aim and object of her brother's journey. It now occurred that she herself became sick shortly thereupon, and the Jesuit urged her most earnestly to make a will in favour of his Order. She hesitated for a long time, as her brother, whom she had promised to institute as heir in the event of her death, might possibly be still alive. The Confessor now suddenly brought a document, prepared by

the rector and coadjutor of some distant college, and in this document it stood in black and white that the brother had died on such and such a day, and even the complaint from which he had suffered was mentioned. Of course there was now no longer any doubt about his death, and in consequence thereof, the Jesuit continued his urgent solicitations in regard to the will that he demanded. At length the pious devotee bequeathed to the Order not only her own property, but that also belonging to her brother, as upon this she had testamentary claims. Now, who could rejoice more than the worthy Society of Jesus? But lo and behold! She suddenly recovered again, although already being looked upon as lost, and, what was still worse, the brother, supposed to be dead, turned up again safe and sound. He had, sure enough, got through a severe illness, but in quite a different town from where the sons of Loyola had made him out as dead, and now it became as clear as daylight that the attested document had been a mean and lying invention. Consequently the Jesuit Confessor was at once dismissed, and, besides, the sister then made a new will, in which the former one was completely cancelled, so that the Jesuits were frustrated for this time at least.

Another still more pleasant story, wherein it happened that the sons of Loyola had deceived themselves about an inheritance of which they had already made quite sure, had Metz for its playground during the second half of the 17th century. The Jesuits had there persuaded a very rich man, as he came to die, that his soul would only suffer torture for ten thousand years in Purgatory, if they had ten thousand masses for the welfare of his soul, that is, a thousand a year for ten years, and the dying man not only believed this, but provided in his will that his sons should pay ten gold dollars for each mass, so that the heirs had to disburse annually an expenditure of ten thousand gold dollars for ten years. This now seemed to them to be a very dear ransom from the flames of Purgatory, and they consulted over the matter with their counsel, an extremely sagacious man, as to whether there was any way of remedying the matter. The will was, however, quite legally drawn up, and could not be disputed. Thus far, then, there appeared that nothing could be done, and they already were willing to submit to their fate, when a most cunning expedient occurred to the advocate. "How would

it be," thought he, "if we brought forward an attestation from the Pope that the soul of the testator had been already released from Purgatory? Such an attestation ought to be obtainable for a moderate sum of money, and then soul masses would no longer be required for the release of the soul of the deceased. This being the case, the obligation for the payment would also cease, and I will now undertake that the sons of Loyola obtain for damages naught but ridicule." Thus did the man learned in the law reckon, and, in due course, he put himself in close communication with a Minorite brother, a crafty fellow of a monk. The latter, who, besides, was a thorough enemy of the Jesuits on account of their arrogance, undertook the commission with the utmost joy, and set off for Rome in the greatest haste, well provided with money and recommendations. Of course he publicly gave out quite a different ground for the object of his journey, and the other participators in the matter preserved perfect silence as to the design, in order that the sons of Loyola might not have their attention called to the affair, and prevent its accomplishment. The Minorite arrived in Rome all safe and sound, and, as before said, possessing a proper degree of understanding, he immediately made application in the right direction and quickly succeeded in obtaining the testimonial he desired, for less than one thousand dollars. As soon, however, as he got this in his pocket he hastened back to Metz with a very contented mind, and handed the same over to the heirs, who richly rewarded him for it. In the meantime, the sons of Loyola were not idle in reading masses for the soul of the deceased, and, after the first quarter of a year had elapsed, they presented their first account for two thousand five hundred dollars. How, indeed, were they now startled when they received a reply quite seriously that the soul of the testator had already been released from Purgatory, and that as there had thus been no occasion to read the masses, the money must be refused. "This is, indeed, quite a foolish answer, which savours of the mad-house," exclaimed the Jesuits to the heirs; but the latter held to it, and left the sons of Loyola to proceed as it pleased them. The advocate, indeed, declared that he was ready to produce proof of the truth of their assertion. It came now, of course, to a law-suit, and the Jesuits rested in the firm conviction that they must gain it simply upon the passage in the will referred to. As, however,

the man learned in the law pulled the testimonial of the Holy See out of his pocket and laid it before the Court, all self-possession disappeared from their faces, and they acknowledged themselves to have been outwitted. They renounced, consequently, all further legal proceedings, and at the same time, also, all money claims. Upon the advocate, however, on the other hand, who had adopted this cunning measure, and upon the Minorite monk, who acted as the mediator, they visited such intense irreconcilable hatred that they never rested until both of them quitted the town, and never more returned thereto.

A still more unpleasant business, connected with a succession, happened at that time to the sons of Loyola in Naples, when the Duke of Ossuna reigned there as Viceroy. A very rich merchant had bequeathed to them his whole property, under the condition that an only son, who was very young at the time of his death, entered into their Order; however, when interrogated, in his eighteenth year, as to whether it would be his wish to remain in the world, should the lad refuse to become a Jesuit, they should then be bound to pay over his patrimony to him, which amounted to more than a hundred thousand ducats, and they might, in that case, only retain, as a compensation, what had been expended by them for his education, Christianly and economically reckoned. This was a very indefinite passage, out of which, at a pinch, anything might be twisted that was liked, and the Jesuits at once made up their minds, at any rate, to turn it to their own advantage. Therefore, when the young man, in his eighteenth year, declared his intention to remain in the world, they gave themselves no particular trouble to keep him back from doing so, but allowed him rather to withdraw conspicuously and without any difficulty; as he then, however, desired to have his property delivered up to him, they intimated that it would be liberal on their part if they gave him back as much as ten thousand ducats, as, on the supposition that he would remain with them, they had already expended everything in benevolent objects. Upon this the youth declared himself not to be at all satisfied, and, on the other hand, put in a demand for eighty thousand ducats, as it was certainly more than enough if he allowed them twenty thousand on account of his education. Thus the two parties contended with the utmost vivacity about the matter, and the Jesuits especially showed not

the least desire to abate even one iota of their claim. In order to put an end to the matter as soon as possible, the youth, by the advice of his friends, addressed himself to the Viceroy (the Duke of Ossuna), who caused the accuser, as well as the accused, to come before him, asking each of them as to how far he went in his demand, and how much he was inclined voluntarily to abandon? The youth declared that as a last resource he would be contented with seventy thousand ducats; the Jesuits, however, obstinately persisted that they would not be able to pay more than ten thousand. "Good, then," said the Viceroy now to the sons of Loyola; "you can demand what you consider reasonable and Christianlike. I ask you, then, this: Is it a Christian principle that one should do to one's neighbour as one would wish to be done by?" "So teaches the Holy Scriptures," answered the disciples of Ignatius. "Then," decided the Viceroy, "act accordingly; that is to say, give to the youth the ninety thousand ducats which you retained for yourselves, and take the ten thousand which you were prepared to pay." This decision held good, in spite of all the machinations of the sons of Loyola, and everyone praised the Duke, as well for his Solomon-like wisdom, as on account of the characteristic behaviour which he had brought to light. Thus, sometimes, the sons of Loyola came off badly; in general, however, they contrived to hold uncommonly fast to what had been testamentarily promised them, and the world would be astonished if one put upon paper all the particulars as to the whole of the sums obtained by them through legacy-hunting.

CHAPTER II.

ROBBERY AND THEFT AMONG LAITY AND ECCLESIASTICS.

THERE is much material for this chapter, and one would almost be inclined to the opinion that the sons of Loyola liked nothing better than to busy themselves with stealing and robbing. One comes much more quickly and easily into possession of anything in this way than by honest gain and the industry of the hands—why not, therefore, acquire riches thus? In order, however, to give the reader a very clear insight into those villainous practices I will begin with "Cheating in a small way," then go on to regular "Theft," and, lastly, conclude with "Robbery on a large scale." But, in all these three specialities, villainy shall only be so far especially brought to notice as may be necessary to give a correct picture of the Order of Jesus, the object I have in hand, and I will not go to work with the *Chronique Scandaleuse* in my hand.

A most common practice among the sons of Loyola was to solicit a present from rich parents who desired the reception of their sons into the novitiate of their Order, and, indeed, such a present as corresponded to the property to which the young man would one day be entitled. One might, therefore, regard such presents as a kind of "dotal gift," or, still better, a "gift in anticipation of the future inheritance," and upon this the sons of Loyola founded their right to demand the same. Besides, added they, is not a person taken care of for life as member of their Society, and therefore may one not sacrifice a bit of money

for it? In short, they knew how to get over, in this way, most cunningly, without deriving any hurt therefrom, the publicly expressed statute by which they were bound to impart all instruction gratis, and the sums of money which they earned in this manner were by no means inconsiderable. Still, matters did not end here, seeing they dismissed very many of these youths after a short time as unsuitable, retaining, however, for themselves the dotal gift. Indeed, they were aware that not a few of those were unfit, and that they could not be made any use of, owing to their want of talent; their sole object, therefore, in receiving them into the novitiate was to be able to possess themselves of what was paid on admission! The proofs of these deceitful dealings might be brought to light by hundreds and hundreds; it is sufficient, however, to refer to one instance alone, which is remarkable in this respect, that a father contrived, in a most original way, to get back the entrance money which had been paid for his son.

A very wealthy smith, settled in the neighbourhood of Milan, wished to participate in the honour of seeing his son among the Jesuits, and offered the rector of the college in the aforesaid capital the tolerably large sum, in ready money, of 2,000 ducats in the event of the latter meeting his wishes. The rector laughed in his sleeve, as the youth was a very strong, square-built churl, being at the same time such a queer fellow that it would not be possible to mould him into an ordinary monk, and still less into a Jesuit. Nevertheless, the rector assented with pleasure, slid the 2,000 ducats into his pocket, and enveloped the youth in a novice's habit. All went on well now, during a couple of weeks, and the son of Loyola *in embryo* was treated in a way as that nothing better could be desired. In course of time, however, they ceased to consider him as a stranger, and their teasing, chicanery, and maltreatment overstepped all bounds. They plainly wished to carry on so far with the fellow that he should take flight from the house of probation, for then the Jesuits could wash their hands in innocency. Because, however, the poor tormented fellow, fearing the wrath of his father, endured all without a murmur, the pious Fathers then lost all patience, and at length chased their pupil away without further ado, while they gave him no more than five dollars for sustenance on the way. The anger of the smith

may be well imagined, when his son came back to him, and the latter had to suffer much at first from the circumstance of his return. The father soon, however, perceived that the fault lay entirely with the sons of Loyola, and he not only at once demanded the return of his 2,000 ducats, but, as his request was refused, he proceeded to lodge a complaint in the law courts. But what did this complaint matter? The sons of Loyola proved that the smith had given the 2,000 ducats to them "as a present," and, as one could not be compelled to return donations, so was the complainant put to silence.

In the regular legal way there was, then, nothing to be done, but the smith now hit upon an extraordinary plan of proceeding, and this brought about his object. He caused a regular Jesuit's dress to be made for his son, and thus clad he was obliged to work in the smithy, to flog the horses in the streets, and to go on all errands that were required. This peculiar spectacle attracted a number of inquisitive loafers, as the Jesuit pupil was observed by everyone at the anvil, and soon nothing else was talked about in the whole neighbourhood than this affair. People not only chatted about it, however, but also railed and jeered uncommonly, and the honour of the sons of Loyola began to suffer considerably. They at once complained respecting the abuse of their Jesuit costume; but the legal authorities gave it as their opinion that the young smith had a right to the said costume, as he actually had been received as a Jesuit novice; and now the insults and jeers increased more than ever. In short, at last there remained nothing else for the sons of Loyola to do but to terminate the scandal by putting the best face on the matter, and returning the 2,000 ducats to the smith; and thus the latter attained his end by means of his original idea.

There was another custom among the sons of Loyola, according to direction to borrow from rich persons well disposed towards the Order, under the pretext of great poverty and on account of the colleges or seminaries, smaller or larger sums of money, and, if demanded, to give written bills of obligation, the repayment of which they put off as much as possible. If, then, the creditor should later on contract some illness which brought him near to death, they were wont to visit him unceasingly, and continue to put pressure upon him until he should hand over

to them the note of hand they had given him, which was the same thing as giving them a present of the money lent. In this way the Society of Jesus acquired much riches. More than this, they borrowed sums of money wherever they could without giving in acknowledgment any note of hand for the same. In order to carry on this game effectually the Fathers put on an appearance of the greatest honesty and candour, and conducted themselves in such a way as if the word "deceit" were quite opposite to their character; so how could a pious soul, from whom they had borrowed money for a holy object, think so meanly of them as to require a note of hand as security? No; the mere word of such distinguished men was quite sufficient, and anything more would have been an insult to religion itself.

What did the sons of Loyola do, however, when, as was often the case, they succeeded in obtaining a loan in this way? Did they keep to their word, and pay back the loan honourably and honestly? God forbid! but, in nine cases out of ten, they denied having incurred the debt, and by perjury released themselves from repaying it. Certes! a very convenient way of obtaining money, although they repudiated the idea of theft. "But," said the sons of Loyola, "only fools would have so inelastic a conscience as to shrink from doing such a trifle as that!" Of course, moreover, it would be inadmissible for me to make so startling an accusation against the Society of Jesus without having the required proofs in my hands.

In the town of Orleans a Mademoiselle Vinet, before her death, had presented to her maid, who had served her during many years, a considerable sum in Louis d'or, along with a valuable collection of old gold coins; and this took place in the presence of her confessor, Father Director. The latter now offered to the maid to deposit the money for her at very good interest, as also to hand over to an amateur with whom he was acquainted the gold coins, in order that they should be properly valued; and the maid, greatly pleased at such an offer, at once gave him over her whole treasure. As regards a receipt for the same from the holy Father, it was out of the question, and never entered into the head of the maid to demand one, as she was fearful of committing sin by not putting the fullest confidence in such a respectable gentleman as was the Father. Some time after this

Mademoiselle Vinet died, and as the maid, Alice by name, wished to enter into the state of matrimony, she asked the Father, at the request of her lover how much had been realised from the sale of the gold coins, and where he had deposited the whole of the money. "Gold coins," replied the Father, "thou deceivest thyself, my daughter; there were none such, but merely copper ones of little value, and as for the remaining money, thou canst have that any day, altogether about a thousand francs." The maid was astounded, as her deceased mistress had told her that the total value amounted to twenty thousand livres, or francs. But the Father stuck to his assertion, and became most indignant when the lover of Alice would not be contented with the thousand francs. The advice of an advocate was now taken, and recourse had to the law. But the Jesuits, who to a man sided with their fellow brother, at once adopted a lofty tone, and entered a complaint of gross calumny. Consequently, Alice and her betrothed were at length compelled to pray for forgiveness, and publicly to confess that they had falsely accused Father Director of fraud.

It went better with the Capucin Timotheus de la Flûte, who acted for many years as agent, correspondent, and courier for Father Le Tellier, the ill-famed Father Confessor of Louis XIV., during his strife with the Jansenists. After the said Capucin had become Bishop of Berith, in the year 1732, he demanded of the Jesuits of Tours the return of the sum of 130,000 livres, which he had handed over to them for safe keeping; the sons of Loyola, however, denied ever having received a single sou from him, and he could not produce proof to the contrary, as he had been foolish enough not to have made sure by a note of hand of any description. With dismay he took to entreaty, and humiliated himself, even to tears; but the worthy Fathers remained obdurate, and declared they would make a complaint against him if he pestered them any more. At last, in his rage, he threatened to expose all the intrigues and wicked manœuvres to which he had been subjected by order of the Father Confessor Le Tellier, and he already, indeed, began to entertain the idea of making the party of the Jansenists acquainted with everything, when Le Tellier interfered just in time, and constrained his fellow-members to yield.

Timotheus de la Flûte thus obtained his money back again,

but in thirteen yearly instalments, and, besides, without any interest, so that the Fathers still always derived some profit.

At the beginning of the 18th century the Jesuits played a great game at Liége, and most of the widows and elderly unmarried ladies wished to have only them as Father Confessors. Among these said ladies was a Mademoiselle Devisé, a maiden of mature age, celebrated for her riches as well as her bigotry, who had on different occasions not only lent large sums to the Jesuit college, but also, in the year 1737, when very ill, given over in charge to her Confessor, Father Adrian Lontemberg, a casket filled with gold pieces, in order that the latter might hand it over to her nephew Devisé as soon as he should arrive at Liége after her death. The Father Confessor, who also obtained a very considerable legacy for his Order, solemnly promised to do so, and the good old dame died immediately afterwards in the firm belief that she had acted for the best for her dear nephew. When, however, he arrived, and at once demanded from the college the restoration of the sums which had been lent, as well as the casket entrusted to the care of Father Lontemberg—respecting which two matters he had been fortunately made aware by a letter which the aunt caused to be written on her death-bed by the chamber-maid—the above-named Father denied, in the strongest terms, ever having received anything but a small trifle from Mademoiselle Devisé. Indeed, he declared the requisition of the nephew to be a villainous invention, which was calculated to bring the Order of Jesus into disrepute, for as far as he knew—and he stood on the most intimate terms with his deceased confessing daughter, so much so that she withheld no secret from him—it was quite contrary to the inclination of the aunt Devisé to allow large sums of money to lie without interest, and there never had existed such a thing as a casket filled with pistoles.

The other sons of Loyola present in the college of Liége also assumed the same *rôle*, and, if they did not absolutely gainsay having received small donations now and then from the deceased, they stoutly denied, with a bold front, having obtained any such large sums as were laid claim to by the nephew. The poor Devisé, who had believed himself entitled to a large inheritance, was now in a sad plight, and knew not what to do. He had, indeed, the letter of the chamber-maid, but the

latter had suddenly disappeared from Liége overnight, without anyone being in the least able to give any information as to her abode. How could he, then, be able to prove that the letter contained the truth, or, indeed, that it was authentic?

The situation was one of desperation; still, overnight came good counsel. Father Golenvaux, who kept the secret register of the revenues and expenses of the college at Liége, had a nephew—others affirm that he was his son—towards whom he entertained extraordinary affection, and this latter, who always and at all times had access to his uncle, offered, for a sum of money, to make a copy of the whole receipts which flowed into the treasury of the Jesuit college. This was done, and, sure enough, in this secret book were not only found noted all the moneys as to which the nephew had laid claim, but there was also the statement of the number of pistoles contained in the casket above mentioned.

The young Devisé now, by the advice of his advocate, applied to the vicar apostolical of the day, and laid all these particulars before him, at the same time declaring that he would be willing and ready to spare the Jesuits the scandal of a public trial, if they voluntarily accorded to him what he was entitled to demand. Thereupon the vicar at once took action, and Father Golenvaux, by his order, was obliged to lay before him at once the original register, and as it was found to correspond with the copy, there remained nothing else, of course, for the sons of Loyola to do but to pay the amount for which they were liable, so that their design for this once completely miscarried.

The greatly notorious law-suit, between them and the Herren von Viane, which began in 1738 and ended in 1745, terminated, on the other hand, quite differently, as the sons of Loyola completely gained the day, although their proved rascality was quite apparent. In the year 1738, Frau Mariane Justidavis, spouse of Herr Rombault von Viane, succeeded to an inheritance in Germany, to the amount of 300,000 florins, consisting partly in coin and partly in diamonds and other valuables, whereupon she came to Brussels with the same, in order to convert all these objects into current money. Hereupon Father Lutger Jansens, whom, on account of his highly esteemed reputation, she took as her Father Confessor, declared to her that he would assist her to the best of his ability; and at the same time advised her, first

of all, to place the valuables in the Jesuits' college, as they would be much safer there, at any rate, than in any private house. This was evident to Frau Mariane von Viane, and the Father fetched a carriage, by the aid of which he conveyed the gold and precious stones into the college; no acknowledgment was granted as to the receipt of these latter, which amounted in value to 630,000 francs, because it was intended shortly to convert them into Belgian coin. Scarcely had this taken place, than Herr Rombault von Viane arrived in Brussels, and when his wife told him all, informing him that she had received no receipt of any kind, he augured nothing good. He ordered the same, therefore, to preserve the most complete silence for the present as to his arrival, and then hastened to a sagacious lawyer, in order to consult with him as to what should be done. After long consideration, it was agreed that the Frau should fall sick, and that, on this account, she should send for her Confessor, Father Jansens. After having received from him some religious consolation, she should then begin to speak to him concerning the valuables entrusted to his care, and tell him that she had received the orders of her husband in writing to deliver them over to Herr von Dormael, a well-known wholesale dealer in Brussels. It was arranged, moreover, that every word which was exchanged should be taken down by two notaries, who, with four worthy citizens of the town, would be hid in a neighbouring alcove, and the acconnt then subscribed by these citizens as witnesses. In due course, the four witnesses, with the two notaries, were so artfully concealed in the alcove, that they could see as well as hear all that went on in the neighbouring chamber, and the celebrated Father was now brought to render consolation to the sick Frau Mariane, who laid herself down in bed. He, of course, came at once, and discharged his duty as ecclesiastic, receiving his fee. As this was over, however, the Frau asked him whether there was any hope yet that the German gold, together with the precious stones and other valuables, might be advantageously converted into Belgian money. "Not yet," replied the Father, who naturally presumed that he was quite alone with his confessing child; on the other hand, "he hoped, in a short time, to be enabled to bring more favourable intelligence, and, in the meantime, the treasure was well taken care of." The Frau now explained to

him that her husband had given her orders that the gold and diamonds should be handed over to the wholesale dealer von Dormael, and, good or ill, that she must give effect to the order. Upon this the Father became very angry, and declared that he would in no case deliver the things to the said wholesale dealer. Indeed, he forbade the Frau to speak a single word about the matter with Herr von Dormael, and vowed solemnly that he would deny, without further ado, even at the risk of being burnt alive, having any concern as to the keeping of the treasure if she was so indiscreet as to speak to him again about this order. With these words he took his leave, without, however, having any conception of having been overheard by anyone with the exception of the Frau von Viane alone; the two notaries, however, at once now stepped out of the alcove, completed their minutes, and caused the same to be subscribed by the four citizens as witnesses, who had likewise been concealed. The next step was, that Herr von Viane demanded from Father Jansens the restoration of the treasure committed to his keeping, and, as the Father actually carried out his threat of denying everything, he at once lodged a legal complaint. His advocate produced the protocol which had been taken, and the four sworn witnesses, to show that everything had occurred as stated in the deed. In spite of all this, Father Jansens persisted in denying everything, and all the Jesuits of Liége sided with him. The coachman was found who had taken the treasure into the Jesuit College, and the man acknowledged on oath having done so. On the other hand, the sons of Loyola maintained that every point of the accusation was invented, and that the two notaries, along with the four witnesses, had been bought over by Herr von Viane. They succeeded in getting the coachman to recall his first declaration, and further managed to produce sixty witnesses who gave evidence in their favour; they at length worked upon the people, by pamphlets distributed about, as well as by public denunciations from the pulpits, in such a way that not a few firmly believed that the couple Viane, with the said two notaries and four witnesses, had concocted a vile conspiracy to the injury of the Jesuit Order. The law-suit appeared inclined to go, too, in favour of the sons of Loyola, as the High Council of Brabant had already ordered proceedings to be taken against the perjured coachman. Indeed, it was also proposed to pro-

ceed summarily against the two Vianes and their associates; when suddenly, in May 1743, fifty out of the sixty Jesuit witnesses, driven into a corner by the Court of Law, declared that they had received money for their evidence, and that it was false. The leader of the sixty, by name Konisloe, who, with nine others, still adhered to his first assertion, was now subjected to torture, whereupon the whole web of villainy was revealed. The sentence against Konisloe and five other chief perjurers consisted in flogging, branding round the neck, and then ten years' imprisonment with hard labour, and, lastly, eternal banishment out of the town and its precincts. Two other guilty accomplices were condemned to be flogged and to be banished for life; and another two merely to be placed in the pillory. At the same time the High Council of Brabant ordered proceedings to be taken against Master Versin, the secretary of the Procurator-General, because he had likewise allowed himself to be bribed by the Jesuits, but he saved himself, together with some equally guilty associates, by flight, to which he was assisted by money from some unknown hand—undoubtedly that of the Jesuits.

It now seemed that the rightful case of the Vianes had won the victory, and everyone expected shortly a decree in their favour. But the sons of Loyola appealed to the Supreme Court of Brussels, and, supported by fresh evidence, demanded re-establishment in their former position. The Supreme Court, consisting for the most part of adherents to their Order, granted their petition, and the trial began afresh. At once every effort was made in order to get the judges to vote in their favour, and money and women played therein a principal part. Herr Rombault von Viane, on the other hand, was brought to extremities from the hitherto enormous costs of the suit, and could no longer compete against Jesuit influence. At length, in the summer of the year 1745, the case was ripe for judgment, and the Supreme Court decreed as follows:—

First. Rombault von Viane is declared arrested, as he has falsely represented that he was possessed of a treasure of coined and uncoined gold, as well as of rough diamonds and other precious stones, to the amount of 296,000 florins, and that he had committed this treasure to the Jesuit College, and more especially to Father Lutger Jansens. On account of the long

confinement, however, to which he has been subjected, as also of his former imbecility of mind, and other mitigating circumstances, he is released from arrest and condemned merely in law costs.

Second. The two prisoners Michael Valder, painter, and Jodocus Roos, formerly infantry officer, are to be considered convicted in that they gave false evidence against Father Jansens, and shall be flogged on the scaffold and then banished; their property also is to be forfeited to the State, after the deduction of legal expenses.

Thirdly and lastly. The prisoner Cauve, citizen of Brussels, is also declared to be guilty of having sworn a false oath against Father Jansens; but on account of his lengthened imprisonment, he is released from further imprisoment, and condemned merely in costs.

Thus ran the sentence of the Supreme Court of Brussels, and who can describe the joy of the Jesuits? They could now retain their booty, and had succeeded in legally justifying themselves besides! Nevertheless, it became at that time a proverb in Brabant, that one might as well throw one's money into the sea as entrust it to the Jesuits, for, with the exception of a few bigoted women, everyone was convinced of their villainy against the poor Rombault von Viane. But not only did the sons of Loyola know how to appropriate money entrusted to their keeping, their system of cheating extended itself much further, and they took possession of whatever they could lay their hands upon. Indeed, they showed such a degree of expertness in such matters, as one could hardly imagine; they were well up in the school of forgery, theft, and robbery, and many of them in this acquired actual perfection. Thus, to begin with a little example, they caused several very rich and, at the same time, very pious inhabitants of Bordeaux to make a large sarcophagus of pure silver in order to keep in it several relics upon the high altar of the principal church; the superior, Russow, in the night, substituting for the same a precisely similar one made of lead, which had a thin plate of silver over it, sold the silver one after having melted it, and thereby gained for the Order a hundred pounds of silver. Thus, too, the Fathers Cluniac and Marsan employed themselves for several years in the Jesuit College of Angoulême, in coining counterfeit money, for

which operation they made use of a cellar underneath, and their fellow brethren brought the same into circulation; as, however, in the year 1641, the affair got wind, the two Fathers above-named were transferred quickly to some distant college, and it was declared that they had, for their crime, been expelled from the Order, and it was not known where they had gone.

Again, King Philip III. of Spain gave permission to the sons of Loyola living in his kingdom, to coin the rough gold and silver that they obtained from America according to the usual standard, to the amount, indeed, of a million of piasters, in order that, with the profit thus obtained, they might be in a position to build a college in Malaga; the cunning Fathers, however, extended this permission to the extent of three millions, and the four-maravedi pieces which they coined were so bad that it gave rise to a general grumbling. It passed into a proverbial saying, if a dishonest debtor paid half to his creditors, "he had liquidated his debt with the maravedis of the Jesuits"; and ultimately it came to this, that the Government were compelled to lower the value of this denomination of coin, because no one would take them any longer. Again, in the year 1729, Father Dequet caused, arbitrarily, 101 pictures of great value to be removed out of the house of Monsieur Tardif, engineer and secretary of Marshal Bonfleur, in the same night on which the master of the house died; this was done by twelve shoe-blacks, brought together in great haste, such, indeed, being the hurry that one-and-twenty of the paintings were lost; when the police interfered he produced, in justification of his robbery, a piece of waste-paper, on which was written, "I present all my pictures to the novitiate of the Jesuits in Paris, out of regard for my friend Father Dequet, who may cause the same to be removed at once. May 20th, 1729. Tardif." But when this bit of waste-paper came to be more narrowly inspected, it became apparent that the scribbling thereon had been made by Dequet himself, and the police authorities consequently ordered the immediate restoration of the pictures by the Jesuits of the novitiate of Paris, who were compelled to make compensation for those which had been lost—a decision which was received with deafening applause by the public there assembled.

Once more, the sons of Ignatius played a little game in St. Fé, not far from Granada in Spain, by means of a contrivance

which would have done honour to the most cunning swindler, and on that account I cannot pass it over in silence. The inhabitants of St. Fé, so far back as the 15th century, had obtained, from the royal pair Ferdinand and Isabella, the right to conduct a canal from the river Genil, and this canal was for them of incalculable value, as it served for the irrigation of their lands, which would otherwise have yielded no produce. Now, it so happened that the sons of Loyola had also, in the 17th century, acquired a large piece of land in the immediate neighbourhood for quite a ridiculous price, as this land possessed no water right, and was, consequently, dry during the summer time; and one knows what a rainless summer in Granada means. On this account they made strenuous exertions to be allowed to participate in the privilege as regards the water permitted to the inhabitants of St. Fé, and they urged to the utmost in order to obtain this liberty. The St. Féans did not, however, at all allow themselves to be talked over, as they were unable to spare even the smallest portion of their water without inflicting the greatest injury upon themselves; and at length the sons of Loyola perceived that they could not prevail in a friendly way, and by persuasion, in arranging the affair.

Father Fonuca, the rector of the college of Granada, thereupon resolved to take a daring course, and caused a lay brother, who was well skilled in architecture, to build quite quietly a complete mill. That is to say, the individual parts of the same were prepared, as, for instance, the beams, wheels, mill-stones, and all other requisites; these were so excellently fitted, that the erection of the whole work could be effected in the course of a few hours. The builder at length completed his preparations, and now everything, such as the woodwork, the stones, and other requisites, was loaded, one fine evening, on carts, in order to convey them to a certain spot where the property of the Jesuits nearly abutted on the irrigation canal. Having arrived there, immediately Father Fonuca, with the aid of his carpenters, proceeded with the erection of the mill, while he directed the labourers, who were waiting in readiness from the neighbouring farm belonging to the Jesuits, to dig a ditch up to the irrigation canal, in order that the mill might be supplied with water. Within a few hours all was done, and at the break of day the mill machinery rattled as lustily as if it had itself a pleasure in

its existence. Thereupon a notary who accompanied him, and who was well paid for his trouble, produced an instrument wherein it was stated how he had seen the said mill grinding upon the land belonging to the Jesuits, without a single objection; and when the instrument was ready, and had obtained the signatures of more than twenty eye-witnesses, Father Fonuca put it in his pocket with a triumphant smile, as he thought, "Who can now be in a position to deprive us of our mill, and if none can do this, who can take away from us the mill-ditch, with which we shall be enabled to convert our unfruitful lands into a charming settlement?"

His rejoicing, however, came a little too soon, as, hardly had the inhabitants of St. Fé been informed of what had taken place in the night, when, under the command of their provost, Thomas Muros, a man as brave as he was sagacious, they attacked the mill, pulled it completely down, and filled up the mill-ditch, stamping it down so firmly that the water again took its own course. As a matter of course, the Jesuits made a complaint to the administration of justice at Granada, laying before the same the document wherein the quiet possession of their mill was testified to, and sure enough the law court, the majority of whose members stood on their side, not only admitted the justice of the complaint, but also forthwith ordered the leaders of those concerned in the work of destruction to be put in prison. The trial thus appeared to take a very favourable turn for the sons of Loyola, and as they spared no money in order to win over the judges to their side, the inhabitants of St. Fé were within an ace of being condemned to re-build the mill at their own cost. This, however, was prevented by the most respectable amongst the judges of the law court, the equally wise and upright Don Paul Basquez de Aguilar, who was completely proof against all attempts at bribery, and upon his eloquent exposition of the true facts of the case—an exposition which in the clearest manner proved the right of the inhabitants of St. Fé, as well as the thievish mode of proceeding of the sons of Loyola—no one of his colleagues dared to express a contrary opinion. Consequently, on the motion of Aguilar, the complaint of the Jesuits was unanimously rejected, and the imprisoned St. Féans immediately obtained their liberty. The sons of Loyola, too, took good care not again to raise any claim to the

said irrigation works, and the most sensible amongst them admitted even as much as that, if the whole history of the affair came before the public, there could be no question of its annihilating all belief among the people as to the piety of the fraternity.

I could relate dozens of similar stories. In order, however, not to tire the reader, I would rather now leave these alone. Of such there exist not merely a few hundreds, but tens of hundreds, indeed, hundreds of thousands, if not even still more! It behoves me, then, from a fear of being guilty of too great prolixity, to make a selection, and I shall therefore content myself with the description of three wholesale robberies, of which each one exceeds the other in magnitude.

But to begin. In the first decade of the 18th century an old sailor settled in Nantes; his name was Grillet, and his family consisted of a grown-up daughter, who formerly, as long as her father was at sea, had lived at Orleans with her mother, now deceased. The sailor, to all appearance, was very poor, and for this reason performed the most menial offices in order to gain at least a little. The daughter, on her part, too, made herself useful as a washerwoman, and from morning till evening was never idle. They thus went on well for several years, and, as they were no burden to the town, no one took any particular notice of them. In the year 1713, the elder Grillet began to fall sick, and as his life soon came to be considered in danger, the daughter, as a matter of course, now looked about for a Father Confessor. Her choice fell upon Father Drouet, one of the most prominent among the Jesuit Fathers of the town, and the same, in fact, undertook the post, although not without long resistance, as old Grillet was considered to be very poor, as before said, and for the souls of the poor the sons of Loyola never troubled themselves much. Drouet now visited his new confessant from time to time, and these visits were always very important, because the old sick man, who was unable to leave his bed, lay almost unconsoled in his solitude; while the daughter could not remain in the house, because she otherwise would not have earned the necessary money for their sustenance. Nevertheless, the Father did not give by any means frequent calls, and the few times that he did come he cut matters as short as possible,

without doubt because the poverty of the neighbourhood and the ill-odour of the poor creature disgusted him. He came, now, one day at an unexpected time, and greatly to his astonishment found old Grillet out of his bed sitting upon the ground. But his amazement was vastly increased as, silently approaching from behind, he found what the old man was occupied in doing. The latter had a chest, which the Father had previously often remarked under the bed; this was standing open before him, while he was rummaging about the contents of the same with both his hands. Of what, then, did the contents consist? Nothing else than heavy gold pieces, the number of which might amount, indeed, to as much as sixty thousand. Only imagine such a sight in a room like a beggar's dwelling! Only fancy such riches with a man languishing in misery! There was good ground here, indeed, for the Father to be quite beside himself with amazement; on the other hand, there was sufficient ground for old Grillet to have had a stroke of apoplexy from terror, as he caught sight of the Father, for he had up to this time initiated no one into the secret of his riches, and had only allowed himself a sight of his treasure when he knew that he was quite alone. Before everything, the Father was now desirous to know from what source these riches had come, and he presently made out that Grillet, in former times, had been the captain of a piratical ship, by which he had rendered the bays of the Pacific Ocean unsafe. Curiosity now impelled the Father to make still more minute inquiries as to how these riches had been derived, and he did not rest until he had made certain, by himself counting them over twice, that the gold pieces amounted to not less than sixty thousand. Now, however, the thought distressed him as to whether the old man, whose mind began to be as infirm as his body, had enlightened any third person with the secret of the treasure in question, and he conjured the same most solemnly to keep it from everyone most zealously, and even from his own daughter. The old man promised this with a solemn oath, and, being reassured as to this, the Father took his departure, under the firm conviction that the other would keep his word, owing to the avarice with which he watched over his treasure. He, indeed, fulfilled his promise, but nevertheless, as it afterwards turned out, there was some other people who became aware of the circumstance, in the shape of a

poor couple who inhabited the adjoining apartment to that of Grillet, and who had seen and heard everything that had passed, through a crack in the wall. But as these two, the man and his wife, whether owing to fear or from some other intention, did not allow a single word to escape them to indicate that they were aware of the secret, the Father, of course, could have no conception of this, and remained under the firm conviction that no one but the sick old man and himself knew anything respecting the contents of the wooden chest under the bed.

But what was to be done now? This much was firmly resolved upon by the true son of Loyola, that the contents of the said chest must become the property of the Society of Jesus; but as to how this was to be accomplished, he for some time remained in doubt, and he tried first in one way and then in another.

During the many hours which he now spent daily with the sick man, he endeavoured to persuade the latter that it was not at all safe to keep such a large amount of gold in such a poor house as that occupied by Grillet, and that it would be much more prudent to have it transported into the Jesuit college, where it could be better taken care of. As, however, Grillet showed himself to be vehemently opposed to this, or to allow himself to be ever separated from his treasure, the idea was abandoned, and some other plan substituted. At length, after long consideration, the following scheme was concocted. The Father kept constantly assuring the penitent that the many sins which he had committed as pirate could not be expiated by the ordinary means of masses for the soul and such-like things, but that his soul must remain eternally ruined unless he were to die in the habit of a Jesuit. The sons of Loyola had alone the privilege of being at once translated into heaven, after leaving this world, for whenever a Jesuit was on the point of death Christ Himself regularly came to his dying bed, and, in spite of all the devils, conducted the soul Himself to the gates of Paradise. Consequently, there was nothing else for Grillet to do but to join the Society of Jesus, and he, the Father, desired to be serviceable to him in this respect as a particular favour. To such-like and similar representations had the former pirate to listen, almost hour by hour; and what could be more natural than that he should give credence to these words, and that at

length he should earnestly implore Father Drouet to delay no longer his transfer into the novitiate of the Jesuits? The Father consented thereto, and one evening as the daughter returned home from her work, she found, to her great astonishment—for all had been carried on secretly—that her father, with his chest, had disappeared, without anything having been left to indicate what had become of him. She had not, however, to remain long in uncertainty, as it was related to her by the neighbours that her father had been conveyed away in a litter, and the heavy chest in a cart. Moreover, in the dead of night, the neighbouring pair who occupied the adjoining apartment came in, and now the poor daughter was, for the first time, informed of the whole secret, as to which she had hitherto not had the slightest conception. The first thing to be done next morning was for her to seek out Father Drouet in the Jesuit college. She was referred to the novitiate, and she hastened thither. As she came there, however, she found the sons of Loyola there present in the greatest consternation, as old Grillet had just departed this life, even before they had been able to carry out the ceremony of his reception among the novices. The daughter at once demanded the property left by her father, more especially the heavy chest with its contents; but they shortly showed her the door. Thereupon she addressed herself, on the advice of acquaintances, to an honest advocate, and he threatened Father Drouet and his associates with a criminal complaint. At the same time, he made his client aware that two things were wanting for the gaining of the trial, firstly, the necessary means of proof, because the married pair who had seen all were not in the apartment itself, but in the neighbouring one; and, secondly, what was still more necessary, money for carrying on the suit. She ought, therefore, he added with a good intention, submit to a moderate compromise rather than stake all, as the Jesuits would employ all their influence and their enormous wealth in order to bring the matter to a victorious issue. This advice was good, and the poor washerwoman determined to follow it. Therefore, immediately when Father Guimont was sent to her in order to negotiate amicably with her, she contented herself with a sum of acquittance of 4,000 francs, and consequently the whole affair was an end. Nevertheless, the matter came to be so notorious, all agreeing as to the dis-

graceful nature of the transaction, that the law authorities of the town, who were conversant with the affair, expressed an unreserved opinion in regard to this shameful robbery on the part of the sons of Loyola.

There was yet a far more magnificent robbery that the Jesuits perpetrated, as regards the inheritance of Ambrose Guy, and this is, perhaps, the most extraordinary swindling story which ever came before the civilised world. The said Ambrose, born at Apt in Provence, in the year 1613, after arriving at man's estate, settled at Marseilles as a pastrycook, and united himself in marriage, in the year 1640, with Anna Roux, who in due course presented him with two girls. Having become a widower at the end of twenty years, he espoused his eldest daughter to Johann Baptist Jourdan, placed his second daughter with the married couple, and left France in order to prosecute his trade in the French West Indian Islands. However, he never went to the West Indies, but, on the other hand, having thought better about it, sailed for Brazil, and employed himself there in gold-digging and in search for precious stones, whereby, in the course of forty years, he amassed enormous riches. At the end of this time, that is to say, after he had attained the age of eighty-six years, the desire took him to see his native land and his family once more, and, consequently, in the beginning of the year 1701, he embarked with all his riches on board the ship *Phelipeaux*, Captain Beauchêne, for Europe. His possessions consisted of 90,000 pounds of gold in bars, a proportionate amount of silver, and eight chests full of precious stones, and other valuable property, amounting in all to not less than eight millions of French livres or francs. Having arrived in the roads of Rochelle, Guy embarked in another ship, bound for Brest, and here he landed in August 1701, in a rather indifferent state of health, seeing that, at his advanced time of life, the sea voyage did him no good. He begged to be taken to a respectable hotel, and was conducted, with all his valuable things, to a host of the name of Guimar, whose inn was situated on the Quay Recouvrance. As soon, however, as he had got into his apartment there, he sent for the rector of the Brest Jesuit college, and caused him to be informed that he had to deliver to him letters from the sons of Loyola stationed near the Amazon river in Brazil; he, besides, made request for a Father who might dispense to him the con-

solations of religion, as he felt himself to be very weak, and, very possibly he had nearly come to the end of his career. The rector at once sent to the hotel in order to obtain possession of the letters, without paying any particular regard to the old man, as at that time he knew nothing further about him. On learning, however, from the letters, as to the enormously rich property he had with him, the pious Father at once assembled the rest of the members of the college, and took counsel with them as to what could best be done for the benefit of the Society in this extraordinary case. It was then determined that Father Chauvel should be sent as Confessor to Ambrose Guy, and the Jesuits knew perfectly well why they did this. Was not this Father one of the most experienced and skilled amongst them, who understood how to bend by his eloquence the hearts of his confessants exactly according to his wishes, but also, at the same time, a man of such a true-hearted appearance, that one would have thought it quite impossible he could lend himself to any dishonest transaction.

Chauvel did great honour to their choice, as we shall very soon see that Ambrose Guy, after the first couple of hours after he made his acquaintance, put his entire confidence in him. But there was nothing wonderful in this, as the Father by no means contented himself with merely consoling his confessant mentally and spiritually, but also showed himself so very solicitous as regards his bodily condition, as to administer to him, with his own hands, the medicines prescribed for him by the physicians. He did not rest, until Guy took possession of an isolated apartment at the back of the house, ostensibly because the noise in the front of the hotel exercised a detrimental effect on the nervous system of the patient; in truth, however, in order to cut him off as much as possible from all communication with the other inhabitants of the place.

This kind of game lasted for several days, and with every sunset the Father ventured to congratulate himself that he had gained new ground in the affections of his truly important confessant. In the course of a week, however, a sudden contretemps occurred which threatened to upset, at a blow, all the trouble hitherto taken by the cunning Loyolite. Ambrose Guy one morning, after a sleepless night, found himself most un

commonly weak, and on this account asked Father Chauvel, as soon as he had come into the apartment, to get him as quickly as possible a notary, with four witnesses, in order that he might be able to execute his will. The patient frequently spoke openly, indeed, of leaving a legacy to the Jesuit college at Brest; but, on the other hand, he was determined to bequeath the greater part of his possessions to his two daughters and their heirs, whoever they might be, and Chauvel at once perceived but too well that here all attempt to effect a change as to this resolution would be of no avail. After a couple of weeks, indeed, when the patient had become a little more pliant, and had been still more worked upon in a Jesuitical sense, and perhaps brought to the conviction that his daughters had long since died without leaving any descendants, it was then hoped that he might be induced to bequeath everything to the Order of Jesus; but for the present this was totally impossible, owing to the obstinacy of the old man!

Yet, on this account, must all thought of securing the great inheritance be at once entirely given up? Must no attempt whatever be made to save, in one way or other, for the Order the many hundredweights of gold and silver bars, together with the eight chests of precious stones and other valuables—in other words, the eight millions bequeathed to the rightful heirs? The thought of this made the head of Father Chauvel much confused indeed, and one scheme drove out another. Still he had so little time for deliberation that he promised the patient to take care to fetch the notary and the four witnesses instantly, and, in fact, at once set out on his way to do so. Be it well understood, however, his path was not in the direction of the town, in order to fetch a man of law, but towards his college, in order to consult over the matter with his brethren. The time pressed frightfully, and it was necessary to come to a quick decision, for otherwise the patient was in such a condition that he might call for a third party to procure the execution of the wished-for testament.

But when had it been that the right way was not forthcoming with the sons of Loyola whenever anything could be got for their advantage? And on this occasion a resolution was formed that exceeded everything in infamy, and must be classed in the category of the vilest swindling. The gardener of their

college—quite a thorough-going fellow, who could readily play any part required of him, having served formerly as writer in a notary's office for a couple of years—was at once dressed up as a notary, and he was minutely instructed in what he had to do. Four of the Jesuits, too, transformed themselves into worthy citizens of the town of Brest, in order to accompany the notary as witnesses. With these five Father Chauvel proceeded in a covered bark—not wishing to arouse the curiosity of the Brest people—to Quay Recouvrance, and brought them, without anyone talking about the matter, or, indeed, as he presumed, anyone having seen anything of it, into the back chamber of Ambrose Guy, who showed himself not a little pleased at their arrival. All now went on satisfactorily as to the business of the will-making, and the pretended notary, with the greatest formality and with the most complete dignity, put down upon paper what was required of him by the patient. When the testament was now ready and properly drawn up in the usual form, in order that it might not be disputed by anyone, it was signed by the four so-called citizen witnesses, while the gardener, or—as he gave himself out to be—the notary, thereupon took the document, to be deposited at the office of the town hall. He did not, of course, convey it there, but, on the contrary, to the Jesuit college, where the four witnesses also followed him.

Ambrose Guy, then, had made a will, and still had not made one; that is to say, he had made a will, according to his idea properly executed, while it was totally invalid and utterly worthless—as good, indeed, as none at all. He was under the belief, then, that his will lay at the town hall, and would be, after his death, opened by the authorities and carried into effect. In truth, however, no one was aware of its existence, except the sons of Loyola, or, rather, the latter were under the conviction that no one knew anything about it, and acted accordingly. With this heroic little document the matter, however, was only half done. What was required, if the sons of Loyola were to succeed in appropriating the whole of Ambrose Guy's effects, was to persuade the old man to transfer himself and his treasure into the Jesuit college. Were he brought thither, then might his property be taken possession of immediately after his death, before any could get news of the old man's decease having taken place. Were he not brought thither, was it not

to be feared that the secular authorities might put everything under their seal, and so retain it until it could be ascertained whether he had any rightful heirs or not? It was requisite, then, at any price, to bring about the removal, and, thanks to the persuasive powers of Father Chauvel, this was effected. The Father chattingly represented to the old man, with a pleasing demeanour, how it was quite impossible to bestow upon him the proper bodily and spiritual care that was necessary in such an hotel as that in which he was lodging, as there was much too great a noise going on there, and a locality where sailors, carters, and other people of a similar description frequented, was not at all suitable for a man such as Ambrose Guy; on the other hand, the sons of Loyola would prize it as the greatest honour to give him shelter in their college, and would devote themselves to him day and night with such zeal that he could wish for nothing better. Moreover, the riches which he had with him would be much more secure in the college than in a public-house, which might possibly be frequented by disguised thieves and robbers; and, finally, it had to be considered that, in the event of his sudden death, the State authorities, in the person of a rascally financial fellow, might pounce upon the effects he left behind and make the best of it for himself.

Similar things had happened before, and just at the present time the Intendant of Brittany did not stand exactly in the highest repute, while, on the other hand, the sons of Loyola, with their accustomed probity and honesty, would watch over the treasure, and, completely independent of all divisional authorities, devote themselves to its safe custody. Good Father Chauvel employed such, and similar other persuasive words, and Ambrose Guy, who had lived for forty years in a land where the sons of Loyola were held in the highest estimation, could not do otherwise than accept, with the greatest thankfulness, the offers made to him. Consequently, one evening the Father, accompanied by several servants and lay brethren, landed from a sloop at the Quay Recouvrance, and, an hour later, Ambrose Guy was safely conveyed to the Jesuit College with all his gold and other property. What good fortune was this, indeed! There could now, be nothing more to fear as to the old man confiding anything whatever to the host or to any third person.

Especially there was no danger as to the parson making use of his privilege to visit the dying man, and, by means of confession, becoming acquainted with everything which it had been sought carefully to conceal. No; Ambrose now belonged entirely to the sons of Loyola, and they alone knew exactly the true state of his property; they alone had this same under lock and key. When this was the case, what occasion was there any longer for them to give themselves any further trouble about the patient? Where was there now any more need for tender solicitude concerning him, or why should there be a physician who might possibly be able to discover something from the patient? The old man should now die, and as soon as possible! Consequently, they gave themselves no further trouble about him, but abandoned him to his pains and his misery, without administering to him the requisite medicine. Was there any wonder then that his life was not prolonged many days? Was there any wonder that he at length breathed his last with a curse against the Jesuits? Already, a few hours after his death, the report was spread abroad that the stranger who had been taken away from Guimar's Hotel during the night-time, had been conveyed into their college; and this report reached the parson of the church diocese of St. Louis, to which the Quay Recouvrance belonged, and upon this report he now demanded the corpse and the property he had left. The Jesuits refused to comply with this demand, declaring that they themselves would undertake to bury him; and, as regards his property, that it was hardly sufficient to cover the expenses which they had incurred for the patient's cure. With this, however, the parson, whose name was Raignaut, was not satisfied, but he made a complaint to the police; and now the Fathers, so far at least yielded, that they placed the corpse before the College gate. Thence the parson took it, and had it honestly buried in the Hospital churchyard of St. Louis; the expenses of the funeral, however, were not remitted to him, as the sons of Loyola repeated their declaration that the deceased had left as good as nothing, as to which assertion there lay no ground for any sufficient doubt. For this reason the police authorities made no further inquires as to the deceased, or, indeed, as to any more minute particulars regarding him, and as day after day no relation came forward to claim what he had left, the Jesuits dared to hope confidently

that the whole robbery would remain undiscovered. Still, wonderful to say, immediately after the funeral of Ambrose Guy, reports began to be circulated over the town of Brest, that there had been enormous riches in the old man's possession, and it was even whispered about, indeed, as to what the same comprised. Also strong confirmation of these said rumours was found in the circumstance that during the years following the college had made large purchases of estates, and, besides, lent out large sums at interest. The jewel-dealers of the neighbouring large towns, too, said that many very costly precious stones coming from the Jesuit College in Brest had been priced by them, and regarding other valuables it became known that they had been forwarded to a man in Paris. Thus it could not fail to be that by degrees the statement regarding the fabulous treasures which Ambrose Guy had left behind him penetrated far beyond the town of Brest, and, at length, the affair was talked about even in the town of Marseilles. Here, however, there resided a granddaughter of Ambrose Guy, Franziska Jourdan by name, married to Esprit Beranger, and one might easily imagine what effect these reports must have had on the minds of the pair.

Summoned by advocates, whom he had for this reason consulted, Beranger started for Brest in the beginning of the year 1715, in order to make more particular inquiries into the matter, and, as he went very cautiously to work, and was supported besides by an excellent legal friend, he succeeded, in a quiet way, in making himself acquainted with almost all the particulars that I have mentioned above. Particularly he found out the people who had witnessed the disembarkation of Ambrose Guy and his heavy effects, and had lived with him in Guimar's Hotel; and others, again, former servants of Guimar, testified to him that the deceased Ambrose had desired to make a will, and also that the gardener of the Jesuit College, whom they knew very well, had, disguised as a notary, prepared this will. Lastly, he ascertained, for a certainty, as to how and by whom his wife's grandfather, with all his treasures, had been conveyed into the Jesuit College, and, consequently, the whole shameful deed of the sons of Loyola became now as clear as daylight. On this account Beranger, on behalf of his wife, demanded from the Brest College the inheritance belonging to her; and, as he was

refused, he accused the Jesuits, on the 11th of August 1715, before the Court of Justice of Brest.

In this manner arose the great scandal trial which, under the name of the "Cause célèbre d'Ambrosius Guy," occasioned a great sensation, not only in France, but among all civilised peoples throughout the world; and the Society of Jesus, which made the affair of the College of Brest their own, proved thereby afresh how well it understood to transform the most crying injustice into a legal right. They acted in precisely the same way as in regard to the shameful transaction of Rombault von Viane, and in the Girard-Cadière case, and neither money nor influence were wanting in order to bring over the judges to their side. Especially they set about, with success, causing dangerous witnesses to disappear, and Beranger himself found that his life was more than once placed in danger by a thrust from the dagger of a hired assassin. In short, after the lapse of two years, however right his case appeared to all impartial people, the plaintiff was non-suited by the Law Court of Brest, and as he possessed no more means to prosecute the matter in a higher court, there remained nothing else for him to do but to betake himself back again to Marseilles. Still, with this the celebrated cause did not terminate. Convinced, on the other hand, that the Court of Brest, by reason of Jesuit money, had decreed an erroneous sentence, and fired, at the same time, by the cry of indignation which rang throughout the whole of France, Chancellor d'Argeausseau, the Procurator-General of the Parliament of Rennes, the capital of Brittany, ordered the first Parliamentary Councillor to bring the matter before the said Parliament; and the latter formed a resolution, on the 7th of March 1718, to despatch the First Councillor to Brest, in order to inform himself respecting the nature of the case. Thereupon the sons of Loyola experienced a deadly panic, as, if the investigation were to be conducted with impartiality, their villainy must then be made apparent; but they at once resolved to appeal to the council of the King, because they possessed, indeed, in d'Argenson, Keeper of the Great Seal, an especially good friend; they were successful, too, in getting a decree, dated 16th February 1719, which prohibited the Parliament of Rennes from carrying out its intended resolution.

The case once more languished, when Esprit Beranger,

supported by the other descendants of Ambrose Guy, came into some pecuniary means, and at once addressed himself, in the year 1723, to the Parliament of Brittany with a petition that the matter in dispute might again be taken up. The latter was ready to meet his wishes; still, the Jesuits again appealed, for a second time, to the council of the King, and the new Keeper of the Great Seal, d'Armenonville, who had in the interim succeeded to the position of d'Argenson, was not less agreeable than Cardinal Fleury, the all-powerful minister of Louis XV., that the Court of Justice of Quimper, the second capital of Brittany, should be appointed as the Court of revision. Everyone might now easily predict how the case would turn out, as the members were all among the most intimate friends of the Order of Jesus; and, consequently, it would have been regarded as a wonder if the sentence of the Court were not given in favour of the Jesuits. The decree, indeed, had not long to be waited for, and the Jesuits broke out into a perfect storm of triumph, holding the view that the case had now been ended for ever. In this, however, they were mistaken.

In the year 1735, Father Chauvel, who had been the life and soul of all the villainous manœuvres, was transferred, on account of his great age, to the profess-house of La Flèche, that he might there end his days in all comfort, the atmosphere being much milder; in this his solitude his conscience was suddenly awakened, and he regarded with terror the punishments which awaited him in the next world for his infamous deeds. He was anxious to make compensation for them as far as could be done, but he was always too much watched, so that he might not have an opportunity of making a confession before the Law Court. Indeed, he might be certain of meeting with death whenever he took the first step to advance this object; consequently, there remained for him nothing else to do but to commit to paper the whole course of the affair. He prepared, therefore, a complete inventory of all the riches which Ambrose Guy had possessed, and described everything in detail, from the time they had set about conveying him into the Jesuit College. This autograph testamentary document he entrusted, well sealed, to a secular friend upon whom he could depend, and this latter promised him that it should not be made any use of until he had closed his eyes. Scarcely was Chauvel dead, than the friend hastened to

Marshall d'Estnée, with whom he was well acquainted, who in turn handed over the packet to King Louis XV. The King read it with astonishment, and, however favourable he had hitherto been towards the sons of Loyola, he could hardly restrain his indignation on this occasion. He instantly issued an order to the Jesuit College at Brest, wherein he charged the same either to restore to the heirs of Ambrose Guy the things they had stolen, or to pay over to them 8,000,000 francs; and this order was couched in such categorical language that the Jesuits were seized with the greatest consternation. Luckily for them, Louis XV. was one of the most lazy, most stupid, and most profligate of any rulers France ever had, and it was for them still greater luck that he allowed himself to be governed by the above-mentioned Cardinal Fleury, the friend of the Order of Jesus. The Cardinal, therefore, induced the King to allow the Jesuits time to collect the large sum, and they employed this interval in order to come to favourable terms with the heirs of Guy. That is to say, instead of 8,000,000, they paid them only one half, or, as stated by other accounts, only 200,000 francs; and thus was the whole affair arranged to the enormous advantage of the Society of Jesus. In the eyes of the world, however, this fraternity suffered a shock which for ever undermined their existence, and estranged them, as well, from many of those who had hitherto been their best friends.

The third story of Jesuit robbery which I have to relate to the reader, runs as follows.

In the middle of the 17th century, the Jesuit College at San Herminigilde, in Seville, got into difficulties, and the High Council of Castille at once commissioned the President of the Government of Seville, by name Don Juan de Santalicés-Guevara, to sequestrate the estates and revenues of the College for the satisfaction of the creditors, and also especially to institute an accurate investigation of the property belonging thereto. In accordance with this order, Don Santelicés at once seized upon all the books, accounts, and manuscripts of the Seville Jesuits, and by this opportunity found a manuscript which had for its title *Liber Piorum Secretorum Operum*, which means "The book of secret good works." The title took his fancy, and he read it through carefully; he found, however, nothing suspicious until he came upon a page containing the following words:

"One must temporize with Don Rodrigo Barba Cabenza de Vaca until after the death of the beneficiary, Juan Segnero de Velasco; so, too, on his death, one must slam the door in the face of Don Rodrigo Barba, as if one had never had anything to do with him." Further on was to be found an observation to the following effect: "No one except the Bailiff, the Rector, the Provincial, and the Counsellors of the Province, shall have any knowledge either of this book or of the estates and revenues of the College." It was, therefore, clear that there was something here treated of, which was not suitable for the ears of everyone, and, proceeding on this idea, Santelicés required the former Procurator of the College, Father André de Villar, as well as Don Rodrigo Barba and Don Juan Segnero de Velasco, to come before him, each separately, in order to interrogate them on their oath. Don Rodrigo at once stated what he knew of the matter, but he was not properly acquainted with the secret itself. The other two, on the other hand, were perfectly cognizant thereof, and, on this account, faltered in their assertions. All, at length, however, confessed, and the story ran thus:—

Nine-and-thirty years previous to that time a noble gentleman of the name of Juan de Monsalve returned to Seville from the West Indies, where he had lived for a long time, and brought with him great riches. He now, as a matter of course, found many good friends, for he had remained a bachelor during all his days, and was thus free to dispose of his property; and this fact, also, the Jesuits of the College of San Hermenigilde especially treasured up in secret. Still, they took good care not to allow their views to become too apparent, but, on the contrary, assumed the air of disinterestedness, in order all the better to gain the confidence of Monsieur de Monsalve. It now happened, after some years had quietly elapsed, that a woman came to Seville and desired to be recognised by the old rich gentleman as his daughter. He had, affirmed the individual in question, begotten her previous to his marriage with her mother. This relationship had, however, latterly become legitimate, as her mother had been secretly married to him before his departure for the West Indies, and, on this account, she regarded herself, with every justification, as his legitimate child, as well as the future heiress of all his possessions.

This was pretty well what the damsel asserted, and in con-

firmation of the same she had brought with her several papers, bearing external evidence which showed that her tale could not be altogether rejected. Juan de Monsalve, on the other hand, repudiated most distinctly all and every relationship with the mother of the woman, and declared the latter to be an arrant cheat. With this, however, the affair, as one might imagine, did not come to an end, but the person lodged a complaint, and a law-suit was the result, which caused no small noise in the town, more especially, indeed, as it could not be predicted what would be the end thereof, since many people, among whom were some, indeed, learned in the law, affirmed the right to be on the side of the female. Juan de Monsalve was greatly incensed at this, he having already disposed of his future succession in favour of his two nephews, the sons of his deceased sister, and this vexation occasioned him a tedious sickness, of which he afterwards, in fact, died. During his illness, however, he was in frequent communication with a Jesuit from the College of San Herminigilde, who gave him advice as to how he might be able to defeat the intentions of the detested woman, at least in regard to her disgraceful conduct, in desiring, at any price, to fasten her paternity upon him, although he very well knew that such was by no means the case.

And in what, now, did this advice consist? Simply in this, that the patient should, quite in a general way, so that no one should know anything about it, convert into ready coin all his property, so far, that is, as it did not consist of immovable estates, and that this cash should be entrusted to the Jesuit College.

"Should, then, the law-suit, after the death of Juan de Monsalve, terminate in favour of the woman, then certainly the landed estates would fall to the same; as to the sums of money, on the other hand, secretly deposited with the Jesuits, she would by no means obtain possession of them, as she would know nothing thereof, while the Jesuits would at once hand over these sums to the two nephews, and the latter would thereby be irrevocably assured, in any case, of at least part of the inheritance."

Such was the advice given by the Jesuit to his confessant, who went into the thing most heartily. He only, however, made the further condition that, in the event of the trial terminating

favourably, the younger of his two nephews, called Don Rodrigo Barba Cabenza de Vaca, should succeed to the whole of the ready money, while the elder one, in this case, would become heir to the whole of the landed property by right of primogeniture. After, now, that all this had been regulated in the aforesaid manner, Juan de Monsalve instantly alienated all his movable property, and the Jesuits assisted him in this with such skill that, besides themselves, not a single soul in all Seville was aware of what had happened. The sum now derived from this sale, with the whole of the capital of which he had previously been possessed, amounting in all to 55,000 heavy pistoles, he at once handed over to the Rector of the College for safe keeping; and on this occasion no one was present, with the exception of a distant cousin of his of the name of Juan Segnero de Velasco, who had long before given over his whole property to the College, and thereby derived from it a yearly benefice, or pension, of several hundred pistoles. Not long after the accomplishment of this act, Juan de Monsalve died, and the eldest of his nephews now bestirred himself to bring the impending suit to a favourable termination. He succeeded in this with but little trouble, as the female plaintiff was but too well aware that she was in the wrong, and showed herself, on that account, greatly satisfied with an acquittance to the amount of 10,000 ducats.

Consequently the so-called patrimony by right of primogeniture—that is to say, the whole of the landed estates which old Monsalve possessed—fell into the hands of the rightful heir without any further difficulty, and it was now obligatory for the Rector of the Jesuit College to pay over to the younger nephew the 55,000 heavy pistoles. But how could it ever be expected from a Jesuit that he should again restore anything of which he had once obtained possession? And then, indeed, such a colossal property of more than three millions of francs—no, that could not be under any circumstances! Still, it was true there existed, besides the sons of Loyola, yet another person who was aware of the secret, and that was the beneficiary Juan Segnero de Velasco; but he, indeed, was already a weak old man, who was animated with the most profound veneration towards the Order of Jesus, and could, moreover, on that account be very easily brought to silence. So he was threatened with the with-

drawal of his pension in the event of a single word about the matter escaping from him. In fact, Juan Segnero readily promised at once to preserve the most perfect and profound silence, during his whole existence; he only begged that his cousin, Don Rodrigo Barba Cabenza de Vaca, should not be allowed to perish from hunger, and it was requisite for the sons of Loyola to pay some regard, good or bad, to this petition.

Consequently, they accorded to the cavalier named a yearly gratuity of 300 pistoles, giving out that this was derived from a fund which had been instituted by a forefather of Don Rodrigo for poor nobility; they made it, however, clearly to be understood that this gratuity was only to be continued payable as long as Juan Segnero was alive, and this accounted for the words "one must temporise with Don Rodrigo Barba Cabenza de Vaca, until after the death of the beneficiary Juan Segnero de Velasco." Still, the said Segnero did them the favour of not dying for nine-and-thirty long years—he was himself, at the discovery of this crime, a man of ninety years of age, and still robust—and, consequently, the Jesuits had to pay, by degrees, to Don Rodrigo nine-and-thirty times 300 pistoles. To do this, however, they had taken nine-and-thirty times the interest of 4,250 pistoles, which, with the original capital appropriated by them, represented the enormous sum of 240,000 pistoles. A truly colossal theft, indeed, exceeding even that of Ambrose Guy! A theft, besides, which could never be completely compensated for, as, although the High Council of Castille, to whom Don Juan de Santilicés at once referred the business, ordered Don Rodrigo Barba Cabenza de Vaca to be completely indemnified, it afterwards turned out that the property of the College of Herminigilde came far short of the amount, and, consequently, Don Rodrigo had to be content with only a part of the whole. Anything better than nothing, however, and, besides, he had to be thankful for the accident by which this piece of knavery had been discovered.

From the foregoing it will be perceived how well the sons of Loyola understood the art of thieving and robbery from confiding mankind, and it must occur to many who read of these evil deeds that the pious Fathers regarded their confessants as lemons, whose juice could be utilised only by squeezing them. It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that the

Jesuits confined themselves, in their system of robbery, to their confessants merely, as has been related, or only among the laity. No; they extended the same to their colleges, the body of the clergy, and especially nuns and monks were not secure from their thievish attacks. Indeed, one might boldly assert that they directed their attention, in this respect, even more to their *confrères* than to the non-tonsured portion of mankind, and when it was their will and pleasure all cloisters and abbacies might be regarded by them as sources of income to their colleges and educational institutions. Thus, for example, under their General Laynez, they knew how to flatter Pope Paul IV. so well that the latter handed over to them a large cloister in Rome, founded by the Marchioness Orsini, niece of Pope Paul IV., and the sons of Loyola triumphantly took possession of the same in the year 1560, after they had driven away, without further ado, the former occupants, and had them dispersed among other female cloisters.

Less forcible but all the more villainous was the conduct of the sons of Loyola towards the Ursulines of Macon in France, which, according to the legal reports, was as follows:—Late in the summer of 1649, Father Forget, Rector of the Jesuit College of Metz, was put in possession of the information that the Ursulines of Macon contemplated founding a branch of their cloister in Metz, and upon this news he determined to foist upon them a house belonging to the College in that town. The place was small, and the building was in such bad condition, that the Jesuits derived from the same no more than 150 francs of yearly rent. There was, then, no wonder that they gladly relinquished it. But they desired not only to part with it, but also to obtain a good price for the same, and with this object something of deceit was more or less required. One among them, a skilled mechanic, drew an elegant plan, at the desire of the Rector, in which the house appeared to be in the best condition, being from the ground-floor to the roof beautifully sculptured and ornamented, and surrounded by a large fresh-looking garden full of flowers, in the thick brushwood of which a whole world of small birds sang and made their nests. In this plan appeared also a beautiful church with a Gothic belfry, and through the open window of the chief building one looked into large fine halls, dining-rooms and bed-rooms, as light and roomy as could be wished. In truth, however, the small miser-

able appurtenance was, as has been above indicated, falling to pieces, and to build for such a ruin an adjoining church, or even to form a place about it, was, indeed, ridiculous. Besides, it appeared very doubtful whether, owing to a slimy tank in the neighbourhood, it would be advisable to live in it; and the Jesuits had hitherto never been able to find a purchaser for the property, although they had offered the same frequently for little money. Nevertheless, at the end of August 1649, the worthy Father Forget boldly betook himself, with his beautiful plan in his pocket, to the Superior of the Ursulines of Macon, and contrived by fair words to make such an impression upon her, that, lending implicit faith to the worthy Father, and misled by the beautiful plan, she concluded a contract of purchase for 80,000 Metz francs, which was equal to 30,000 livres of Turnois. This occurred on the 6th September 1649, and the purchase-money was deposited on the 13th of December. This was done without the nuns having seen the tenement, and the Jesuits were delighted, as this sum exceeded the actual worth of the object sold more than fourfold. In the next spring, a deputation of the Ursulines of Macon appeared in Metz, in order to take possession of the charming house; but, heaven help us, how were they undeceived! The place was, indeed, but a miserable wretched barrack, which could never be inhabited, and the plan laid before the nuns of the Holy Ursula was thus a fraudulent and deliberate deceit. Experts were now called upon to estimate the true value, and those stated it, at the most, to be worth only 6,000 livres Tournois. There was now, consequently, a question of an overreaching of the grossest description, and on this ground the Superior of the Ursulines at once demanded the cancelment of the previous purchase contract. To this, however, Father Forget would not accede at any price, and he was supported therein by the Provincial, Thomas le Blanc, in the name of the whole Society of Jesus. The nuns were now plaintiffs, and a law-suit began, which lasted during eight years. The nuns had plainly the right on their side; but the Society of Jesus were in possession of money and of immeasurable influence. At length, on the 10th of May 1661, the Parliament of Metz, the last court of appeal, gave their decision: "The entire purchase contract is null and void, and the money deposited must be given back to the Ursulines; the latter, however, shall be bound to pay the

Jesuits 18,000 Metz francs instead of the original 80,000 for the house, in the case of the College being contented with this sum." The Parliament thereby acknowledged that the over-reaching was to the extent of three-fourths, amounting, namely, to 62,000 francs; and this constituted a regular swindle, on account of which any other Christians would have been condemned to ten years imprisonment in the house of correction. The Jesuits, however, escaped free, without any punishment whatever, as they belonged to a holy society which was held to be unimpeachable.

The sons of Loyola perpetrated a still more crying injustice, immediately at the commencement of their operations in Portugal, towards the brethren of the Holy Rochus, by which name a congregation of monks were known in that country; and in the perpetration of this injustice they were afterwards supported in the best manner, firstly by royalty, and subsequently by the Papal authority. In the year 1506, King Emanuel built a chapel in Lisbon, on a wonderfully beautiful situation, and gave it over to the congregation of monks which called itself "the Brotherhood of the Holy Rochus." As a matter of course, this present was conjoined with considerable revenues; more especially there accompanied the gift a large cloister building, along with a beautiful garden, which stood behind the House of God. This charming tenement, which the Rochus Brotherhood had possessed for several decades of years without any contention, excited from the commencement the envy of the Jesuits; and, while it was evident that they would only too soon become all-powerful in Portugal, they thus entertained hopes of being able to gain possession of it with ease, under one excuse or another. What was, then, the pretext of which they made use? Eh! they suddenly affirmed that they had been favoured by a secret revelation from God, enjoining them to build, on the spot where the Rochus chapel stood, a profess-house with the church belonging to it, and, as they could not dare to resist a divine revelation, they hoped that the Rochus Brotherhood would, without further ado, give up the said property to them. This, however, the latter were not at all inclined to do, but, on the other hand, they opined they had good grounds for doubting in respect to this presumed revelation; it was pointed out, too, that the Seventh Commandment runs thus:—"Thou shalt

not steal." This hint was much too plain for the Jesuits not to perceive that they would not be able to attain their end by fair means, and they, therefore, addressed themselves to King John III., who, as I have pointed out in the Third Book, had given himself over to them in slavish submission. The affair now took another turn, as a matter of course, as the weak and superstitious John would have considered it to be a crime to have any doubt about the said revelation, and would have at once certainly hunted the Rochus Brotherhood out of their possession had he not recollected that by so doing he was destroying the work of his father Emanuel. Consequently, it occurred to him to send Don Pedro Mascarenhas, a person of importance at his Court, in order to smooth the strife between them and the Jesuits; and this Mascarenhas, who was at the same time a zealous patron of the Order of Jesus, endeavoured by every means at his command to induce the said brethren to yield. They were, however, inexorable, and declared that they would not, under any circumstances, allow themselves to be robbed of their property, as the whole conduct of the Jesuits was nothing else than a miserable dissimulation in order to give cover to an act of theft. Upon this declaration, Mascarenhas allowed himself to be beguiled by the Jesuits to try an act of violence against the Rochus brethren, and with an armed band to storm the cloister and chapel. But the brethren defended themselves desperately, and victoriously repulsed the attack. The affair, however, was not yet at an end; but it came to a law-suit, in which the Jesuits were plaintiffs, "in respect to refusal of property." The judges had, therefore, to decide whether it was to be allowable in Portugal to rob one's neighbour according to pleasure, and they decided —one could hardly believe it possible that such could be the case—in favour of such a proceeding. The end of the story was this, then, that the Brotherhood of the Holy Rochus had, on the strength of an instrument of cession, to suffer the renunciation of their property for all time, and for this act of robbery perpetrated on them they did not receive the slightest indemnification. The sons of Loyola at once pulled down the existing buildings, and in place thereof erected such a magnificent profess-house as there was hardly the like in the whole world.

Thus was the before-mentioned divine revelation realised, although certainly in a fashion by which a blow in the face was given to the justice of the heavenly universal government. But even this was not enough, for one sin generally begets another. So it happened that the garden of the Jesuits belonging to their new building abutted on the park which surrounded the palace of the Count d'Almirante, and an earnest desire seized the sons of Loyola to possess this domain also. So longing were the glances which they now threw day by day on this charming property, that they almost succeeded by their machinations in obtaining the accomplishment of their desires. But lo and behold! the Count, in the year 1612, began to make preparations to erect in his park certain buildings for the enlargement of his palace, and now the thought at once shot like lightning through the heads of the sons of Loyola, how they might make their attack. They instantly entered a complaint in the law courts against the erection of these new buildings of the Count, and demanded that the same should be put a stop to, while they maintained that his park was nothing else than the former churchyard of the Saint Rochus chapel. There was, of course, no truth whatever in this assertion, and as the law court applied to the Archbishop of Lisbon in order that there might be an official explanation of the matter, the latter gave his decision that the disputed circle had at no time served as a burial-ground. With this decision, however, the Jesuits were not at all satisfied, but they now addressed themselves to the Tribunal of Petitions, and, with bold assurance, demanded justice. This action, however, did not succeed in the way they expected, and in the first and second instance the Count obtained permission to proceed with the building, and the petitioners were brought to silence as to their complaints. The Fathers now appealed to Rome, affirming that the Pope was supreme over all kings and courts of law; and Paul V., who entirely agreed with such principles, not only at once prohibited any further action whatever on the part of all the Portuguese tribunals, as regards the matter of contention between the Jesuits and Count Almirante, but summoned, besides, the said parties before his own Forum, in order that it might be determined by his own holy courts what was right. What would now have been the consequence, had the Count obeyed, may easily be

imagined; but, on account of this Papal presumption, he addressed himself to Philip II., who at that time reigned over Portugal, and he, well-disposed as he was towards the Church, forbade the interference of Rome with the internal affairs of his country, with such energy that Paul V. found it necessary to draw in his horns. Thus, at length, the Count managed to retain possession of his property, and the sons of Loyola were obliged to renounce their artfully contrived robbery.

Precisely similar attempts at theft the sons of Loyola made, as regards the nuns and monks of other countries, as had been the case with reference to the Brotherhood of the Holy Rochus in Portugal, and I might adduce in this respect a great quantity of the most edifying stories. As for example, at Dantzig, where, in the year 1606, they robbed the nuns of the Holy Order of the Brigittens of their cloisters, but were compelled by the magistrate to relinquish their robbery. Thus, too, in Thorn, where Fathers Lapas and Valentin performed a similar tyrannical deed, but equally met with punishment on this account. The same kind of thing took place at Cracow, and in many other Europeans towns. The reader will, however, obtain the deepest insight into the system of Jesuit robbery when I relate how the sons of Loyola plundered, during the Thirty Years' War, as they never at any time carried out stealing operations on such an extensive scale as during that period. True it is, moreover, that there never existed but one Ferdinand II., and the prodigal liberality of this Emperor towards the Order of Jesus, as also the immeasurable weakness with which he sanctioned all their robberies, was never afterwards exceeded.* Before everything, the sons of Loyola sought to appropriate for themselves as much as they possibly could in the Empire of Austria itself, and they made a beginning† in this respect, by demanding the University of Vienna for themselves. In seeking this, however, it was not so much on account of the great material advantages to be derived therefrom, but that in this way

* The Emperor Ferdinand appears, towards the end of his life, to have discovered that he had far overstepped the proper measure of liberality; otherwise he would not have exclaimed to the Fathers in 1635: "Accipite, vos Patres, non semper habebitis Ferdinandum Secundum" (Accept, ye Fathers, you will not always have a Ferdinand II.).

† Regarding the acquisitions of the Jesuits in the so-called Inner Austria, previous to the Thirty Years' War, I have already called attention in the Second Book of this work.

the entire higher instruction of the youth would fall into their hands, and especially by this means the Protestant element, which had at that high school obtained an almost preponderating influence, might be completely exterminated. As, however, these designs of the sons of Loyola appeared to be as clear as daylight, the professors of the University defended themselves to the utmost, and the students also protested, unanimously, against the amalgamating of the high school with the Jesuit College. But what did that matter? After a couple of years of irresolution, the Emperor, on the urgent appeal of his Confessor, Father Lamormain, yielded, and, on the 21st of October 1622, ordered the desired amalgamation. Even this, however, was not sufficient, but he must needs accord as well the necessary funds in order to build an enormous and truly splendid college with church attached thereto, because the apartments hitherto allotted were insufficient for the accommodation of all the four faculties. There was not, therefore, a single material advantage wanting to accompany this acquisition, and this fact becomes more prominently apparent when one takes into consideration that now the entire property of the University, as regards its management, passed over into the possession of the Society of Jesus.

Much more important, however, was an acquisition that the sons of Loyola obtained for themselves about that time in the Austrian Salzkammergute, namely the Benedictine nun cloister of Traunkirchen, situated in a charming solitude of rock and lake, and, at the same time, endowed with truly princely revenues. After it had enjoyed a prolonged existence, the Emperor Maximilian abolished the same, in the year 1573, and he might, indeed, have had good grounds for so doing; by means of the Jesuits, however, scruples of conscience were awakened in the Emperor Ferdinand II. respecting this abolition, and at length he arrived at the conviction, by the insinuating influence of his Father Confessor, that the same was nothing else than a theft perpetrated on the Church. He, therefore, determined to restore to the Church the rich settlement, and the Benedictine nuns now naturally expected nothing else than that they should again obtain possession of their former property. It was, however, a sinister element in the calculations of the Jesuits that they had only aroused the scruples of conscience in Ferdinand II., as regards

the matter, in order to obtain Traunkirchen for themselves, and on that account they now made use of every lever to bring the Emperor to such a way of thinking. Their great patron, the Archduke Leopold, the Emperor's brother and, at the same time, Bishop of Passau, was induced to besiege his high relative with the representation that it would only prove valuable in the hands of Loyolites, because they alone were fit to make use of it for the uprooting of Protestantism in the country of the Ens, and he finally contrived to bring the matter so far, that the Emperor at length definitively assigned the charming settlement to the Jesuit College of Passau, on the 12th of July 1624. The Benedictine nuns, it is true, complained to the Pope, representing it as a robbery perpetrated against them, and, in this respect, they were also undoubtedly right. Urban VIII., however, took the part of the Jesuits, and, consequently, the latter remained in undisputed possession of their rich acquisition.

With no less covetous hand did they also pounce upon everything within reach in Silesia and Moravia, wherever they could get possession of aught; and in this, also, the Emperor Ferdinand II., their high patron, most willingly supported them. They enriched themselves with the estates confiscated from the Protestants, and not only obtained their colleges of Olmütz and Brünn in this fashion, but acquired besides several noble estates, and, on the 1st September 1622, four great market-places, Pollehradiz, Rzeizkowitz, and whatever else may be their names. Besides, also, another brother of the Emperor, the Archduke Karl, who was at the same time Bishop of Breslau and proprietor of the county of Glatz, as well as of the Dukedoms of Oppeln and Ratibon, showed himself to be extremely favourable to them; and if he approved of the Order, depend upon it the remaining clergy did not remain behindhand with their favours.

Consequently, they succeeded with facility in gaining for their college at Glatz the estates of the knights of Malta, and for their college at Reiss the cloister and church attached thereto of the Knights of the Cross; for their educational institution in Glogau, however, they obtained the six entailed estates of the Baron George von Schönaick, at Carolath-Leuthen, which they simply took away from him because he was a Calvinist; and, as a not

less magnificent acquisition, they got for themselves the Upper Silesian lordship of Oldersdorf, which brought in an annual income of 50,000 dollars. In short, the Jesuits went at it in real earnest, and the rulers of the day testified great joy whenever they succeeded in some great robbery.

All this, however, appeared but paltry in comparison with what the sons of Loyola contrived to appropriate for themselves in the kingdom of Bohemia—the same territory from which, at the commencement of the Thirty Years' War, they had been so ignominiously expelled. For instance, when, in consequence of the battle of Prague, in the year 1620, the whole of the country of the Czechs, as we know, was unconditionally surrendered to the Emperor Ferdinand II., the Jesuits returned thither in great hordes, and established themselves again in possession of their former estates and colleges. This was, however, only a foretaste of their subsequent operations, as they at once placed themselves at the head of the Imperial armies, and, with the assistance of the latter, perpetrated a system of robbery which had never before been witnessed.

In every village, in every market-place, in every town, where Protestants or suspected Protestantism existed, the sons of Loyola advanced with the victorious soldiery, and everywhere was it their first care to seize upon everything that the heretics possessed. It is true it was ostensibly not for themselves, but for the Emperor, who had the right to punish his rebellious subjects in this manner; but the Emperor showed himself to be liberal, and assigned to the sons of Loyola fully the half of the forty millions of florins which, at the smallest calculation, the confiscated estates realised. Indeed, he handed over to them the greater portion of his own Crown lands, so that the pious Fathers obtained for themselves almost the third of the whole revenues of the country!

Such a colossal result had never before been witnessed in any Christian kingdom; indeed, not even in Portugal, where they had reigned almost supreme during nearly two hundred years, could they boast of the like. But, in spite of all this, the sons of Loyola had never enough, but they always strove to gain more and more—the best proof of their insatiableness after further acquisitions. More especially they stretched out their greedy hands upon the University of Prague, and hoped to be

able to take possession of this, the richest as well as the universally celebrated high school of Germany, and the proper cradle of Protestantism, with as much ease as they had acquired that of Vienna. But in this they deceived themselves, as the "Karolina," so called after its founder, the Emperor Charles IV., or, in other words, the University of Prague, did not, by any means, at the first sound of alarm, yield to the "Ferdinandeum," which was the name of the Jesuit college, founded in the year 1555 by the Emperor Ferdinand I., and even dared to offer resistance to the all-powerful dictate of the Emperor Ferdinand II.

The affair happened thus. Immediately after the re-conquest of Bohemia for the Emperor Ferdinand, the Jesuits represented to the latter that the Karolina had now become a patroness of heresy, and that, therefore, if it were desired to keep the youthful students pure from this poison, it was necessary to hand over the whole management of the University to the sons of Loyola.

"Only they, the Jesuits, from their first institution had proved themselves to be capable of educating the young in the pure Catholic faith; the other Catholic teachers, indeed, had shown themselves to be deficient in this respect all over Christendom. Were, then, the Karolina to be allowed its independent existence as hitherto, were it not to be amalgamated with the Ferdinandeum—if, in short, the resolution were not made that the Rector of the Jesuit College at Prague should at the same time be constituted Rector of the whole University, as also of its subordinate chancellors—one might depend upon it that the professors at the Karolina would not teach in the spirit of the only saving faith, while, under the protection of any rector or chancellor of a different spirit, error and disbelief would always be liable to creep in."

Thus did the Jesuits speak to the Emperor Ferdinand II., and their officious creature, the Prince of Lichtenstein, at that time Governor of Bohemia, supported their representations with all his power. The Emperor, it must be acknowledged, wavered for a long time, because it appeared to him that he was about to annihilate, so to speak, by a stroke of the pen, the ancient privileges of the Karolina; but it is, indeed, notorious how he could be brought over to do anything, through the bug-

bear of heresy, and thus, on the 9th September 1622, he issued a decree in which he ordained the surrender of the Karolina, with all its estates and privileges, to the sons of Loyola, so that the whole University might be amalgamated with the Ferdinandeum. The said decree runs thus :—

"By virtue of our Imperial and Royal power, we legally unite, now and for ever, the Karolinian University with that of the Ferdinandian College of the Society of Jesus, instituted in our town of Prague, in such manner that this amalgamation shall not stand in the way of any of the peculiar privileges of the aforesaid University, though we also, through the present ordinance, destroy all and every privilege which might be contrary to the amalgamation ordained by us. In consequence thereof, it is our will that the present Rector of the College, appointed according to the statutes of the Society of Jesus, shall be at the same time Rector of the whole University, and we annihilate and exterminate hereby all claims which anyone might otherwise make to this dignity. And similarly do we put in subjection to the aforesaid Rector all teachers of the lower, as also all of the upper schools in the town of Prague; and these shall be bound to follow the orders of the Rector, or of those whom he will appoint to visit the schools, and to comply with any regulation whatever made by him. No one, without permission from the Rector in writing, shall be authorised to found any new school, in whatever Faculty it may at any time be; and we charge the aforesaid Rector with the supervision of all present established schools and colleges, as well as those which may in future be established throughout the whole kingdom of Bohemia. Lastly, we appoint the aforesaid Rector to be Inquisitor and corrector of heretics, and commit to him, of our free Imperial and Royal power, the censorship over all books which shall be printed or sold."

Thus did the Emperor decree, according to the will of the Jesuits, and neither he nor the sons of Loyola cared in the least that the chartered rights of the Archbishop of Prague were thereby infringed in the most violent way, seeing that in virtue of former Papal privileges this latter dignitary was the permanent chancellor and supreme head of the Karolina. "Might goes before right," thought both the Emperor and the Jesuits; "and besides," said these worthies to themselves, "the present moment

is a peculiarly favourable opportunity in order to carry through the said dictatorial decision." The Archbishopric of Prague was, just at that time, vacant by the death of the Archbishop Johann Lobelius, and Count Ernst Adalbert von Harrack had been selected to fill this office, who, having been brought up in the Collegium Germanicum in Rome, was known to be a great persecutor of heresy. It was consequently hoped that he would not be so strict in insisting upon his archiepiscopal privileges, but that he would rather silently acquiesce, so to speak, in the usurpation. Scarcely, however, had Ernst Adalbert taken possession of his see, in the year 1623, than he presented to the Emperor a written complaint, in which he most energetically protested against the decree that had been issued, and, as this document was productive of no result in deterring the Jesuits from forcibly taking possession of all the estates appertaining to the University, he set out himself for Vienna, in order personally there to prosecute his case. He also complained to Pope Urban VIII., and on this occasion described the machinations of the Jesuits in such bitter terms that one could not sufficiently wonder at his action. The following are the very words he employed :—

"As soon as they (namely, the Jesuits) observed that I was determined to offer an earnest resistance to their presumptuous attempts, then they at once commenced to attack, partly openly and partly secretly, my archiepiscopal jurisdiction. More especially they set about spreading abroad everywhere calumnies of every description, and, what was still more disgraceful, they so blackened at Court the characters of my servants and supporters, through anonymous libels and lampoons, that I could scarcely find anyone who would venture to enter into my service, or to stand by me as defender of my archiepiscopal rights. They have even so hounded on the clergy in my diocese, against me, that the latter defiantly deny obedience to me, and it has already come to such a height that, in verity, the Jesuits in this country exercise the archiepiscopal power, I holding nothing more than the mere title of Archbishop. May it not be called a strange contradiction to be solved, and one much to be wondered at, that a society which professes the glory of God to be the sole end and aim of its efforts should be so eager after worldly power and worldly possessions that they hesitate at

nothing in order to obtain possession of both by their strenuous exertions. Indeed, they go so far as to persecute, with the most implacable hatred, all who do not humbly submit themselves to their dictatorship, and, at the same time, prophesy the inevitable downfall of the Catholic Church whenever anyone does not, with slavish adoration, cringe at their feet and tolerate their usurpations with cowardly submission?" The Archbishop wrote thus, with other like expressions, to Pope Urban VIII., and he did not express himself less sharply towards the Emperor and his ministers. In vain did Ferdinand II. endeavour to silence him by withdrawing from him, in the year 1620, the right of patronage in all ecclesiastical appointments and benefices in the royal towns of Bohemia. In vain did the Pope nominate him, a year later, to be a Cardinal, in order to induce him to be more yielding and amenable. In vain did the Governor of Bohemia, Prince Lichtenstein, give himself all possible trouble to work upon the obstinate opposition of the ecclesiastical prince. Ernst Adalbert would not be conciliated, either by compromise or indulgence, and, as he had perfect right on his side, silence could not be in any way imposed upon him. On the other hand, however, the Emperor would not retract his decree, issued in favour of the Jesuits, under any circumstances; and also the Pope did not dare to form a decision inimical to the sons of Loyola. His Holiness was, indeed, by far too much indebted to this Emperor who supported, with so much success, the declining authority of the Roman Court, that he should run any risk of forfeiting such favour for any question as to rights and privileges; and thus the contention lasted during fully sixteen years. It was not, indeed, a mere contention, but an open veritable war; as, besides the scurrilous lampoons which were launched respectively on both sides, it frequently came as far as broken heads, if the adherents of the one party happened to meet those of the other in the streets of Prague.

Finally, Ferdinand II. died, and now the Pope had no further pretext to withhold any longer his decision. He determined, then, on the 7th of January 1638, that the sons of Loyola should give back into the hands of the Emperor the Karolina of Prague, with all its estates, illegally acquired by a despotic command of the secular power. His Holiness, however,

dare not by any means deliver it over to the Archbishop, but, on the contrary, nominated a secular "Protector" as ruler thereof. This actually took place, and the first Protector nominated by the Emperor Ferdinand III., Friedrich von Tallemberg, undertook the supreme management of the University. But were the contending parties quieted thereby? No, certainly not! The Jesuits not, because what they were desirious of retaining had been taken from them; and the Archbishop not, because that to which hitherto he had a legal claim was not restored to him. On this account, after a short time, the contention arose afresh, and once more there abounded libels and galling lampoons, once more there was quarrelling, with cudgelling and broken heads. It would be, however, too tiresome for the reader, were I to describe the struggle in all its details; consequently, I shortly remark that after a period of fifteen years, in the year 1653, a satisfactory compromise was at length brought about between the exasperated disputants—a compromise, moreover, by which both parties were reconciled, although both contended that they had gained the day. It was settled that for the future the Karolina, amalgamated with the Ferdinandeum, under the title of "Karl-Ferdinand's University," should form one single high-school, that the Jesuits should not, however, have charge of all the four faculties, but only those of theology and philosophy. Further, that to the Emperor should appertain the right of nominating even laymen to professorial chairs in jurisprudence and medicine, and that the Rectorate should be changed every year in this manner: that first a jurist, then a theologian, after that a medical professor, and lastly, a philosopher, should be nominated to hold that office out of the whole body of professors. Moreover, it was decreed that the Senate of the two Secular Faculties —those, namely, of law and physic—should be in sole possession of, and have control over, the entire revenues of the old Karolina, and that the Archbishop of Prague should hold the title and dignity of Chancellor of the united "Karl-Ferdinand's Universität," so that all, including even the Jesuits, who were desirous of acquiring the degree of Doctor in any Faculty whatever, must seek permission from him. That, however, he should not, as formerly, have unlimited power over the University,

there was appointed a secular Government plenipotentiary with the style and title of "Superintendent," without whose approval he could not introduce any government act whatever. These were the principal conditions of the compromise arranged in the year 1653; and was I not right in saying that both parties, while appearing to have gained thereby, had, however, in reality lost?

The Jesuits were not so narrow-minded as to limit their robbing operations to Austria only; but, on the contrary, extended them, indeed, over the whole of Germany, and in order to be enabled to effect this great result they caused the Emperor Ferdinand II., who in the year 1629 stood at the zenith of his prosperity, to issue the uncommonly ill-famed Restitution Edict, in which it was conjoined that all ecclesiastical estates of which the Protestants had obtained possession since the Treaty of Passau in the year 1552, and that all the abbeys, cloisters, and other benefices whatever, which since the time mentioned had been abolished and secularized, should be restored to their former owners; and as the Protestants, at that time, were completely powerless to do anything against the Imperial weapons, they were unable, to the great joy of the Catholics, to render any considerable opposition whatever to the carrying out of this imperious order. I said "to the great joy of the Catholics;" I should have said, however, to the great joy of the sons of Loyola, as it soon appeared that the Emperor was in no way disposed to restore to the former ecclesiastical proprietors the church property which had been torn from the Evangelical party, but that his view, on the contrary, was to retain such property, for the most part, in order to prosecute the war that was going on, and to leave the rest as a reward to the Jesuits for their faithful services.

So the Restitution Edict was framed; and merely in order that they might gain booty the sons of Loyola induced the Emperor to issue this celebrated decree. Ferdinand II., however, who perceived only too well that his interest went hand in hand with that of the pious Fathers, allowed himself to give free consent to all their propositions, and formally committed himself to them in an autograph letter, addressed to Father Walter Mundhrodt in May 1629, indicating to him the localities and

towns in which new settlements and enrichments could be most acceptably given them. And, now, when such was the case, could it be well imagined that the good Fathers would be guilty of showing too great reserve in relation to their desires? Could it be imagined that they would not at once grasp everything that there was to seize, in place of waiting humbly until some crumbs fell of themselves to their share? No, certainly the sons of Loyola could not be reproached in this respect, as regards retaining for themselves everything accorded to them by the Restitution Edict. But, unfortunately, there was one hindrance, and one which could not be so easily got over; it happened to stand recorded in the Restitution Edict, in order to give it an appearance of justice, that the abbeys and cloisters secularized since 1552 should be restored to their "former" proprietors, and these in the persons of Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, Præmonstrats, Cistercians, and whatever else they might be denominated, not only announced themselves as such, but sent, without delay, the Abbots of Hassenfeld and Kaisersheim as a deputation to Vienna in order to prosecute their claims at the Court. This did not at all please the sons of Loyola; they dissembled, however, and Father Lamormain, the Confessor of the Emperor, more especially treated the two deputies with as much flattery as was possible. Thereupon, when he believed that he had quite succeeded in gaining them over, he gave his opinion that it would be for their mutual benefit if they reciprocally came to an agreement, and added thereto the idea that they should hand over the nunneries, and some of the monk-cloisters also, to the Jesuits, for the erection of colleges, and that, on the other hand, the Society of Jesus should give its assurance not to lay claim to the remainder of the estates. But to this the two abbots could not permit themselves to agree; so, declaring that they were not empowered to conclude such an agreement, they thereupon took their final departure from Vienna.

What did Father Lamormain do now? As soon as the abbots had gone, he hastened to the Emperor and assured him that they were quite ready to accept the proposed agreement, so that nothing in the least stood in the way of the cession of the whole of the nunneries secularized since 1552, as well as

the said couple of monk-cloisters. The Emperor, of course, lent his most implicit belief to this assurance, as the words of his Father Confessor were as good for him as the solemn utterances of an oracle, and consequently an order was immediately issued to General Wallenstein, and to the Generals under him, to put the Jesuits in possession of the cloisters in question. But now, behold! the two abbots protested energetically against the embezzlement effected by Father Lamormain, and plainly accused the latter of a premeditated rascality. The same was done, although in mild language, by the Imperial President of the Court Chamber and Privy Councillor, Abt Anton Wolfradt von Kremsmünster, who had been present during the conversation between the Father Confessor and the two abbots, and it therefore appears tolerably certain that the reproach was justifiable. Nevertheless, Father Lamormain adhered to his pretext, and, of course, the sons of Loyola were obliged to him for doing so. Thereby, however, a most violent strife at once arose between the older Orders of monks and the Jesuits, and both parties contended together with all the weapons upon which they could lay their hands. More especially a most lively paper war developed itself between them, in which the sons of Loyola were principally represented by the Fathers Paul Laymann and Lorenz Forer, professors of the High School at Dillengen, as well as by the frequently-mentioned Johann Crusius of Bremen, while the older monkish Orders found elegant and eloquent defenders in the Benedictine Romanus Hay of Ochsenhausen, and in the celebrated critic, Kaspar Scioppius, better known as Schoppe.

Ardently, however, as the combatants couched their lances, and much as the Jesuits distinguished themselves by anonymous pamphlets, by insults, by calumnies, and by pelting their adversaries with dirt, nothing was effected by all this war of words. Perceiving this, the Jesuits now called to remembrance the old proverb, "*Beati possidentes*," "Happy are they who are in possession." In other words, they did not wait until the strife was settled as to the point "to whom the cloisters were to be restored," nor while it lasted, but strove to take actual possession of the disputed objects, and mockingly laughed in their sleeves when the others found themselves behindhand. In fact,

they succeeded, with the assistance of the Imperial commanders, in occupying very many of the cloisters; and, with the view of showing the reader how they were accustomed to go to work, I will enter into a description of one of these usurpations more in detail.

In the year 1630, the Bishop of Osnabrück, one of the commissaries entrusted by the Emperor with the carrying out of the Restitution Edict, had put the Bernhardine nuns again in possession of the cloister of Wöltingerode, in Lower Saxony, which had formerly been seized from them by the Protestants, and, under the guidance of the Abbot of Valenciennes, they proceeded to re-occupy the place with all due solemnity. This, however, did not prevent the Superiors of the then neighbouring Jesuit College at Goslar from reporting to Vienna that the cloister in question was completely empty, and that for a long time past it had not been laid claim to by anyone. On this account the Emperor was graciously enabled to hand it over to them for the erection of a novitiate. The Emperor actually accorded this favour, and directed the fact to be intimated to the Fathers through his favourite Lamormain.

Upon this some of the Jesuits from Goslar immediately proceeded to Wöltingerode, and kindly represented to the nuns that, in this open place, they would be subject to incursions of the soldiery. It would be much better, they complacently added, and more advisable, to take refuge in the more secure Goslar, in the meantime, until the storm of war had passed over, and they —the Jesuits—would take the trouble of providing a suitable lodging for them. The nuns, not anticipating anything deceitful, followed this advice, and were, sure enough, safely conducted by the sons of Loyola into the cloister court of Frauenberg. Scarcely, however, had they entered this asylum than the Provincial of the province of the Lower Rhine, Father Hermann Gawinz, accompanied by a host of armed men, proceeded, on the 29th March 1631, to Wöltingerode, and, producing the Imperial document which referred to the present, seized possession of the cloister, compelling the servants left behind by the nuns to swear fidelity to the new possessors.

The sons of Loyola now believed that they had won the game; this, however, was not so, as the pious women had

their hearts in the right spot. As soon, then, as they became aware of the deceit practised upon them by the Jesuits, they secretly disappeared from Goslar under cover of night, hastened to Wöltingerode, and, as they found the cloisters shut up, penetrated into the choir of the church, and, barricading themselves therein with chairs and other utensils, declared to the sons of Loyola, next morning, that they would only yield to force. In vain now did the Fathers employ every means of persuasion; in vain did they make to the valiant nuns all sorts of fair promises; in vain did they withhold for several days all means of subsistence, in order that they might be reduced by hunger: the women held out, however, and did not yield. The patience of the Loyolites was now completely exhausted, and they resolved at once, on the 12th of April, to proceed by force. They, consequently, made a requisition for a number of rough soldiers, penetrated with them into the choir, tore the nuns out of the choir chairs to which they clung, and, finally, threw them, stripped of everything, into the street.

Such a shameful deed of violence could not, however, be beneficial to the Fathers, as everybody became indignant about it, and the Emperor Ferdinand II. could not do otherwise than order the Society, with austerity, immediately to re-establish the nuns in the possession of their property.

For this time the Jesuits were defeated, but in most of the other cases they succeeded in their usurpations—to wit, in the nunnery of Clarenthal, near Mayence, and in that of Marienkron, near Oppenheim, as well as in the priories of St. Valentine at Ruffach and St. Jacob at Feldbach; also at the Abbey St. Morand, in Breisgau, and in the Provostships of St. Ulrich and Ellenberg in Alsace, as well as in a number of other cloisters too numerous to be mentioned.

In a word, they prosecuted matters so ruthlessly that, in March 1637, the Catholic Imperial Knighthood of the Rhine country and of Wetterau tendered a petition to Pope Urban VIII., full of the most bitter complaints as to the insatiable avarice of the Jesuits, and urged him in the most earnest manner to frustrate the criminal assaults of the same upon the rightful property of the older Orders of monks. Indeed, two years and a half later, the three ecclesiastical Electors of Treves,

Cologne, and Mayence, in conjunction with Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, who was certainly no enemy to the sons of Loyola, tendered a collective petition to the Holy Father in Rome, and assured him therein that the enormous thirst for gold and property which animated the Jesuits was beyond all conception!

Can it be necessary to cite any further facts? Can it be necessary to bring forward any further evidence?

CHAPTER III.

JESUIT COMMERCE AND USURY, COMBINED WITH FRAUDULENT BANKRUPTCY.

No single Christian Society, no single Order in the whole world, boasted so much of the extraordinary results of its conversion of the heathen as the Society of Jesus, and never did any institution whatever succeed so well by its vaunting in deceiving a confiding world as did this institution of Jesuitism. But, truly, how could this be otherwise? In their so-called "Edifying Letters" the sons of Loyola spread abroad the most gratifying legends as to the progress which they made, and one reads therein of so many martyrs, and of such numbers of wondrous works, that it was impossible for the superstitious part of the people to have any doubt about the matter.

It happened, too, that, concerning foreign nations in distant regions of the world, to which the Jesuit reports referred, scarcely anything was known through other travellers, so that any contradiction of intelligence communicated by the Jesuits could not be contemplated; and, moreover, the Black Fathers passed among the common men, as well as among the common women, as most holy, while to accuse them of falsehood would be considered as a deadly sin! Consequently, one long heard, as a regular matter of course, the loud deafening shout that the sons of Loyola struck up as to their apostolical results, while with fervent ardour hundreds of different volumes of tales appeared

in which black was proved to be white, so that there could be no Christendom either in Asia, Africa, or America, without Jesuit institutions. But, did the whole of mankind participate in this belief; and did the sensible and enlightened acquiesce therein? No; for persons soon asked themselves whether it was possible that a Society which, in European kingdoms, laboured only for power and riches—merely, that is, for worldly advantages—that a Society such as this should have for its single and sole object the promulgation of Christianity in distant parts of the world, an object which could only be attained by the greatest sacrifices, and, indeed, in some cases even with martyrdom. They asked themselves this question, and incredulously shook their heads. The proper answer, however, they obtained at no very distant date, partly from the writings of the Dominicans and Capuchins, who, from personal observation, became acquainted with those Jesuit missions; partly, also, from the documentary testimony of pious and God-fearing bishops, against whom the sons of Loyola violently rebelled; partly, too, from the enactments and Bulls of the Popes, who latterly could not but oppose powerfully the Jesuit Christian heathenism in China, Japan, and East India; and, lastly, by the official reports of different Governors and Prefects, who communicated the true state of matters to their Governments.

What, then, became apparent from this? Nothing else than that the real object of Jesuit missions consisted merely in the acquisition of power and riches. It is true enough that some of them, in the prosecution of this selfish object, came to ruin; but must not, then, the sons of Loyola, as "soldiers and warriors of Christ," allow themselves to be placed by their superiors in situations of danger? Moreover, was not the most admirable consideration to be obtained for the Society of Jesus when the victims of selfishness were glorified as saints and martyrs; and did not the advantage of the Society demand that one should allow, every couple of years, a member to be sacrificed? In spite, however, of everything, the halo of Jesuit mission work lost its sanctity after a few decades; and when the naked truth became self-evident to the common people, the latter were much horrified at the abominations which were brought to light.

It must already have become apparent to every observant

clear-sighted person that the pious Fathers only deigned to direct their Christianising attention to such countries as had been endowed by Nature with great riches, while poor localities, in which nothing was to be gained, were treated by them with sovereign contempt. But how so? Why did they merely press forward in Asia, Japan, China, and East India, and why not also to the northern regions of that immense continent? Why did they not rather strive to obtain a lasting footing in Africa, instead of abandoning the poor blacks to their heathen blindness? Why was it that they concerned themselves so much with Central and Southern America, with Mexico, Chili, Peru, Brazil, and whatever else these countries may be called, without troubling themselves at all about the idol-worship of the degraded Indians of the Upper Mississippi, and of the frozen regions, other than the fur-yielding territory of Canada? The sagacious Fathers must have had a reason for this exceptional conduct, and they, doubtless, paid due regard to the different capabilities with which Nature had endowed the various countries? *

* The following serves as a proof of this. In regard to Cochin China, a part of the kingdom of Annam, the sons of Loyola for a long time gave themselves no trouble at all, but they left it entirely to the resident Bishop and suffragan of the Archbishop of Goa to convert the inhabitants, who were, for the most part, Hindoos. As ground for this, they gave out that they had more important matters to attend to, and none wondered at their continued absence, as the land was in general reckoned to be very poor. When suddenly, however, it came to the knowledge of the pious Fathers that a salt lake existed in the interior, in which pearls of the finest water were to be found in abundance, and when it was further told them that some Portuguese traders came every year for the purpose of buying them up quite quietly, the hearts of the sons of Loyola now became most vehemently moved, and they declared to the Bishop of Cochin that they were seized with the deepest regret that the poor idolatrous Hindoos had been so long neglected in his diocese. They now wished to remedy this as much as could be done. The good Bishop was quite delighted at this, and the pious Fathers at once entered into Cochin China in order to proceed with their operations; they showed themselves to be particularly zealous among the Hindoos residing near the said salt lake, and they also took care of their temporal good, as they bought up the pearls at a "dearer" price than the Portuguese traders had paid. When the latter, then, appeared again in order to make their yearly purchases, they no longer found any pearls procurable, and had to withdraw, leaving their business unaccomplished. The next year the Jesuits repeated this manœuvre, and the merchants thus obtained nothing for a second time. On this account they naturally became angry, and did not return. The sons of Loyola now laughed in their sleeves, as they had the poor Hindoos in their power. They at once proved this, too, as they diminished the price they paid for the pearls, to the extent of one half, and their profit now was thus something enormous. Lastly, they caused the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa to make them a present of the lake and its neighbourhood, and they then treated the natives exactly as slaves, only giving them a miserable day's wages. In the long run, however, this was not successful, as, enraged by

It must not the less strike one that the Jesuits made very light of the reception of Christianity by their converts, as we have seen, in the Second Book, that they adapted the heathenish customs of China, Japan, &c. so well to Christian teaching, that the different nationalities, after baptism, did not leave their Pagan practices. And why should this not be so? Their Christianity was next thing to it, and one could only look upon the newly converted as victims to be offered up. The pious Fathers did not at all hesitate to demand from the Roman Chair the promise of sanctification for this or that deceased heathen grandee, provided that the deceased person had effected by his will some peculiar service for the advantage of the Society of Jesus! I believe, however, that it is not requisite for me to treat this matter in greater detail, as I presume that the reader has already taken into necessary consideration what I have related respecting Jesuit Mandarins and Jesuit Bonzes. For the most part, however, suspicion must have been aroused, by the circumstance that the sons of Loyola most vehemently opposed the entrance of other Christians, more especially missionaries, into those regions in which they had settled themselves.

Disguise the matter as they might, it was nothing else than this: "We, the sons of Loyola, require no third person to contest our gains with us, and especially we need no one to come so near to us as to be in a position to observe accurately our transactions." Thus, for instance, the Dutch, in the year 1655, sent an embassy to Pekin, in order to open up a way for trade; and while this embassy contrived, by rich presents, to win the hearts of the great men at the Court, they entertained fair hopes of being able to carry through their negociations successfully. In order, now, to counteract this, the Jesuits ran about among the Court officials, representing the Dutch as men of villainous character, perjured renegades, and heretics in religion, and as revolutionists and rebels against their rightful rulers.

twenty years of oppression, the embittered Hindoos rose in rebellion, set fire to the stores of the Jesuits, and, chasing them out of the country, did not allow them to return. This affair took place at the end of the 17th century, and, on that account, it became apparent why the sons of Loyola had given up the trade, or were obliged to give it up. At that time the might of Portugal was already quickly disappearing, and the Viceroy of Goa could not render them any armed assistance, even if he wished it.

"Moreover," added the sons of Loyola with solemn assurance, "are they not well known as pirates, who have no consideration for any nation whatever, capturing all ships which may fall into their hands, being on this account looked upon by all the other monarchs of the world as the most horrible plague which could insinuate itself into a State, and therefore to be avoided with the greatest disgust? What is, however, the chief thing, wherever the Dutch penetrate they erect fortresses at the mouths of the great rivers, or in any advantageous situations, and they will also be sure to do the same in China at the exit of the great rivers, whence they will be enabled to command the whole country with their cannon."

The sons of Loyola thus, among other ways, expressed themselves regarding the Dutch; and their Superior, the Mandarin Father Adam Schott, made a long representation, with a similar object, to the Emperor, who lent to him implicit belief. Could it, then, fail to happen that the embassy, notwithstanding all the presents which they had made, were sent home again with their business unaccomplished? and their formidable rivals were thus successful for this time. The sons of Loyola, moreover, allowed themselves to indulge in still greater calumnies and slanders, as well as in deeds of violence and cruelty, when members of any other Christian Order presumed to approach their preserves as missionaries; and the Dominicans, Fransciscans, Lazarists, and Capuchins, at the end of the 16th, and in the middle of the 17th century, who were daring enough to attempt this, could relate wonderful tales. Six Fransciscan monks, in the year 1597, were, without any further ado, handed over to death at Nagasaki, because they wished to preach the Gospel on the island of Kiu-Siu. Not, certainly, through the direct agency of the sons of Loyola, but, for appearance sake, by the secular authorities; still, it was through the instigation of the former, who were loudly jubilant in regard to it, and shouted, "Thus may it happen to all who desire to rob us, the sons of Loyola, of the glory of our missions." In a similar manner had the Dominican Francis Capillas to suffer the death of a martyr in Nanking, according to the order of a Mandarin, who was displeased that a Dominican should severely snub the Jesuits on account of their indulgence as to the employment of the heathen form of worship

Did not Father Martini, after becoming court astronomer and Mandarin of the first class in Peking, advise the Emperor Yong-Tsching to send all non-Jesuit Christians and monks over the frontiers of the Empire, as they were of no other use but to seduce ignorant people by erroneous doctrine, and thus to bring about dissensions among his subjects? Did not the Society, again, succeed in obtaining from Pope Gregory XIII. a Bull, in which everyone was prohibited, under penalty of the great excommunication, from proceeding to Japan, without the express permission of the Holy See, in order to exercise there any ecclesiastical function whatever—a Bull which, Father Collin testified, the Society of Jesus had secured in order to exclude other religious Orders from the islands of Japan? Was not, indeed, the Capuchin monk, Michael Ange, quite right when he shortly expressed himself as regards the sons of Loyola and their missionary efforts thus: "The worthy Fathers had everywhere the peculiarity of tolerating no one near them, wherever they were, and by this peculiarity they had already acquired too much money and property"?*

They certainly had no wish to tolerate anyone near them, in order that they might have the pastures all to themselseves, and more especially that no one might see how they grazed. They wished to appropriate for themselves alone the foreign regions of the world, exactly like those commercial companies who possessed a monopoly from their respective Governments. Viewed in a proper light, they were, indeed, nothing else than a great company which carried on commerce all over the world, and their different mission-houses in Japan, China, East India, Mexico, Brazil, Chili, Peru, and Buenos Ayres, might be considered as just so many counting-houses and warehouses. But why not? Every important power in Europe endeavoured to win for itself the treasures of the East and West Indies in the 16th and 17th centuries; should, then, the sons of Loyola, who, indeed, formed one of the greatest powers in the world, hold back, owing to narrow-mindedness, and simply because they were a religious Order? No; such an idea would have been a folly, and the sons of Loyola would rather be guilty of sin than stupidity. Thus were they traders, not retail but wholesale; and in regard

* The particulars regarding the religious and other disputes of the Jesuits are to be read in the Fifth Book.

to the manner in which they carried on their operations, an official report of Monsieur Martin, Governor-General of the French possessions in India in the year 1697, will give us by far the best insight:—

"It is an established fact," says M. Martin, in this his report to the French Government, "that, after the Dutch, the Jesuits carry on the most extensive and most valuable trade with East India, and they surpass in this respect the Danes and French, as well as the English and even the Portuguese themselves, by whom they were brought into the country. I will readily admit that individuals of the Order of Jesus came to East India from purely religious motives, and it is chiefly by them that the work of conversion is carried on among the heathen by the Society; but their number is in any case very inconsiderable, and certainly they do not belong to those who possess a complete knowledge of the secrets of the Order. They are simply missionaries, but not further initiated. On the other hand, again, there are others among them who do not seem to be Jesuits at all, because they do not wear Jesuit but secular clothing, and on this account, in Surat, Agra, and Goa, or wherever else they may establish a domicile, they are taken for what they profess to be, namely, merchants. I know, however, that they are Jesuits, and deeply initiated, too, in the knowledge of even the closest secrets. It is, moreover, evident that they have been selected from different nations, and there are even Armenians and Turks, who devote themselves purely to the interest of the Society of Jesus. These Jesuits in disguise mix among all classes, and have the most accurate knowledge of where and in what stores the most beautiful wares are to be found, and by what merchant the best selection may be had. Also, from the secret correspondence which they carry on quite quietly among themselves, they become accurately informed as to what articles are to be found in a particular place, and for which there is the best sale; on this account, they not only know what ought to be purchased, but also where the various goods ought to be exported, in order to derive the best profit; they thus obtain, by their trade, truly immeasurable advantages for their Society. And the credit which they enjoy is still further marvellous, as to all appearance they are not at all inspected, and keep accounts with no one, as some Fathers do,

while they wander about, quite harmless and in poor clothing, from one town in India to another. These Fathers, however, are most important persons, and possess the fullest confidence of the General and Superiors in Europe, obtaining from the said Superiors the necessary instructions by which the disguised Jesuits have to be guided. This takes place without any difficulty whatever, and with the greatest preciseness; simply, indeed, on this account, because those in disguise, besides the ordinary vow of obedience, are required to take a still more strict oath that they never will betray anything to anyone who is not initiated, and, on the other hand, that they will strive with their utmost endeavour for the profit and gain of the Society. In order that there can never take place any interchange between the initiated and uninitiated, a secret sign has to be given which must be recognised, and in this way everyone knows whether he has a brother before him or not. I may still add to this that they are all governed on a thoroughly systematic plan, although they may live distributed throughout the whole interior of India, and their number is by no means small, so that the proverb, 'Many heads, many minds,' has here no application whatever. On the contrary, the spirit of the Jesuits remains always the same, and it has never at any time been found to be inconsistent, especially so far as trade is concerned. With gain in East India itself, however, the Jesuits are by no means satisfied, but they make a still greater profit by sending from their missions quantities of wares to Europe under different false pretences. They do not, however, usually forward them, to their local colleges and profess-houses, but rather to other disguised Jesuits who have established commercial houses, and the profit which can be made on these goods is all the greater than if disposed of first hand. Meanwhile, however important and considerable this kind of trade was, the Jesuits knew how to keep it secret, and thereby brought it about that no one troubled himself about it. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the trade of other nations suffered great loss thereby, and more especially was this the case in France, or rather as regards the French East India Company. I have often, on this account, written to this latter Society, and my statements were always as ample as they were truthful. But this still came far short of making the directors of the Company more

careful to check these hurtful abuses; but, on the other hand, time after time, have I received express orders to favour the Jesuits in every way, and accord to them everything they may demand of me, and even, indeed, to supply them with money. Of this latter favour, in fact, in many cases they made the most unlimited use, and Father Tachard alone became indebted to the Company to the amount of 150,000 piastres, that is, 750,000 livres, without its being considered necessary for him to give security for it, or even a written acknowledgment of the debt. But now, however, to return to the subject regarding the course of the Jesuit trade. In the large squadron of ships which sailed from France to Asia in the year 1690, there were fifty heavy bales, the least of which was larger than the largest bale of the East India Company, and none of these packages contained rosaries, relics, Agnus Dei, or other similar mission articles. No, they consisted entirely of beautiful and costly mercantile wares, for which it was known there was a good demand in East India, and scarcely any ship arrived from France or Europe that had not a freight on board for the Jesuits. Further, I must not forget to state that there were many secret Jesuits, who went about the country with those idolatrous Indian merchants who bear the name of Banians, in order to search for diamonds and pearls; and this description of Jesuits not only caused great harm to the French East India Company, but did their best to dishonour the Christian name. These individuals dress themselves precisely like Banians, speak their language, eat and drink with them, and observe exactly the same customs. Indeed, whoever does not know them would necessarily take them for true Banians, as they offer up sacrifices to the heathen deities, just as the natives do. It is true that all this happened under the deceitful pretext that they desired to convert them; but, in truth, they only went about with them in order to trade with them, and at the same time to conceal through their Society their transactions. It need hardly be told that they never on any occasion converted a single Banian, the actual fact being that these merchants have but little to do with religion during their tours. I was also assured by one of the latter, who had made continual journeys with the Jesuits during three long years, that throughout the whole time they had not spoken a single syllable about Christianity, and

still less had made any attempt at conversion. What further proof can be required ?"

Such was the evidence given by the French Governor-General in East India, in relation to the commerce carried on by the Jesuits, and as he had resided for a long term of years in Pondicherry, the capital of the French possessions there, as well as made frequent excursions in the neighbouring country, it may well be imagined that he must have been accurately informed in regard to the traffic carried on by the Jesuits. He, however, was not the only one who opened the eyes of the Government, or rather, who endeavoured to do so (as the Father Confessor of the Court took consummate care that those of the King and his Ministers should again be shut as soon as possible); for at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries a number of other reports streamed in which testified to the same thing, and even in much more severe expressions. Moreover, it was known that the sons of Loyola had their own counting-houses in all the large seaports of Asia, Europe, and America, as in Madras, Goa, Pondicherry, Canton, Nankin, Marseilles, Genoa, Lyons, Lisbon, Seville, Martinique and Buenos Ayres, as well as in a great many other towns, and with the most of the same were conjoined large banking concerns in order to discount bills of exchange.

Not less important was their home trade; they had, for instance, in Rome attracted to themselves the whole bread, grocery, and wine trades, while great commerce in pearls, rubies, and diamonds was carried on in Venice almost exclusively by them. In Pekin, as well as in other places where ready-money was scarce, they devoted themselves to usury, and 25 and even 50 per cent. was of common occurrence in their daily transactions. With this object they established regular banks, and did not in the least deny these facts, but rather declared themselves to be justified, as other money usurers took just as much. They had for sale, in almost all their colleges, oil, cotton, and grocery wares; and wherever this was not the case, they erected, close at hand, shops and stalls, over which one of them held supervision. They especially busied themselves in the sale of drugs, and their apothecary shops in Lyons, Paris, and elsewhere, furnished the whole of the small dealers with treacle, Peruvian bark, herbs from Paraguay, calomel, and what

ever other remedies might be wanted. In short, their trade was everywhere extensive, and between the different seaports a number of ships plied which were alone freighted with their goods. They, also, did not at all hesitate to conjoin to their trading considerable smuggling; and as a proof of this assertion I will produce two examples.

Father Tambin, general agent of the Jesuits for the trade between Genoa and Lisbon, employed a ship-captain during five-and-twenty years for the transport of Jesuit wares, and this captain, during the year, ordinarily made six voyages backwards and forwards, it being observed that the chief freight from Lisbon consisted always of bags of coffee. Now, the Republic of Genoa issued a strict prohibition, in the year 1725, as to the importation of gold bars, and every shipowner who transgressed this prohibition rendered himself liable, not merely to a severe punishment, but also to the confiscation of the whole cargo. It may be well imagined, then, that the captains of merchant ships went to work from this time forward with great circumspection, and this was, of course, the case as regards the captain in question. It happened on one occasion, however, that among several other wares committed to his care in Lisbon by secular merchants, and for which he was, of course, responsible, there were a good number of bags of coffee delivered by the local Jesuits, which presented a somewhat suspicious appearance, and he, therefore, caused them to be put in a space apart. Still he made no further remark, but took his bill of lading and set sail. However, on getting into the open sea, he was careful to make an investigation, and had each of the bags opened one after the other; and what did he then find? In each of them was carefully concealed, under the coffee, one or two gold bars! He took them all out, landed them at some secure harbour on the way, and delivered them for safe keeping to a trustworthy mercantile house. Having arrived in Genoa, he immediately advised Father Tambin that he had wares for him, and when he came with his people to receive them, he made over to him all the bags of coffee, exactly as they stood indicated in the open bill of lading. The Father, finding everything in order, took his departure with his packages; he returned the next day, however, and taking the captain aside demanded of him what had become of the gold bars. The captain, being

a man of honour, at once acknowledged the whole truth; but what he told his inquirer may be readily imagined, as the Jesuits, by this deceitful smuggling transaction, had brought him into great danger of losing not only his whole cargo, but his liberty besides, together with his entire property.

The other example of Jesuit smuggling, of which I have promised to make mention, sounds even still more edifying, and relates to a ship's captain who, in the year 1760, sailed from Cadiz to the same town of Genoa which I have already named. He had already completed his freight, when two Jesuit Fathers came to him and begged him to take a small chest containing church ornaments, together with some few pounds of chocolate. "He ought to do this," they said, "for the love of God, as they were very poor, and their brother in Genoa not the less so." The captain, a good-natured man, consented, and, taking their chest, stowed it away in the lowest compartment of the ship. Thereupon they delivered to him the bill of lading, in which the chest was described as being packed with church ornaments, and the ship sailed next day under a favourable wind. Unfortunately for the Jesuits, however, this did not long continue, but, on the other hand, changed into a storm, so that the waves came all over the deck, and penetrated into the innermost parts of the ship. The captain now, naturally enough, became afraid that the church ornaments would be spoilt, and ordered the chest to be brought up in order that it might be put in a more favourable place. The order was carried out, but behold, in spite of its small compass, its weight was found to be so great that it could scarcely be lifted by four strong men. This, of course, aroused the suspicion of the captain, who directed it to be placed in his own cabin, in order that it might be opened in the presence of the ship's company. What, then, was found? A very considerable quantity of coined money, that was artfully concealed among the ornaments! Thereupon the captain became uncommonly irate, as, although it was not forbidden to import coin into Genoa, it was still necessary to declare the amount, under the penalty of confiscation; and, moreover, a higher freight was paid for gold coin than for any other wares. He, consequently, could not have the smallest doubt that the pious Fathers, with their false story of poverty, only wished to cheat him of his freight, so he

took out the money, without in the least disarranging the ornaments. After landing in Genoa, a Jesuit at once made his appearance with a couple of servants, in order to take possession of the chest of which he had been already advised, and the captain gave it to him, both having previously compared the bill of lading and found it to be correct. Two hours afterwards, however, the Jesuit again made his appearance, and showed himself very agitated, because he had not found in it all that his brother in Cadiz had advised him of.

"How?" exclaimed the ship-captain, "are any of your chocolates or Church ornaments wanting?"

"Not so," rejoined the son of Loyola; "but my brethren wrote to me that the several alms that they had collected from benevolent persons had been enclosed."

"They have lied," replied the captain; "but you wished to cheat me, a poor ship-captain, of my freight, and placed me in the greatest danger, instead of acting honestly. Still, you can have your money, all told, only deducting the freight, of which I cannot make you a present this time."

Thus did the sons of Loyola, in this case also, obtain their money again, because the captain was too honourable a man to cheat them; but would the pious Fathers have acted towards him in this way had he been in their place? One would still wish to know to what amount the trade of the sons of Loyola reached, and what sums it procured for them; but this remains a secret among the Superiors, and certain information as to this never penetrated so far as the laity. There could not, however, be the slightest doubt that the profit was something enormous, as their dominion of Paraguay alone gave them annually over four millions of ducats, as is shown by an official report of the Portuguese Governor-General of the town of Potosi, Don Mathia de Anglose Gortari, written in the year 1731. The said Governor, who had received from his Government orders to make the most minute investigation on all sides, found the country to be divided into thirty-six parishes, or reductions, and each of these comprehended in itself 10,000 families; in all of them, however, there existed so great a surplus of stores and produce that a single reduction was alone in a condition to supply six others for the whole year. Even the smallest of their reductions possessed their 40,000 or 50,000 head of oxen and

cows, and the larger and richer ones of them not less than double that quantity.

In consequence of this the Jesuits were enabled to export yearly to Spain about 300,000 hides of cattle, each of which was sold for six piastres or more, and the trade in leather brought in even as much. The fields proved to be very productive, and all kinds of grain were grown upon them, as well, especially, as tobacco, sugar, and cotton, which latter the Indian women were required to spin and weave; all these articles were likewise transported to Europe, and cotton stuffs alone yielded an annual profit of 100,000 heavy piastres. Everywhere were to be observed well-appointed workshops, and the Indians manufactured therein most beautiful gold and silver wares. Moreover, there were numbers of locksmiths' shops, and forges and foundries even were not wanting, in which cannon, mortars, and the like might be cast. However, the latter manufactories were designed not so much for trade as for internal use; and the same remark also holds good as to manufactories of arms.

A particularly extensive commerce took place, on the other hand, in the so-called Paraguay herb,* and, as there was sale for it almost all over the world, it indeed brought a profit which was certainly as great as the gold and silver mines in other American countries.

In short, the Jesuits derived from their trade in Paraguay truly immense sums, and these were dutifully taken into keeping by the Superiors of the missions. Every six years, however, the general Procurators came into the provinces and sent the proceeds to Rome, either in bills of exchange or wares.

* This vegetable is, according to the description of the Jesuit Father Francis Xavier de Charlevoix, the leaf of a tree about the size of a middle-sized apple tree, and has the shape of an orange leaf. It is met with in commerce in a dried condition, almost converted into powder, and Peru alone formerly required 100,000 arobens of it (the arobe may be calculated at about twenty-five pounds). When infused in boiling water and then drunk cold, its action is purgative and diuretic; a strong dose, however, taken at once, acts as an emetic, and afterwards as a promoter of sleep. On account of these excellent properties it was formerly never to be found wanting in any apothecary's shop, more especially in America; later on, however, as Paraguay became closed completely to the foreign world it fell into disuse, and as in the meantime medical men came to the knowledge of other drastic remedies, it never again attained its former renown, even after the country again became open. On account of its harsh taste, it also got the name of "Yerba Maté," and the scientific term for the tree or shrub on which it grows is "Ilex Maté."

It was also to be remarked that in every parish considerable store-houses existed, in which the wares and land produce were stored until they could be conveyed to the great market-places of Santa Fé, Buenos Ayres, and Tacuman, either for sale or exportation, and from this it will be seen how exceedingly well the Jesuits understood the draining of their dominion of Paraguay.

Thus did Don Mathia de Anglose Gortari report concerning the Jesuits in Paraguay, and he calculated, as already remarked, the amount of their commercial trade at even more than ten millions of hard dollars annually, while he at the same time added that what the maintenance of the Indians cost—I mean their eating, drinking, and clothing—made but a slight deduction. Not the less magnificently did the Jesuits come out by degrees in Mexico, through their intrigues; and the equally honest and truthful as unfortunate Archbishop of Mexico and Viceroy of Spanish America, so severely persecuted by the Jesuits, Don Juan de Palafox, submitted a copious report or the subject to Pope Innocent X. In this document, among other things, the following statements are made:—

"I find almost the whole wealth of Central America in the hands of the Jesuits, and the property they hold in herds of cattle and sheep is something truly enormous. Thus I am acquainted with two of their Colleges, each of which numbers 300,000 sheep, and another commands more than 60,000 oxen in their pasturages. Whilst the secular clergy, together with all other religious Orders, have only three sugar refineries, and those very small, the Jesuits possess, in the province of Mexico alone, in which they have no fewer than ten Colleges, the six largest manufactories that there are throughout the whole of Central America, and each of them represents a value of from half to a whole million of dollars. Indeed, some of them bring an annual net profit of more than 100,000 dollars, and the smallest clears at least 25,000 to 30,000. Moreover, they also possess tracts of land which frequently extend for several miles, and these territories, which they farm, as they belong to the most productive regions, bring them in an immense quantity of maize, tobacco, and other produce. Also very rich silver mines belong to their Colleges, and they have succeeded, in a word, to bring to such a height their power and riches that the

secular clergy will soon be compelled to beg their bread from the Jesuits."

Thus did Palafox write, and his statements were only too amply confirmed from other quarters. From this it became clearly evident that the Loyolites had secured for themselves almost the entire traffic, and that they were even not ashamed of being usurious. Among other things, a gigantic traffic was instituted by them from Carthagena to Quito, and in order to procure the necessary means of doing this cheap, the worthy Fathers annually sent some ships to Angola, on the coast of Africa, where it was easy to procure a number of black slaves for little money. Indeed, in order to save expenditure they contrived to sell a part of the human cargo to the Mexican planters, as by this means the cost of the ships employed in slave-catching was completely covered, and they had, so to speak, gratis and for nothing, the labourers and porters that they required. It is true that in this way they gained not a few enemies for themselves, more especially among their competitors, that is, those hitherto engaged in carrying on the same business; and, on one occasion, the same, with their servants, broke in pieces, during the night, the greater part of the Jesuits' carts. The pious Fathers, however, did not permit themselves to be terrified thereby, but continued to go on with the thing just as before, until at length the High Council of Castile issued a prohibition against this trade, so unsuitable for priests and missionaries.

Quite in the same flourishing condition was the trade which the Jesuits carried on in Japan, while Europe could not sufficiently admire the many wares derived therefrom. Hundreds of ships were freighted therewith, and the only thing wanting was that the sons of Loyola did not hoist a flag of their own. It was then expressly remarked, too, by the noted author Navarette, who made his personal observations on the spot, that the sons of Loyola never neglected to place a shop or booth close to every church, and the Jesuits were afterwards compelled to admit this to be the case. For a long time not a word was heard from them as to their doings, and Fathers Cevico and Tellier, when interrogated by the Roman See, merely accounted for the annual shipment to Europe of fifty bales of silk; but the most practical confession lay in the orders issued by their own General, Thyrsus

Gonzalez, under pressure from Pope Clement XI., in the year 1702, when he directed that the Japanese Fathers should give up their ships, as whoever possessed vessels must also have, naturally, freight and goods for the same. Enough, then, of such matters, although I could adduce a great number of others.

But there is still another question, How did it come about that the Catholic Church, and more especially the leaders of it, put up with such unpriestly conduct as that of the Jesuits? Did the representatives of Christ approve of it, or did they condemn it? Now, the first was only done by one single Pope, the latter, however, by a whole series of Pontiffs. That single one was the Pontifex Gregory XIII., who reigned from 1572 to 1585, and who showed himself during the whole of that period to be blindly devoted to the sons of Loyola. The Jesuits represented to him that it would be impossible for them to maintain their several colleges, seminaries, and other houses in the far distant regions of the earth, if they were not allowed to carry on a little trade and business, and the Pope, believing this, permitted them to embark in transactions utterly unworthy of priests and missionaries.

As, however, the whole of Christendom was amazed at the scandal, and, especially, as the different universities (more particularly that of Paris in the year 1594), as well as the whole of the secular and monkish clergy, together with the Bishops and Archbishops, frequently protested against it, the successors of Gregory expressly withdrew this permission; and the Popes Urban VIII., Clement IX., Clement X., and Benedict XIV., besides, prohibited, in special Bulls, the priests from engaging in any kind of trade whatever.

For instance, in a Bull of Benedict XIV., dated 25th February 1741, it is stated as follows:—

"We forbid, of our own motion and of our supreme power, all ecclesiastical persons from following commercial pursuits, even in the case when a trade has not been established by them, but by lay people. We forbid ecclesiastics and monkish Orders doing this, as well in the case when the objects thereof are in their own domains as when they happen to be in the estates of their coadjutors and secular associates. We forbid them to carry it on, be it in their own name of ecclesiastics, in the name

of their Society, or in the name of secular persons who may be dependent upon them."

Precisely the same was affirmed by Urban VIII. (1625); and if in this case the sons of Loyola were not expressly named, it was still apparent, from the words employed, that they alone, as members of the Society of Jesus, were alluded to. But what, then, did the Jesuits answer to this? They rejoined nothing, but continued to carry on their trade as before, not troubling themselves in the slightest degree about the Papal Bulls.

Thus, for example, the University of Paris, in the year 1664, brought to light a contract which was entered into in the town of Dieppe by Notary Thomas le Vasseur and his partner Réné Bense, and it was apparent from this contract that the worthy Fathers carried on a trade with Canada in partnership with the whaling outfitters of Dieppe, sharing, indeed, profit and loss. The contracting parties were Carl de Biencourt and M. de St. Just, of Dieppe, with Thomas Robin and M. de Calognes, of Paris, on the one part, and on the other the Fathers Biard and Ennemont Massé, of the Society of Jesus; the deed runs thus:—

"The said present and covenanting parties acknowledge that they trade in common on account of the cargo of the ship *Grace of God*, and the worthy Fathers Biard and Massé, who have signed in the name of their Order, give this combination the right to the half of all kinds of wares, especially to the half of the cargo of the ship *Grace of God*."

Thus it stands in the contract, and is not this sufficient evidence of what I have affirmed? But I will allow still other witnesses to speak—witnesses which excited the greatest attention throughout the whole of Christendom, because they proved the Jesuits to be not only merchants, but also common usurers and fraudulent bankrupts.

In the year 1639, there prevailed a severe famine in the island of Malta, and it caused the then Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, by name Laskaris, unspeakable trouble how best to alleviate the general distress by the importation of meal and fruit from the neighbouring less indigent localities. Among those, now, who appeared to suffer more especially from want, the inhabitants of the Jesuit College were particularly remarkable,

and the worthy Fathers never neglected to fetch, in person, their regular allowance of the portions which were distributed. As it happened that one among them, Father Cassia, committed an equally grave as common crime, the judicial authorities of the Grand Master sent to arrest him. He took flight into the college of his Order, in the hope of there finding safety; but the police followed after him, and, behold! what did they there discover? The college itself, as well as the buildings and storehouses attached thereto, were actually filled to overflowing with corn and meal, as well as other necessaries of life; and there was thus abundant proof that the worthy Fathers merely retained these stores in order that, when the famine had reached its height, they might issue them at an enormous price. The rage of the people, naturally, knew no bounds, and the whole of the Jesuits would undoubtedly have fallen victims, had not Laskaris at once packed them into a felucca, just as they were, and despatched them over to Sicily. Of course, the whole of their property was then confiscated, and all that had been latterly obtained by them was of no avail.

The bankruptcy of the Jesuit College at St. Herminigilde, in the Spanish town of Seville, caused much more sensation. This bankruptcy is the one of which, by the way, I have already made mention in the Second Book, and it took place under the following circumstances.

About the year 1640, Brother André de Villar, Procurator or temporary administrator of the said college, one of the richest in the whole of Spain, being a man of much capacity, formed the resolution, in common with the fellow-members of his community, to double, if not to treble, their riches by an extended industry and trade. In order to effect this he required ready money, and, in truth, very much of the same. He addressed himself, then, to the credulous souls of Seville, and begged from them a loan for "pious purposes." To everyone who was disposed to be generous he promised the most substantial heavenly reward; he did not the less, however, hold out the prospect of good interest in order to arouse the avarice of worldly men, and, moreover, he knew how to speak pathetically of the security afforded by the Jesuit Order for the borrowed money. His words had the desired effect, and a number of Sevillians, especially small capitalists, widows, and guardians of orphans,

pensioned officers, and such like, hastened to entrust their ready money and deposit their valuable securities with the procurator. In this manner André de Villar collected, in a short space of time, not less than 600,000 ducats, and with this, for those days, enormous sum of money he hoped to be able to carry on a somewhat profitable trade. He at once bought several large landed estates with immense herds of cattle on them; caused manufactories and mills to be erected; instituted stores, which he filled with all sorts of wares; built ships, which he freighted with iron, linen, and other European wares, and sending them out to the Spanish colonies, brought back the productions of the East and West Indies. In short, he became a great trader in the fullest acceptation of the term, and the firm of Villar & Co. for several long years did an immense business. All at once, in the year 1644, as several important bills of exchange became due the procurator declared that he was not, under present circumstances, in a position to meet them, and, as in consequence of this not a few other creditors became very pressing in their demands, he legally announced his insolvency. The panic of the people who had deposited their capital with the house of Villar & Co. can now well be imagined, and as they amounted in all to about 300, their exclamations brought the whole of Seville into a state of commotion. But exclamations in such matters are ordinarily but unproductive, and, consequently, the sons of Loyola did not give themselves much trouble about the matter, but simply allowed things to take their course, and resigned themselves to the circumstances. At length, at the end of a year, the investigation as to the property had been so far proceeded with, that a general meeting of the creditors was called, on the 9th of March 1645, in the profess-house of the Jesuits of Seville, and the Provincial of Andalusia, Father Pierre de Avilas, suddenly came forward with an offer of 50 per cent.

"André de Villar," he stated, "had completely exceeded his powers as Procurator of the College at St. Herminigilde, and had simply traded on his own account, so that, properly speaking, the Order of Jesus was under no obligation whatever, but, out of special consideration for the number of widows and other poor creditors, the worthy Fathers wished to be liberal, and therefore offered them 50 per cent."

He firmly believed that the creditors would agree to this, and on that account he had brought a notary along with him in order to draw out immediately the necessary deeds. Still the creditors unanimously hesitated, and made out that the entire Society was responsible for the payment, so that the meeting dissolved without effect. The Father Provincial now took another course, and caused Father Villar to be thrown into prison, because, without the permission of his Superiors, and against the principles of the Society of Jesus, he had carried on a trade on his own account. At the same time, however, that this took place, they did not neglect, also, to treat privately with some of the individual creditors, in order to bring about some abatement by means of fair promises. The Provincial in this way actually attained some results, as some few of the creditors agreed to his proposals; the majority of them, however, with Juan Onufre de Salazar at their head, immediately addressed a petition to King Philip IV., and prayed for justice. Of course some time must naturally elapse before an answer could be obtained, and the Jesuits knew how to take the best advantage of this interval. They won over the commissary charged with the sequestration of the estates, so that he advised the creditors rather to submit to a compromise than to enter into a law-suit; and as now very many of the creditors, indeed the most of them, found themselves in great straits from the cessation of the payment of interest, nearly a hundred of them followed his advice. Consequently, all these at once received 50 per cent. of the original capital in ready money, or exchanged their claims for a mortgage. Thus the number of creditors was diminished more and more daily, and hope began to be entertained that at length the whole debt of 450,000 ducats might be paid off with a sum of half that amount. Suddenly, however, things took a different turn, when the King's reply arrived, and the President of the Government of Seville, Don Juan de Santelicés, was entrusted with the investigation of the case. The latter being an impartial man, who did not allow himself to be blinded with Jesuit gold or talked over by Jesuitical *suada* (sweet words), at once removed the partisan commissary, then set at liberty the imprisoned Villar, and caused him to make a full circumstantial confession as to how the bankruptcy had been brought about. It now came out that the Jesuits had no

other view in contemplation, from the very beginning, than to relieve themselves of their debt for the half of the money, and, in fact, several letters of the Father Provincial were forthcoming which proved this only too clearly. Juan de Santelicés would have by far preferred to have sold at once all the estates belonging to the College of St. Herminigilde, so as to have fully satisfied the creditors out of the produce; but the sons of Loyola asserted that the greater part of these estates were ecclesiastical property, and consequently could not be sold under sequestration. Upon this ground the law-suit continued to follow its course during a series of years, and during this long time many of the creditors were unable to hold out on account of poverty, and voluntarily begged for a compromise. In short, these sons of Loyola succeeded tolerably well in gaining their end, although the final decision in the year 1652 went against them; and by the sale of the remaining territories and other estates, the rest of the creditors were satisfied in full.

The public of Seville, however, now knew how to estimate the Society of Jesus, and the indignation raised against it could, on that account, be no longer restrained.

A worthy parallel case to this Seville scandal was the notorious bankruptcy of Father La Vallette at Martinique, and I cannot refrain from making mention of it in conclusion.

Brother La Vallette was sent as missionary to the island of Martinique, by his chiefs, in the year 1742, and first of all laboured in the small parish of Carbet, only a couple of miles distant from the town of St. Pierre. This spot, however, was soon too small for him, as he was at that time a man of thirty-five years of age, and of a very enterprising character, as well as of great intelligence and activity. It consequently came about that, in the year 1747, he was nominated to the post of Procurator of the Profess-house of St. Pierre, and he at once entered upon this important office with the design of being as useful as possible to his Order. The profess-house of St. Pierre had deteriorated very much through bad management, although it still possessed extensive properties, or, if one would rather call them so, plantations, and there was, therefore, a large sphere of action open for a capable manager; but in order to accomplish worthily what was required, much was needed—much courage,

much intelligence, much knowledge, much speculation. La Vallette commenced, accordingly, by purchasing a strong body of negro slaves, in order to be able to form better plantations than formerly, and at the same time he acquired experienced overseers, who were entrusted with the management of the slave work. For this purpose he required money, however, and, indeed, no inconsiderable amount. Further cash was needed, too, for the acquisition of more extensive lands, for which there occurred just at that time a peculiarly favourable opportunity, which he was anxious not to let slip, because these lands might afterwards be converted likewise, with ease, into charming plantations, adapted for sugar, tobacco, and cotton. But whence was this money to be obtained? Being shrewd in mind and well versed in commercial matters, he weighed the thing well in its every aspect, and after long consideration a wise thought struck him at last, which he at once brought into operation. France at that time treated her colonies most cruelly, on which account it happened that whoever was obliged to send money from Martinique to the mother country, lost almost a fourth, if not even a third. In other words, if a person in Martinique had to pay 20,000 francs in Paris, or say anywhere else in France, he was compelled to spend 28,000 francs or 30,000 francs in order to liquidate the sum; and it may, then, well be imagined how severely the mercantile community of Martinique suffered from this oppression. La Vallette now declared, in a circular addressed to the merchants of the Antilles, "that he was in a position, through the assistance of his Order in Lyons, to pay in full moneys entrusted to him, without any loss or deduction, with this condition, however, that the payments were not to take place till after thirty to thirty-six months." He at the same time offered "to give for all sums entrusted to him as remittances safe bills of exchange; of course, however, bills payable after the long sight of two years and a half without interest during the whole of that time." The mercantile people of Martinique considered this offer, and found the same to be very advantageous for their money-bags, taking it for granted that the signature of the worthy Father would be at once honoured. But why should they have any doubt about it, as, indeed, the profess-house at St. Pierre possessed a large property in landed

estates? Money was therefore entrusted to him; at first, it is true, in small sums only, but later on in larger amounts, as it was found that prompt repayment was always forthcoming; then, indeed, still larger, and, at last, very important moneys, became available for him. The first object of La Vallette, then, was only to get into his hands very large sums of ready money, and thus after a few years he attained his object, and then, of course, land could be bought with borrowed money and converted into plantations. This was not sufficient for him, however, but he acquired, partly in Martinique itself, partly in the islands of Du Bent and San Domingo, a number of other plantations, and, with the help of his negroes, planted thereon such quantities of sugar, coffee, tobacco, indigo, and cotton, that no inhabitant of the Antilles, not even the richest of them, could any longer compete with him. In addition to this, he bought up the produce of other plantations, and erected, besides his head establishment in St. Pierre, several other counting-houses, as, for instance, at St. Domingo, Maria Galanda, Santa Lucia, and St. Vincent. Still, however, the stores in his magazines never accumulated, as might have been supposed, to anything enormous, but as much as he bought he again immediately sold; naturally, indeed, not in the Antilles or elsewhere in America, but in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. On this account, he at once put himself in connection with the first commercial houses in Europe, that is, in the towns of Marseilles, Nantes, Lyons, Paris, Lisbon, Cadiz, Leghorn, Amsterdam, and elsewhere. In consequence of these operations, conducted with as much skill as success, the business of the house of La Vallette & Co. assumed such dimensions, after less than five years, that the whole trade of Martinique became, so to speak, a monopoly in its hands; and now, of course, the remaining local merchants and plantation proprietors could no longer conceal from themselves how foolish they had been, as in entrusting him with their money they had contributed their aid to enable this Black Cloak to found a business. As murmurings, however, brought no relief, they complained to the French Government, on account of the prejudice to their trade, and the authorities at once gave a hint to Father Sacy, the Procurator-General of the Jesuit Missions, to set some bounds, at least, to the speculative spirit of his brother Jesuit in

Martinique. Sacy promised to do so, but without, however, any intention from the very first of keeping his promise, and consequently the complaints of the merchants and plantation-owners were renewed more than ever.

The Government now, at length, saw themselves obliged to take action, and consequently the French Governor of the Antilles received an order, at the end of the year 1753, to send Father La Vallette to Paris for the vindication of his proceedings. The Father took his departure; not, however, before causing the favourable evidence of the Governor, and those high in office whose confidence he fully possessed, to be adduced; and when he arrived in Havre, in January 1754, he was received in triumph by his fellow brethren, especially by the Fathers Sacy and Forestier, his chief correspondents in France. Still more gratifying was his reception at the College in Paris, and the Jesuits sang his praises everywhere, more especially among the influential at Court. His vindication became, then, an easy matter; or, rather, it was made easy for him, and people lent belief at once to his assurances, that he carried on nothing but a "legitimate" trade. And how could it be otherwise, seeing that he brought with him such excellent certificates in connection with his recall? He possessed, indeed, credentials from M. Bompas, Governor of Martinique, who was bound to know what was going on in the island! Thus, certainly, the good Father La Vallette was a perfectly innocent man, who busied himself entirely with the extension of the mission and the conversion of the savages; and if, when there, he sent over at times sugar and coffee, he did so merely to be enabled to meet the exigences of the Mission. He also exported nothing but the sugar and coffee which the profess-house had produced on its own estates, and this could not be called trading, more than that of a peasant who brings his corn to market.

Thus was Father La Vallette pronounced to be not guilty, and the Government, therefore, did not see themselves in a position to find any fault with him; and although, certainly, proofs to the contrary, brought by his opponents, were not wanting, still they could not be taken as convincing. He was allowed, therefore, the following year, to return to his post at Martinique, but still under the distinct promise, given on oath, that he would not in future afford any occasion to the mercantile

people to complain of him, and that he would engage himself simply and solely in the service of his religious duties. When, however, was ever a promise given by a son of Loyola, even if conjoined with an oath, to be kept? Scarcely had La Vallette, then, arrived again, in May 1755, in St. Pierre, than he not only afresh took in hand the old business, but he commenced a new one, inasmuch as that he established a bank, instituted manufactories, and the like. His commercial undertakings, then, flourished even more than ever, and the General of the Order, Ignatius Visconti, on account of this fortunate result, was induced to promote the good Father Procurator to be General Superintendent and Apostolical Prefect of the Jesuit Missions of the Antilles. Indeed, no one knows what further would have happened, had it not been that some evil-disposed Englishmen played the poor innocent La Vallette a very sorry trick, which materially interfered with his calculations.

Among the European banking-houses with whom the Father did business, one of the most considerable was that of the "brothers Lioncy and Gouffre," in Marseilles, and at the end of the year 1755 he became indebted to that firm for bills of exchange drawn on them to the extent of more than a million and a half of livres. As a matter of course, the brothers Lioncy and Gouffre, as substantial merchants, did not give this large credit to the house of La Vallette & Co. without having a sufficient guarantee, and this consisted in colonial wares, worth about two millions, which La Vallette had promised to send to the brothers Lioncy and Gouffre, in two merchant ships, in the autumn of 1755. The wares were duly despatched, and on their arrival in Marseilles both parties would have been satisfied; but, unfortunately, in the spring of 1755, war had broken out between England and France, and the wicked English captured those two merchant ships. As a matter of course, the brothers Lioncy came thereby into the greatest difficulties, as how were they to meet those bills when they became due? They immediately sent, therefore, their partner Gouffre to Father Sacy in Paris, in order to request him, as the correspondent hitherto of La Vallette, and as he who had made him Procurator, to step into the breach. The Father, indeed, actually made some remittances, but very insufficient;

on the other hand, he promised to report the matter forthwith to Rome, in order that what was wanting might be supplied them. He did so; but, unfortunately, just at that time the General, Visconti, died, and in the interim, until a new General was elected, all affairs of importance remained in abeyance. This was bad, and especially so for the brothers Lioncy and Gouffre, as when the bills for the million and a half were presented, they were under the necessity of declaring themselves insolvent on the 19th February 1756. They conducted themselves, moreover, under the circumstances, in a perfectly honourable way, and gave up all their property to their creditors, as they preferred rather to be beggars than cheats. The investigation respecting the condition of the property required a long time. After the space of a year, however, the affair was so far advanced that the debit and credit could be accurately ascertained, and the syndic of the committee of creditors entered a complaint at the Consulate in Marseilles against the two Fathers La Vallette and Sacy, the former in his capacity of chief of the Jesuit-house in St. Pierre, and the latter as Procurator-General of the Missions in the Antilles. The Consulate did not allow a long time to elapse before pronouncing its sentence, but came to a decision on the 19th December 1759. It ran thus, that Sacy and Vallette together had to pay the sum of 1,502,236 livres, and that each was jointly and separately liable. The creditors were jubilant, but too quickly so, as La Vallette had, by this time, long taken his departure from this world, and Sacy entered an appeal against the sentence, declaring that La Vallette was alone liable, as he had been acting completely on his own account, and, indeed, contrary to the wishes of his superiors. In the meantime the law-suit attracted so much attention in France, that the rest of the banking-houses with which La Vallette was in connection believed themselves to be right in advancing their claims, and, with the firm of "Widow Crocc & Son" at their head, addressed themselves to the Provincial of the Jesuit Order in Paris, calling upon him, as liable for the debts of the Profess-house of St. Pierre at Martinique. The Provincial, however, would not at all admit this, and the consequence was that the firm of Crocc & Son instituted an action. It did not, however, make its complaint

at Nantes, but urged it at the Consulate in Paris, holding that all existing houses of the Society of Jesus in the territories of the King of France must be held liable for the debts of La Vallette. The verdict of the Consulate of Paris followed in January 1760, and completely granted the petition of the plaintiff. The decree ran thus:—

"That the whole of the Jesuits existing and residing in France, *in corpore*, were held liable for the payment of the capital borrowed by La Vallette, together with interest, and that the creditors, in the case of delay in payment, might sequestrate the whole of the effects and property of the Order throughout all the territories of France."

Against this the Provincial at once protested, and in this he was joined by the rest of the Provincials of France, as well as by those of Champagne, Guyenne, Toulouse, and Lyons. They all peremptorily declared it to be thoroughly unjust to make a whole Society liable for the error of one of its individual members; they appealed, at the same time, to their constitutions, in which the principle is distinctly expressed that each individual was made responsible for his own dealings, and set all their pens in motion to induce the King to lay the whole matters at issue before his own Forum, the contention as well between the creditors and the house of Lioncy & Gouffre, and also that of Widow Crocc & Son.

"It was a question now," said they, "no longer in regard to the debts of La Vallette merely, but as to the principle of who had to pay, in the case of an individual member of the Society of Jesus incurring debts, and this all-important question could only be decided by the highest law-court of France."

The High Council of the King acknowledged this to be so, and by a decree of 17th August 1760 placed the matters in question before the High Court of Parliament of Paris, as the highest law tribunal of the whole of France. A scrupulous investigation was then commenced, the Procurator-General, Monsieur Le Pelletier du San Fargeau, being a man of the highest rectitude, who took into consideration all the proofs, for and against, three times before coming to a decision. First of all, he was desirous of accurately informing himself as to what law regu-

lated the estates of the Jesuits, and while the Provincials in their petition to the King had in this matter appealed to their statutes, he demanded the production of these latter. Father Montigny, Procurator of the Profess-house in Paris, obeyed the order and laid before him a printed copy thereof; but this was, indeed, the most stupid proceeding of which a son of Loyola was ever guilty,* and he bitterly repented it a few days afterwards. In the said statutes, forsooth, was to be read, in large Gothic characters, "that all the estates of the Jesuits formed the common and inseparable property of the Society"; it was further to be found in them that no individual Jesuit-house, neither a Profess-house, College, nor any other institution of the kind, could possess the smallest portion of property for itself; it was therein recorded, too, that the supervision of all the enormous possessions, distributed all over the world, remained in the hands of the Superiors, and, without the consent of the General in Rome, the most inconsiderable trifle could not be alienated.

What, then, was the consequence of all this? Nothing otherwise than this, that, as the chief of a Jesuit-house was to be regarded merely as a commissary of the General in Rome, the undertakings of La Vallette were by no means to be viewed as private speculations, but as appertaining to the Order; nothing else, to wit, than this, that the plantations in Martinique belonged neither to La Vallette, nor to the Profess-house at St. Pierre, but to the Society of Jesus, and that, consequently, the entire Order must be held to be responsible for the debts incurred by the house of La Vallette & Co. Such was the proposition of the Procurator-General, and accordingly the Parliament pronounced with the greatest solemnity its decision, on the 8th of May 1761, before an immense assembly. The verdict was to the effect that the whole of the French Jesuits were liable as well for the bills drawn upon the house of Lioncy, with an extra charge of 50,000 livres, as for the claims of Widow Crocc & Son, and must pay, accordingly, the whole of the debts contracted by La Vallette, amounting in

* The extraordinary results which this production of the constitution of the Order had, as regards its stability in France, will come to be treated of in the Sixth Book of this work.

all to nearly three millions, but that the possessions at Martinique remained to the Order.

Thus ended this notorious bankruptcy case; and when the result became known to the public there broke forth an enormous storm of applause, as the love of the people to the Jesuits had by this time become converted into thorough hatred.

BOOK V.

THE PROBITY OF THE JESUITS;

OR,

THE SONS OF LOYOLA IN THEIR TRUE ASPECT.

MOTTO:

Ich hab's Euch g'sagt, Ihr habt's gehört;
Wir sind gewesen lang bethört;
Dass Lug und Trug so breit sich macht,
Die Schwarzröck' haben's dahin gebracht,
Denn Wahrheit mögen's leiden nit,
Ist wider ihren Brauch und Sitt.
Vivat Ignatius

Wo sich der Teufel steckt ein Ziel,
Da han die Schwarzröck' Hand ihm Spiel,
Und wo man ihn mit Spott und Hohn
Ersäuft, da laufen sie davon;
Denn Wahrheit mögen's leiden nit,
Ist wider ihren Brauch und Sitt.
Vivat Ignatius!

Auf Landsknecht gut und Reiters Muth,
Auf, haut entzwei die schwarze Brut!
Erst müss sie treffen göttlich' Rach',
Soll oben stahn die gute Sach',
Die Wahrheit mögen's leiden nit,
Ist wider ihren Brauch und Sitt.
Vivat Ignatius!

Altes Soldatenlied.

CHAPTER I.

THE EVERLASTING CONFLICT OF THE SONS OF LOYOLA WITH THE REST OF THE CATHOLIC ECCLESIASTICS.

The immoral excesses to which many of the sons of Loyola were addicted, and especially the refinement to which they carried their pleasures, produced, as we have seen in the Third Book, deep effects as regards the outer world. The boundless thirst and eagerness of desire after the money and property of other people, in which they did not refrain from the meanest of crimes, as long as these might enable them to attain their object, injured them still more. Especially, however, the war footing on which they stood with the rest of the Catholic ecclesiastics and monkish Orders led to their overthrow as much as anything else, as there arose an almost irreconcileable hatred between them, and neither party rested until one or the other was annihilated.

Whence, now, was this constant state of warfare, and why these eternal feuds among the priestly colleges? The blame rested solely and entirely with the sons of Loyola, because they considered themselves to be servants of the Lord much superior to the rest of those ordained. Naturally, they were, as their name itself indicated, associates of Jesus. Naturally, then, was He in direct command of His combatants and warriors as supreme Ruler. Naturally, then, had He entrusted the principal keys of the gates of heaven to them, His favourite and chosen ones; or rather had Peter, the porter of heaven, received

orders from Him not to give admittance to the Hall of Eternal Happiness to anyone who had not been provided with a passport from the sons of Loyola! That was the principle upon which the Jesuits proceeded, and since upon that account they looked upon all other priests, especially of the monkish Orders, as troublesome competitors, they must necessarily fight with them, as without a struggle no victory could be obtained. One need not, however, on that account at all suppose that the Fathers from the very beginning commenced to bring to the fore any bellicose intentions, to which they endeavoured firmly to adhere; on the contrary, they were always sly enough, wherever they made their appearance, to show the most coy modesty, the most obsequious humility, as well towards the secular as towards the ecclesiastical authorities. Once firmly planted, however, once they had contrived to bring the bishops and princes, or other great people of the land, to stand by them and to support them in the founding of an establishment, they then began with their operations, and quite quietly the magistrates of the land were imbued with the conviction that the Jesuit Order possessed decidely peculiar advantages over the other Orders.

"We alone," whispered they to the men of high standing, "we the Jesuits alone follow the right way as to the instruction of youth; we alone can bring them into a properly submissive frame of mind; we alone can instil into them that veneration for religion and for the State, that can thereby cause the Popish priesthood and royal despotic power to prosper; wherever, however, our colleges and seminaries do not flourish, wherever hitherto instruction has been entrusted to religious bodies other than ourselves, there has appeared the poison of heresy, and with this the spirit of political disturbance, the essence of conspiracy and of rebellion itself."

With such utterances did they endeavour to render tractable persons of distinction and those in power, and in most cases, also, they were successful.

Still more easily were the pious Fathers able to bring the credulous multitude to the opinion that the Order of Jesus far outshone the whole of the remaining religious communities and institutions; indeed, that it united in itself everything good and useful in all other communities and institutions.

Then the old Order of monks at the time of the establishment

of Jesuitism, as we have already seen in the First Book, had suffered immensely in the esteem of the people, and the sons of Loyola did not scruple to increase this injury by insinuations, evil defamation, and calumnies of every description. They, the Jesuits, must necessarily profit thereby if the other monks lost ground; why, therefore, should they not make out these latter to be bad, why should they not disclose all their shortcomings, why not even attribute to them other faults which they did not really possess? When their rivals, however, exposed these calumnies, and the Jesuits commenced to defend themselves, and indeed, to repay like with like, they then pushed forward with cannon, sword, and lance, and smote and thrust until the enemy was beaten to death, and could no longer move tongue or any other member.

Thus did the Jesuits hold to their colleges, and I could fill whole volumes with the disputes which they maintained, partly with the secular clergy, especially university doctors and bishops, and partly with monkish brethren; as, for instance, with the Dominicans, the Capuchins, the Benedictines, and every other denomination of monks; but such narratives would but little interest the reader, and, consequently, it may, perhaps, be allowable for me to describe the three chief wars of the Jesuits, and those merely in a summary way and not in detail. What were now, however, those three great contests? Firstly, the war in the colonies, lasting more than a hundred years; secondly, that with the Sorbonne, extending almost still longer; thirdly, the frightful contention with Jansenism. I have already described, in the Second Book, how easily the sons of Loyola caused the Chinese and Japanese to come over to Christianity; in other words, the Christianity introduced into China and Japan, by the Jesuits, was, properly speaking, nothing else than the old Chinese and Japanese paganism, under a somewhat different form, and some few inoffensive innovations.

"In order," thought the good Fathers, "to get proselytes by whom one might be able to attain to power, riches, and dominion, one must, when there is really necessity, shut one eye, or even both, indeed; why, then, deny to the people their ancient usages and customs, as, for instance, the lantern feast, the feast of Phelo, the adoration of Confucius, and such-like? Truly, if we did not act thus, it would, indeed, go badly with

our conversions, and soon should we be obliged, *with the utmost haste*, to leave this charming country, where there are such good pastures for us."

Such were the leading principles of the Jesuits at the eastern extremity of Asia, and on this account they did not scruple to graft Christian names upon heathenish customs, and sanctioned even mandarin-clothed priests. Especially they did not fail to render to Confucius the same divine honour as men of distinction among the Chinese accorded him, seeing that, so the pious Fathers argued, this great philosopher and founder of religion was, as the morality taught by him proves, to be regarded as nothing else than a forerunner of Christ, and therefore deserving of a first place in the Christian heaven!

Such was the condition of the Jesuit missions in Asia, but as the Order obviously took good care that nothing of their peculiar methods of conversion should become known in Europe, no one, naturally, took any offence. On the contrary, the Fathers obtained all the greater praise on account of their extraordinary progress, and they were esteemed throughout the whole of Catholic Christendom as the only efficient priests for missionary enterprise.

In the year 1633, however, with the permission of their superiors, Johann Baptist von Morales, the Dominican Father, as well as the Capuchin monk Anton von Sancta Maria, set off for China, in order to make neophytes; and, in spite of the Jesuits, who, as soon as they got news of the thing, threw all conceivable obstacles in their way, they succeeded in obtaining an entrance into the Celestial Empire. Indeed, their untiring efforts led them, although, truly, not until the lapse of several years, into the vicinity of localities where the Jesuits possessed houses, and they very often had the opportunity of speaking with the Chinese Christians converted by the sons of Loyola, as well as of attending at the Jesuit Christian worship of God. They were not a little astonished, then, when they observed that the Jesuit Fathers allowed their converts the continuance of their heathenish practices—when they convinced themselves that the Black Cloaks bestowed divine honour on Confucius, and even offered to him oblations with their own hands! This was a horrible abomination in their eyes, and consequently they greeted the Jesuits on that account with the most bitter

reproaches. The latter, however, affirmed that they acted entirely according to the precepts of the Apostle Paul, and ridiculed with all their sharp-wittedness the scrupulous orthodoxy of the monks. Thus many months were occupied in angry controversy, and they even made use of the pulpit to vilify one another. It appeared, also, as clear as day, that the two parties became irritated against each other more and more the longer the strife lasted, and there was never the slightest question of any reconciliation, either on the one hand or on the other.

The Dominican Morales now resolved to claim the assistance of the Pope, and set off forthwith for Rome, in the year 1643; not, however, without previously collecting all the vouchers most minutely, relative to the grievous offences which the sons of Loyola had committed against the Christian Church. Those documents he delivered to the Holy Father, Innocent X., immediately on his arrival in Rome, and gave, at the same time, such an impressive description of the desecration of the Christian altar in China, that his Holiness was seized with the greatest indignation. On this account, a Commission of Cardinals was entrusted with an investigation into the matter, and as it came out beyond question that the Jesuits were frightfully in the wrong, a Papal decree was issued in the year 1644, in which the Fathers were strongly urged not to tolerate for the future the slightest remnant of heathenish superstition, be it ever so trifling, or ever so innocent, but to preach the statutes and ordinances of the Catholic Church in all their purity and fulness.

With this decree in his pocket, Father Morales set off again for China the year following, and at once published the same with triumphant assurance, naturally thinking that the sons of Loyola would, with all humility, submit themselves to the declarations of the Holy See. In this respect, however, he was bitterly deceived. Certainly, indeed, the Superiors of the Order, that is to say, the Father Mandarins in Peking, the President of the Tribunal of Mathematics at their head, declared that "as far as they could" they would render obedience to the Pope; on the other hand, however, they added that an error clearly existed on the side of the Pope, regarding which they would not fail to instruct his Holiness, and in the

meantime, until the issue of the matter, all must, of course, remain for the present *in statu quo*, that is, as it had been "of old." In fact, they in due course sent—not sooner, however, than the year 1654—the brother Martini, with the necessary instructions, and especially with the necessary gold, to Rome, and his task was nothing less than to convince the Holy Office, with the Pope, that the Dominican, through ignorance and stiff-necked envy, had slandered and calumniated the Order of Jesus. It was certainly a difficult task, but the sly Father succeeded in it perfectly, as, just at that time, in the year 1655, Pope Innocent X. died, and his successor, Alexander VII., had such a predilection for the sons of Loyola that he would not allow them to be defeated. Father Martini received thus a most favourable answer, and not only was the decree of Innocent X. revoked, but it was also expressly permitted to the Order of Jesus to accommodate itself to the peculiar customs of the Chinese; besides, the Pope reprimanded the Dominicans for their conduct, and recorded his expectation that they would not trouble the Jesuits any more for the future. It thus appeared that the matter had been arranged in favour of the sons of Loyola, but such was by no means the case. The two Orders of Dominicans and Capuchins felt themselves to be highly insulted by the decision of the Pope, and through other members of their Orders, whom they sent to China, collected over again proof upon proof in order to unmask the Jesuitical heathendom before the Forum of publicity. The Jesuits, however, showed themselves not to be idle, and entered, *in corpore*, on their part into the combat; and there soon showered, from their side, such a deluge of lampoons and accusations of heresy against their opponents, that it was no longer possible to discern what was true and what false.

On this account was it that, after the death of Alexander, both parties, on several occasions, sent deputations to Rome in order to demand a new verdict of Papal infallibility, so that this, the infallible Senate, saw that there was nothing else for it but to appoint a court of arbitration, constituted from among the most noted theologians,—the so-called "Congregation for the Settlement of the True Faith," which now took the matter up with remarkable zeal. Nevertheless, no formal decision was arrived at, either under the Popes Clement IX., Clement X.,

or yet under Popes Innocent XI., or Alexander VIII., and the strife, therefore—thanks to the Jesuit gold, which the divinely-learned Cardinals could not withstand—continued to rage, with undiminished strength, up to the year 1691. In the last mentioned year Innocent XII. ascended the Papal throne, and he, a man of firm determination, gave his decision, after a minute examination of the pros and cons, that the sons of Loyola were entirely in the wrong. Accordingly he sent the Cardinal Carlo Maigrot, as his vicar, to China, armed with a decree to this effect, and the latter, in the year 1693, proclaimed that henceforth all heathenish customs which had been allowed by Pope Alexander VII. were prohibited under the most severe ecclesiastical penalty. Especially the pagan Confucius should no longer be worshipped as a god, but whoever did so would incur everlasting punishment for himself, as well as the Papal curse in addition. This was plain speaking, and had the Jesuits kept, only partially even, their fourth vow, implicit obedience to the Pope, the strife had now come to an end. But it was far otherwise. The sons of Loyola, resident in China, met the communication of the Papal Vicar with an edict to the contrary, in which they termed his conduct as heretical, godless, and unwise; and not satisfied even with this, they cursed him from their pulpits as a deceiver, who had falsely represented himself as an ambassador from the Pope. Lastly, they applied themselves to the Court of Pekin, where everything done by them was approved, as we have learned before, and did not rest until Maigrot, formally expelled out of the whole celestial Empire, saw himself necessitated to fly to Goa, in the East Indies, whence he forwarded a report to the Pope regarding the outrageous proceedings of the Jesuits.

What was now the consequence of this violence? Did not Innocent XII. visit the European Jesuits with his righteous displeasure, and did he not demand satisfaction from the General of the same in Rome? Oh no, he did nothing of the kind, as the Courts of Madrid and Paris, in which the sons of Loyola were at that time all-powerful, mixed themselves up in the quarrel, and restrained his Holiness from adopting repressive measures. Indeed, these Courts showed such party spirit, that all the writings which the opponents of the Jesuits published were publicly burnt by the hand of the executioner, while the

sons of Loyola obtained full liberty to bespatter their antagonists with scorn, derision, and insult!

Thus the dispute continued, during several years, without the disgraceful fight being brought to any termination, until at length Pope Clement XI., who obtained the tiara in 1700, was resolved to act, under all circumstances, in the right way, and, if necessary, to bring Papal omnipotence into play. In the year 1702, he sent, therefore, the titular Bishop of Antioch, afterwards Cardinal Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, from Goa to China in the quality of a "Nuncias a latere," with the most unlimited powers, in order to investigate, at its source, the origin of the unholy strife, and to act according to circumstances; and he especially empowered him either to approve or condemn the heathenish customs which had been hitherto introduced into Chinese Christianity—to condemn them if thoroughly unchristian, to approve of them if they could be brought in any way into harmony with Christianity without too much scandal. Everyone praised this selection of the Pope, as it was known that de Tournon was no great friend and patron of the Order of Jesus; but it was not the less acknowledged that the purity of Christian faith and teaching, as well as the honour attached to the Papal See, lay infinitely at his heart, as also that his probity rendered him proof against any attempt at bribery. It was thus calculated that he would enter into the matter with the greatest impartiality, and this was the ground upon which the Pope had entrusted him with this highly important commission. Let this be as it may, Tournon set off for China, and was received, even by the sons of Loyola, in an almost more than complaisant manner. They did not in the least change this demeanour towards him for a long time, but, on the contrary, did everything in order to win him over, and he displayed, often and often, unfeigned tokens of his adherence to the Order of Jesus and its interests.

However, after a years' careful investigation, he discovered that the Jesuitical Chinese Christianity was nothing else than heathenism adorned with some slight admixture of Roman Catholic Christianity, and as he, in consequence, proceeded to repress fundamentally such an abomination, then the sons of Loyola at once threw off the mask, and his hitherto submissive friends now became most bitter and malignant enemies. There

was then no fault that they did not impute to him, that of heresy and infidelity being among the least. As, however, in spite of all this, he persisted in condemning the Chinese Christianity as heathenish and godless, they induced the Emperor to be so displeased with him that His Majesty caused the pious zealot to be brought, by force, into the local Jesuit College of Macao, in the year 1710, and there the sons of Loyola constituted themselves his keepers and jailers. Even this was not sufficient for them; but, in order to render it quite impossible for him to return to Europe, to explain to the Pope and the whole of Christendom the doings of the Order in China, they administered to him a deadly poison, in a cup of chocolate, and thus, by force, got rid of their most dangerous opponent.*

It did not fare much better with the Nuncio Carl Ambrose de Mezzabarba, whom Clement XI. sent as his plenipotentiary to China, in the year 1719, as the Jesuits at once brought the Emperor Kang-hi to be of opinion that it would be in the highest degree inexpedient to allow a foreign European Power, let it be even that of the Pope, to exercise any kind of jurisdiction within the Celestial Empire; and, therefore, Mezzabarba, after he had had five audiences in the highest place, was not only compelled to withdraw entirely, leaving matters unaccomplished, but was told by the Emperor to his face that the Popes, with their contradictory decrees, only produced hatred and confusion among the Chinese Christians. Upon this ground, he prohibited any further interference of the Roman Senate in Chinese affairs; and his successor, Yong-tching, went even still further, as he caused all Christian missionaries to be conveyed over the frontiers of his Empire, with the exception of the Jesuits, who, as mathematicians and calendar-makers, proved themselves to be useful to the State. "He wished to have peace in his country," said he, "and by means of Dominicans and Capuchins, or whatever else they may be called, nothing but disturbances had as yet been occasioned; and, moreover, it appeared to be the intention of the non-Jesuitical monks to

* The particulars about this are to be found in *Mémoires Historiques présentés en* 1724 *au Souverain Pontife Benoît* XIV., *sur les Missions des Pères Jesuites aux Indes Orientales, par R. P. Norbert.* In vol. iii., pp. 99–148, authentic proofs are given by Canon Angelita, of St. Peter in Carcere, who was an eye-witness when the poisoned chocolate was administered to the Cardinal.

make Europeans out of the Chinese, and this intention he must strenuously oppose."

Thus was China henceforth left to the Jesuits alone, and they maintained themselves there up to modern times; for instance, Father Hallerstein, a Suabian, was still active in Pekin in the year 1780, as Mandarin and President of the great Mathematical Tribunal. One can now well imagine that the sons of Loyola, by their conduct in China, made deadly enemies of the Dominicans and Capuchins, and it is equally self-evident that the latter took hold of every opportunity to injure the Order of Jesus and its godless un-Christian conduct, as well as to attack with the most heartfelt satisfaction its immeasurable violence in subjugating the whole world. They succeeded, too, in their object throughout a great part of Christendom, and the Jesuits began to be regarded as people who hunted to death everyone standing in the way of their missions, or daring to oppose them in any respect. The Fathers defended themselves, indeed, in the warmest manner against any such insinuation, or, as they expressed it, calumny; but with every ship that arrived from Asia, new facts became known which were fully confirmed by the affirmations of the Dominicans and Capuchins; and, lastly, precisely the same thing was ascertained respecting their missions in America. Indeed, the cruelty with which they proceeded against Bishops Cardenas and Palafox, in the New World, surpassed even their proved villainy in the struggle with Cardinal Tourman, and I cannot do better than give a short description of these two affairs, at least.

In the year 1641 the Pope nominated the Franciscan priest, Bernardin de Cardenas, to be Bishop of Paraguay, with his See at Assumption, and he occupied this position during three years quite unopposed. He now, however, caused it to be made known that it was his intention to pay a visit to the parishes of the Provinces of Parana and Uruguay, in which, as we know, the Jesuits ruled as lords; and now, although such a visitation was imperative on the Bishop as his bounden duty, the sons of Loyola made at once a terrible stir. It was most necessary for them, indeed, to keep concealed from the world their proceedings in their dominion of Paraguay, and not to allow anything to be made known, either respecting their trade or their State constitution. They therefore endeavoured. at first by

flattering speeches and bribery, to dissuade the Bishop from his intention; as, however, he held to it steadfastly, they at once disputed the right of his episcopal power, and loudly proclaimed, from all their pulpits, that Cardenas had arrogated to himself his alleged dignity, and that, therefore, no obedience need be given to him. Up to this time, however, no real injury had been done to the Bishop, as this could only happen with the assistance of the secular power, and, consequently, the sons of Loyola strove to bring over to their side the Spanish Governor of Assumption, by name Don Gregorio de Hintrosa. This they succeeded in doing with the aid of 30,000 dollars in gold, and the consequence was that the Governor caused the Bishop to be put into a boat, which, being committed to the mercy of the wind and current, floated down the Paraguay river for upwards of eighty miles from Corientas. Here Cardenas remained during several years, naturally not without the necessary steps being taken for his re-establishment by the Royal Government of La Plata. This authority actually decided, in the year 1646, that Cardenas was the lawful Bishop of Assumption and Paraguay; but as the reappearance of the same where the Jesuits were, in some measure, all-powerful, might lead to regrettable scenes, the Bishop's See was transferred to Popayan, and he was requested to betake himself there as shortly as possible.

With this Cardenas, however, did not comply, as Popayan lay at least a thousand miles distant from Assumption, and, to a man of the Bishop's advanced age, such a journey might readily become dangerous. He continued, therefore, to remain in Corientas, and thence again endeavoured to have his right accorded to him. His efforts were crowned with success in the year 1648, when the then Governor of Assumption, Don Gregorio de Hintrosa, was recalled and replaced by Don Diego Escobar de Osorio. Upon this, Don Bernardin de Cardenas set off immediately for Assumption, and was there not only received by the new Governor in the most friendly manner, but also immediately established in his Bishopric.

The strife now seemed to have been finally settled; but in reality it was not so. The sons of Loyola possessed such influence at the Spanish Court that no royal servant dare to go against their interests with impunity or without injury. Indeed, as soon as he acted so he might be certain that the

ruling brethren in Madrid, having the ear of the King, would never rest until he was overthrown; and Don Diego de Osorio could expect nothing better if he continued to favour Cardenas at the cost of the sons of Loyola. Consequently, he shortly went over into the Jesuit camp, and the old game was again recommenced. Indeed, it went so far that the Bishop was literally besieged by the sons of Loyola in his own church during fifteen days, with the approval of Don Osorio, and was within an ace of being starved to death! Then Don Osorio died suddenly, and now everything took a different turn. Because Cardenas was much beloved by the people of Assumption, while most of the citizens highly disapproved of the violent conduct of the Jesuits, there arose, on the death of Don Osorio, a kind of revolution, and the result was that Cardenas was appointed, in a great meeting, to be Governor and Captain-General until the King of Spain should nominate another. Of course, the sons of Loyola exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent the carrying into effect of this popular election, but they had already made themselves so universally hated that they did not succeed in this, and, consequently, Cardenas was installed in his new office unhindered, which put into his hands all secular as well as ecclesiastical power over Paraguay. Even this, however, was not sufficient, but the burgesses of the city at once came forward complaining against the Order of Jesus, and demanded that the Fathers, who were unruly people and always brought about quarrels and confusion among the community, should be expelled out of Assumption. This demand was but a just one, and the Episcopal Governor responded to it by requesting, on 6th March, 1649, that the Fathers should quit the city. Seeing, however, that they did not obey, but entrenched themselves immediately in their college, Don Villasanti, the Lieutenant of the Episcopal Governor, proceeded to employ force, and conveyed them on board ship, by which means they were transported to Corientas.

It was now their turn to eat the bread of banishment, as the year before Don Bernardin de Cardenas had done; but they did not eat it so patiently. On the contrary, they at once assembled an army of 4,000 Indians in their reduction, and placed at their head Don Sebastian de Leon, an officer thoroughly devoted to them, nominating him at the same time provisional Governor of Assumption. They then advanced against the city

in order to take possession of it. This occurred after an almost bloodless fight. Bishop Cardenas, however, obstinately defended himself for ten days in his well-fortified church, which had to be regularly stormed before he yielded.

As soon now as the black cohort had overpowered him, they first of all threw him into a dark underground prison, where he almost rotted, and then conveyed him in a miserable boat to Santa Fé, 200 miles from Assumption.

Once more, then, had the Jesuits gained the victory, and yet a second time had Cardenas seen himself robbed of his dignity and honour. He then again addressed himself to the Royal Government of La Plata in order to demand justice, and himself proceeded thither in the year 1651, with the view that in this way his affair might be all the sooner settled; but, as they put him off from one month to another, and, indeed, from one year to another without doing anything for him, he at last discovered that the sons of Loyola had bribed most of the members of the Government, and he therefore determined upon setting out for Europe in order to demand justice there personally from the Spanish and Roman Courts.

No sooner said than done. But the Jesuits did not remain inactive. Headed by their fellow-brother, Father Pedrasa, they invented such a tissue of calumnies, slanders, lies, and falsehoods, that one would have fancied Bishop Bernardin de Cardenas to be the most thorough scoundrel on the face of the earth, who, from the very commencement, had no other object than injuring as much as he possibly could the dove-like, innocent, sons of Loyola. Still Cardenas, having brought with him the judicial acts which proved the truth of his assertions, he finally succeeded, in spite of the devices and artifices of the Jesuits, in obtaining the upper hand over his enemies. In other words, the Court of Madrid rendered justice to him, and reinstated him in all the honours and dignities of which he had been deprived by the sons of Loyola. Pope Alexander VII. even went still further, and censured the Order of Jesus for its malevolent machinations, which had produced as gross a scandal as there had ever been in the world. But what was now the use of this favourable decision to Cardenas? He died only a few months after obtaining it, and had no chance of taking possession of his Bishopric for the third time.

A precisely similar outrage was committed by the sons of Loyola on the pious Don Johann Palafox, who united in his person the different offices and preferments of an Archbishop of Mexico and a Bishop of Angelopolis and Osina, so that one might have thought a man in such a high position would have been free from attack.

But at whose hands had the sons of Loyola ever anxiety or fear? Never even as regards kings and emperors, and, consequently, most certainly not an Archbishop, even let him be most pious and God-fearing. The first cause of sad strife between Palafox and the Fathers was to be found in the avarice of the latter, as they gave themselves immense trouble to secure for their colleges, by crooked ways, or even by force, certain tithes legally belonging to the Cathedral of Mexico, and thereby compelled the Archbishop to make a complaint against them to the Royal Government. This enraged the Jesuits, and they became all the more furious when the Archbishop gained his case against them in every instance. They consequently sought to revenge themselves on him, and, with this end, made use of every opportunity that presented itself. The best way, however, to make him feel their resentment, they thought, was to ignore his jurisdiction, and, as regarded themselves, they acted just as if he had no existence in the world.

Now it happened to be a law, in the Roman Catholic Church, that no one dare exercise the office of a priest in any diocese without the approval of the respective Bishops, and the Council of Trent especially ordered that all monkish ecclesiastics, without exception, if they wished to preach or hear confessions anywhere, should previously produce their authority at the Bishop's See. When, then, the sons of Loyola wished to perform priestly functions in the diocese of the Archbishop of Mexico, it was required that they should either make the necessary declaration to the latter in person, or, at any rate, to his Vicar-General, and deliver over their authorisation; and if they did not do so, then the Archbishop was entitled to prohibit them from all ecclesiastical functions until further orders.

Such was the law of the Church, and so must it continue if the greatest disorders were to be prevented; as, otherwise, any incompetent person might ascend the pulpit and enter the confessional, and thus bring the priesthood into disrepute.

What did the sons of Loyola do now? They arrogated the priesthood to themselves throughout the whole of Mexico, without ever producing any credentials, precisely as if the before-said law had no application to them!

With the view of checking this misconduct, the Archiepiscopal Vicar-General called upon them, on the 6th of March 1647, to prove their documents of authorisation, and, until this was done, to desist from preaching and hearing confessions. Thereupon the Jesuits replied that they had liberty from the Pope to enable them to exercise their priestly functions all over the world without being first of all obliged to obtain the permission of the respective Bishops. "Good," said now the Vicar-General, "show me your document of privilege, and I will then leave you unmolested." But the Fathers did not comply with this, but intimated that they were in possession of also a further privilege, which dispensed them from showing the first one!

This was open derision of the Archiepiscopal authority, and it was, indeed, setting it completely at defiance, for the Fathers still continued boldly to act as father confessors and preachers, &c. &c. Palafox, therefore, determined to make an example for the protection of his authority against such shameless disobedience; so he interdicted the Jesuits, under the penalty of the great excommunication, from any ecclesiastical function whatever, and at the same time prohibited all Christians in his diocese from confessing to them or attending their preachings.

Most assuredly the Archbishop was perfectly right, and, had the Jesuits been true sons of the Church, as they boasted, they would at once have promptly submitted to his Order. However, they did not contemplate for a single moment acting thus, but, on the other hand, they were seized with boundless rage, and they determined, under all circumstances, to humiliate their antagonist. Now the Viceroy of Mexico, who at that time governed the country in the name of the King of Spain, was a particular supporter of theirs, and they at once greatly increased this friendship by a considerable present; they, therefore, well believed that they might dare to hope that he would, if necessary, assist them by an illegal act. They accordingly addressed themselves to him, and delivered a long drawn-up complaint, from which it was made to appear how very much Palafox had transgressed against the most holy Order of Jesus. The Viceroy thereupon

decided that they were in the right, and ordered the Bishops, by the withdrawal of this threat of excommunication, to allow the Jesuits to carry on undisturbed their preaching and hearing of confessions. The Archbishop, of course, protested against this as an illegal order, and represented to the Viceroy how, by such a proceeding, the whole hierarchical authority in the Church would be upset. In consequence of this, the representative of the Spanish monarch became somewhat startled; so much so, indeed, that he very nearly rescinded his preceding order.

But now the sons of Loyola caused the last mine to be exploded. Suddenly they made bold to execute on their side excommunication against the Archbishop, along with his Vicar-General, and all his officials, and publicly proclaimed by kettle-drum and sound of trumpet throughout all the streets of the city of Mexico this sentence of excommunication, which abounded with the grossest slanders, calumnies, and infamous statements!

"Whoever, be his condition whatever it may,"—this sentence thus ran—"still listened or adhered, from this moment forward, to the Archbishop and his officials, would render himself guilty of rebellion, and, in this case, would be punished, if in the higher ranks, by a fine of 2,000 ducats, or if poor by four years' hard labour; if in the lower ranks, however, with two hundred lashes and four years of slavery in the mines."

It is to be seen that the sons of Loyola adopted no half measures, and it now became a question whether the Viceroy would support their audacious proceedings with his secular authority, as otherwise they would be powerless. But they knew their man, and had him too much in their grasp not to be perfectly certain of him. His peremptory order, therefore, confirmed the Jesuit decree, and the military were instructed to give requisite expression to the violent measures of the sons of Loyola.

What was, now, poor Palafox to do? Should he yield, or oppose force by force? He might, indeed, well adopt the latter course, as the people were entirely on his side, and it was only requisite for him to give a hint in order to arouse to arms all Mexico against the Jesuits and their Vice-regal creature; but his soul shuddered from the shedding of blood, and, consequently, he preferred making his escape secretly from the city in order to find some place of refuge among the mountains, until he might

obtain justice from the Courts of Rome and Madrid, to which he had at once complained.

"I fly," wrote he himself to Pope Innocent X., "into the mountains, and seek in the society of serpents and scorpions that security which is denied to me so perseveringly by the implacable Society of Jesus. After wandering for twenty days with the greatest danger to life, and with such a pressing want of food that I had frequently nothing for nourishment but my tears, I finally found a small hut, with whose poor inhabitants I have concealed myself during four months."

Now were the Jesuits masters of Mexico, and they played the part of lords with a despotism which has seldom been exercised by any usurper. Everything must yield to their caprice, and whoever dared in the slightest to blame their proceedings might expect banishment and imprisonment, if not, indeed, the scaffold. No one saw any other means of escape except by adhesion to their faction, and thus they managed that the Chapter of the Cathedral declared the Archiepiscopal See to be vacant. Against this the Vicar-General of the fugitive Palafox certainly remonstrated, as also some other of his adherents, but they were so firmly secured in prison that their voices could no longer be heard. In short, everything was done that could be thought of to smother the voice of justice, and to this was added a still more abominable and cruel insult such as the devil himself could scarcely have devised.* It had now come to this, that a new Archbishop was on the point of being nominated, thereby putting a crown on the conduct of the Jesuits, when all at once a royal fleet made its appearance in the harbour of Veracruz, from Spain, bringing commissaries, who at once came into the city of Mexico, accompanied with several officers of high rank.

What was it that brought these three commissaries? Nothing else than the deposition of the then Viceroy and the transfer of his appointment to the Bishop of Yukatan—nothing else than an order to reinstate at once the Archbishop Palafox with all honour in his bishopric, and strictly to carry into effect his orders previously issued against the Jesuits.

* The scholars of the Jesuits formed a public procession calculated to degrade the dignity of the Archbishop, and led a mangy horse through the streets, to whose tail the Bishop's bonnet and staff were tied. They also sang the most shameful ditties, in which Palafox figured as a heretic, and a blessing of the people in his name was bellowed through a cow's horn.

Not long after this, a Papal brief arrived in Mexico, which blamed the sons of Loyola even more severely than that of the King, and imposed silence upon them as to this matter for ever afterwards—a brief which contained at the same time the greatest praises of Palafox, and esteemed him as a martyr of the true Church.

For this time, then, the right cause obtained the victory, and the Jesuits never again succeeded in causing the revocation of the royal or Papal orders, much as was the trouble they gave themselves with this object. But how little had it come short of their violent despotism being triumphant? In any case, moreover, they showed by this procedure, exactly as was previously described, that their most earnest endeavour was to hunt everyone to death who dared to oppose them, as also that they shrunk from no means, even the most wicked that could be devised, for the accomplishment of this purpose. Even yet more than by these contentions did the sons of Loyola injure themselves, through their long-enduring strife with the theological faculty of Paris, the so-called Sorbonne,* as the decisions of this celebrated institution were held in such esteem, not alone in Paris, but throughout the whole of the Christian world, that they were frequently regarded more as divine oracles than the views of fallible men.

The so-called Sorbonne, however, that is, the whole doctors and professors of theology of the University of Paris, when called upon by the Government to express an opinion as to whether the Society of Jesus should be permitted or not in France, pronounced, in the first week of Christmas 1554, the following judgment:—

"This Society (namely, the Society of Jesus) which arrogates to itself in an unseemly manner the name of Jesus—which has for a principle to admit into its midst even punishable, dishonourable, and infamous men, so long as they might be employed usefully for the fraternity—whose members are dis-

* In the year 1250 Robert de Sorbonne, in Champagne, chaplain of Louis the Holy, founded an educational establishment at the University of Paris for young secular ecclesiastics, which was named after him "Sorbonne," and as this institution, at which only theological professors of the University of Paris taught, soon acquired a great reputation, the name of Sorbonne was very soon transferred to the entire theological Faculty of Paris. Thus it remained up to the times of the Revolution, and the Sorbonne constituted the united tribunal of the Parisian doctors of theology, which was long regarded as the most learned in the world.

tinguished neither by their habits, their worship of God, nor in their mode of life, from secular clergymen,—which has been endowed by the Holy See with so many different privileges, indulgences, and liberties in relation to preaching and teaching, as also in regard to the administration of the sacrament, against the rights of bishops, and to the prejudice of all the other Orders, quite contrary to hierarchical order, and to the injury of secular princes and rulers, finally to the great detriment of the liberties of universities, and to the uncommon inconvenience of the people,—this Society disgraces the monkish Orders, weakens the laborious, pious, and necessary exercise of virtue in the cloisters, permits the members of other Orders to desecrate their vows, releases the laity from the obedience due to, and the submission prescribed for their regular spiritual advisers, robs secular and ecclesiastical authorities of their rights, and gives rise to disturbances in both directions, occasioning as well much trouble, strife, divisions, and other discords among the people. When, in a word, one would sum up everything, it appears that this Society is fitted to endanger the Faith, to disturb the peace of of the Church, to extinguish the monkhood, and is especially calculated to pull down rather than to build up."

Such was the judgment of the Sorbonne in the year 1554, at a time when the Society of Jesus first of all commenced to exercise their activity; and one may well imagine what influence this judgment exercised upon the French, at least on the more cultivated amongst them. It is also remarkable that the said most learned theological faculty, from which emanated those views and principles, never in the least again departed from them, even after the whole of the French Court, not excluding the heads of it, even as high as the all-powerful Kings, became in the fullest degree favourable to Jesuitism, and the said doctors of theology of Paris might have derived great advantages therefrom if they could have accommodated themselves to the views of the Court. I said it was remarkable, and I believe I may repeat this with all the more justification, as the theologians of the Sorbonne pronounced that severe judgment by no means from a greater religious liberality and free-mindedness. On the contrary, there was no one in France who was more zealous in combating the Reformation than were the Sorbonne and most of its members, as, for example, Drs. Maillard, Democharé,

Perior, and Oeri, distinguished themselves for their truly inhuman hatred of the heresy. Now, if this judgment on the Jesuits was a severe one, the celebrated Stephen Pasquier went even still further, and it is a matter of astonishment, to see how profoundly and radically he knew how to anatomise the Society of Jesus. Moreover, it was not simply on his own account that Pasquier handled the matter before the Parliament of Paris, but as representative of the Sorbonne, and thus his words are to be regarded as those of the College. But, it may be asked, why was it that the Sorbonne required an advocate in Parliament? Simply for this reason, that it had a law-suit with the Jesuits, and truly a most determined one.

Hardly had the sons of Loyola, in spite of the opposition of the University of Paris, obtained permission, under certain conditions, which, however, were certainly very stringent ones, to establish themselves in Paris, than they at once infringed these conditions in the grossest manner, and finally demanded for their college in the Rue Jacob similar rights and privileges to those possessed by the Sorbonne. Against this, however, the entire University of Paris remonstrated as one man, and demanded the relegation of the arrogant Fathers within the bounds of order. The University was perfectly right, and almost all Paris, and, indeed, almost all France, stood by it. The Court, however, was against it. Now, the sons of Loyola well understood how to win over to their side a depraved Court, as that of France was in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, and a most depraved one it was. They only too effectually influenced the Court, and obtained from it the favour of bringing their affair with the University before the highest law tribunal of the country, namely before the Parliament of Paris.

It would, nevertheless, have been better for them had they not obtained this favour, as Etienne Pasquier, the advocate of the Sorbonne, told them truths which they had never heard before, and the whole enlightened world accorded to him their applause. Before everything, he laid bare the spirit of the Order of Jesus, and proved, by irresistible arguments, that its members knew how to blind the world through its sophistries, as well as by degrees to exhibit their four ill-famed vows in quite a different light from what they appeared, whenever it was requisite for them to do so.

"Their whole system depends," said he, "on duplicity"; and this duplicity was so dangerous to the quiet and security of the State, that he, Pasquier, maintained a firm conviction that the tendency of this sect had no other object than to bring about a complete disunion amongst all classes. "Wherever the Jesuits are tolerated," he exclaimed, "there no prince and ruler can place himself in security against their attacks; there is sure to be a rupture in the peace of the Church." He proved that it impoverished whole families by its absorption of their property; that it destroyed numbers of young people by an education which was merely apparent and superficial; that by its deceptive teaching it had sown the seeds of rebellion and disloyalty throughout the whole of France. Lastly, he addressed himself to Parliament in the following words: "You, if you are at all inclined to tolerate the Jesuits in any way, will too late repent your credulity, and posterity will condemn you for it, as the literal proof is even now apparent, and will develop itself still more clearly in future times; the matter-of-fact evidence is, that it will disturb the public peace, not merely of this kingdom, but of the whole world also, by artifice, deceit, superstition, hypocrisy, and malicious tricks."

Thus spoke Etienne Pasquier, and can anyone now entertain a doubt that it would have been much more to their advantage had the sons of Loyola refrained from strife with the Sorbonne? They injured themselves, however, far more by that other wrangle which, under the name of "the Jansenist dispute," obtained in a measure a world-wide fame, as through it they made for themselves not merely thousands but hundreds of thousands of deadly enemies; and by it the entire Catholic clergy of the world arrived at the conclusion that one must either think and teach as the Jesuits, or else be treated by the sons of Loyola as an apostate from the Catholic religion! As regards this strife with Jansenism, the case stood as follows.

Regarding the doctrine of predestination as well as of grace and the free-will of man there had ever existed, from the establishment of Christianity, a difference of opinion among theologians, and the great teachers of the Church, Augustine and Pelagius, were diametrically opposed to each other on these three questions. Who was in the right I know not, and, at all events, it does not appertain to speak of the matter here. This,

however, was a fact, that the teaching of Augustine was declared, by far the greater majority of theologians, to be the only orthodox and correct doctrine; while the Pelagians, and, indeed, the semi-Pelagians, who thought partly with Augustine, and partly with Pelagius, were condemned as heretics by all the Synods of the 5th and 6th centuries. Thus Pelagianism and semi-Pelagianism disappeared almost entirely out of the world, and no one thought more about the matter until it pleased the Jesuits Leonhard Less, Johann Hammel, Benedict Fonseca, Ludwig Molina, and others, to broach principles in their theological works, and from the professorial chairs in their colleges, which savoured completely and entirely of semi-Pelagianism. Especially was this the case in the celebrated work of Molina, a Portuguese Jesuit, which, under the title of *Concordia Divinæ Gratiæ et Liberi Arbitrii* (the Harmony of Divine Grace and Free-will), appeared in the year 1588, and the Dominicans, as zealous adherents to Augustine orthodoxy, did not fail, of course, to put in the pillory, quite relentlessly, the semi-Pelagian heresy contained therein. Forthwith there arose a violent strife, and there appeared, for and against, an innumerable quantity of party-writings, as the whole of the Society of Jesus to a man took the part of Molina, while several Universities, especially those of Louvaine and Douai, as well as a large number of bishops and archbishops, not to speak of the inferior clergy, fought on the side of the Dominicans. Even the Inquisition mixed itself up in the matter, and was nearly committing to the flames the book of Molina together with its author. The Jesuit General, Aquaviva, now succeeded in persuading the Pope, Clement VIII., just at the right time, to bring the whole strife before his Forum, and to prohibit the Dominicans from taking any further individual action in the matter, as in such a weighty affair the Holy See had alone the right of decision. The Pope then issued his mandate, and both parties hastened to forward to Rome the acts and documents which were in their possession, especially the arbitraments of the universities and bishops which were favourable to them. Clement VIII. now nominated a commission of investigation, which, under the title of *Congregatio de Auxiliis Divinæ Gratiæ*, held its first sitting on the 2nd of January 1598. The cause, therefore, proceeded precisely as in a secular Court of

Justice, and both parties were represented by their counsel; the Dominicans by the learned brethren Alvarez and Lemoz, and the Jesuits by the Fathers Bellarmin, Arrubal, and Valentia; and, of course, both parties neglected no opportunity, the former as well as the latter, in working upon the judges, even through the influence of foreign princes; as, for instance, the services of the bigoted Jesuitly-inclined Empress Maria Theresa (spouse of Rudolph II.), as also of her similarly-minded son, the Archduke Albert, were appealed to. But it happened that the Commission, on account of these many intrigues, were not able to come quickly to any decision, as from the year 1598 to the year 1605 not fewer than sixty-seven sittings were held; and although the President and Chairman, Cardinal Madruzius, at the urgent request of Clement VIII., worked untiringly to bring the case to a conclusion, the said Pope had to take his departure from this world without his being able to pronounce judgment against Molina, as he secretly wished to do, although he took good care not to let it be publicly known that such was his desire. Also Paul V., his successor, although he sat for nearly sixteen years upon the Papal throne, from 1605 to 1621, and presided himself for the most part at the many sittings of the Congregation, did not outlive the termination of the strife, and neither did Gregory XV. It was perceived at the time, both by the College of Cardinals, as well as on the part of the Pope, that it was much wiser to keep a dead silence about the whole of the vexatious matter, which had actually no practical value, than by a decision either to offend the Jesuits and their adherents, or the Dominicans and their allies; so the affair was allowed to remain in abeyance in the hope that it might be forgotten by the world. Such would, indeed, without doubt, have happened, and, indeed, really did occur for more than forty years from the holding of the first sitting of the Congregation, when a book appeared, in 1640, which at once renewed the strife, and, moreover, brought it to such a height as could not previously have been conceived. This book was entitled *Augustinus, seu Doctrina de Humanæ Naturæ, Sanitate, Ægritudine et Medicina, adversus Pelagianos et Massilienses* (Augustine on the doctrine of health, disease, and the cure of human nature, as regards the Pelagians and semi-Pelagians, called Marseillaise). The author was Cornelius Jansen, who died Bishop of Ypern in

the Netherlands, in the year 1638. There was a very great amount of learning put into the work, as Jansen* had laboured at it for more than thirty years, and it contained extracts from the thirteen folios of Augustine, together with some from the writings of Bajus and other teachers of the Church; but as it contained so much learned rubbish, and also because, when it came to be printed by the friends of the deceased bishop, in the year 1640 at Louvain, and the year following in Paris, it had become an immensely thick folio volume, but very few would have given themselves the trouble to read it if people had been so prudent as to have maintained silence about it. Yes, truly, the book would have gone the way of all flesh, just as many folios before and after it, and the lay world, as even the greatest part of the ecclesiastical fraternity, would have heard but little about it, if the sons of Loyola had possessed a little less poison in their nature. But scarcely had they discovered that the Molinists had met with little mercy in the book, than they regularly began to cast forth fire and flames; and their General, Vitelleschi, gave himself no rest until he had worked up Pope Urban VIII. to such a pitch that he induced His Holiness to condemn the work of Jansen as heretical, by a special Bull, emitted in the year 1643, called, from the words by which it commences, "*In eminenti.*" The Pope did this without even having read the work! He trusted to the assurances of the Jesuits, and he flattered himself in being able to decide as supreme arbitrator in matters of faith. Amazed, however, the friends of the deceased Jansen asked in the public journals what was heretical about the book, and a number of learned theologians were induced thereby to look into the contents of the work more minutely. There then arose opponents and adherents of Jansen, and among the latter, who now called themselves Jansenists, were men like Anthony Arnauld, Blaise Pascal, Pierre Nicole, and Nicholas Perrault, whose names shone as stars of the first magnitude in the firmament of letters. Moreover, a number of bishops and university doctors, with other ecclesiastics of eminence, ranged themselves on the side of the Jansenist-Augustine party, and a particular pattern cloister-

* Jansen, born in Holland in the year 1585 in a small village near Leerdam, studied theology in Utrecht, Louvain, and Paris. He was advanced o be professor of theology, and obtained the bishopric of Ypern in 1636.

school was established close to the celebrated Cistercian nunnery, under the patronage of the Abbot of St. Cyran, Jean de Vergier du Havranne, in Port-Royal des Champs, in order to oppose the dissolute Jesuitism, and set up a purer morality, as well as a more solid and learned education.

In short, through the Condemnation Bull "*In eminenti*," as well as the immeasurably violent polemic of the Jesuits against the work, Jansenism was, properly speaking, called into existence, and it won, as well throughout the Netherlands as in France, an increasingly powerful number of adherents in each succeeding year; and the conclusion cannot be avoided that nobility of thought and a truly Christian spirit were much better represented in it than in the Jesuitical Molinism. This stimulated the sons of Loyola all the more to get the power into their own hands, in order to subdue their opponents by violent measures; and this, in the course of time, they but too well succeeded in doing. It is, of course, not my intention to describe all the details of the war between these two parties, which lasted up to the year 1728 in France, and in the Netherlands even up to modern times, as in that case my work would become as thick a folio as that of "Augustinus"; but I cannot refrain from giving a slight outline of the contention, and, indeed, on this account, because the sons of Loyola fought, forsooth, with weapons which could not be called either honourable, knightly, or manly.

In the first place, they extracted five propositions out of "Augustinus," which, when read without connection with the context, acquired a Calvinistic colouring, and, in the year 1653, they thereupon moved Pope Innocent X., the successor of Urban VIII., to condemn these five propositions. As they had gone so far, they now urged Cardinal Mazarin to carry out with force the Papal Bull of Condemnation, and seeing that at that time the all-powerful Minister of France was an obsequious adherent of Rome, they had but a too easy game to play. This oppressive measure, however, did not succeed in silencing the Jansenists, but they proved, on the contrary, that these five propositions did not stand in "Augustinus" in the way the Jesuits had represented; and they declared "that these five propositions had quite a different sense when taken in connection with the context, and that the Pope had condemned something

with the nature of which he had not previously made himself acquainted."

This did not please the Papal See, and Innocent's successor, Alexander VII., in the year 1656, emitted a new Bull, at the instigation of the sons of Loyola, wherein he ordained that every Catholic Christian must believe, at the peril of his soul, that the five propositions had been rightly condemned. "Nonsense," rejoined thereupon the leader of the Jansenists, "the Pope cannot condemn a thing that has no existence at all." "Yes, indeed, he can," exclaimed the Jesuits, "and if he were even to order us to deny Jesus Christ we are bound to obey him, as he is all-powerful and infallible in matters of belief, and he is responsible for this order, and not we."

Thus the strife waxed continually warmer and warmer, and there was really some danger that a conflagration might arise which would consume the whole of France. On this account, Pope Clement IX., who succeeded to the tiara in 1667, was induced, in conjunction with the then ruler of France, to give peace to the land, and, in fact, in the year 1668, their exertions were crowned with success in bringing about a compromise between the two contending parties. It consisted in this, that the leaders of the Jansenists should declare that the five notorious propositions were indeed damnable, and were rightly condemned, but that they did not appertain to Cornelius Jansen, and did not stand in "Augustinus" in that sense. With this explanation the Jesuits had to be satisfied, and the Jansenists obtained peace to a certain extent.

But how long did it last? Commencing in the year 1671, the celebrated theologian Paschasius Quesnel, of the Order of the Fathers of the Oratorium, published gradually, that is to say, in parts, the New Testament in the French language, accompanied with moral reflections; and this work, which was completed in the year 1683, was greeted by all believers in France with much enthusiasm, on account of its edifying contents. Also, even many spiritual guides highly recommended it to their confessing children, as, for instance, Benignus Bossuet, Almoner of the Dauphin and Bishop of Meaux, and also Louis Anton Roailles, Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, as well as Pierre La Broue, Bishop of Mirepoix, and many others besides. The Sorbonne, even, had nothing but praises to bestow upon the

book, and the same judgment of it was pronounced by Pope Innocent XII., to whom it had been submitted. This New Testament, however, appeared in quite a different light to the Jesuits, as they discovered in it so many contradictions to their doctrines of grace, as also to their moral theology, that they became most vehemently incensed against it. In such matters they presumed to lay claim to be the sole true teachers of Christianity; was it not, therefore, deeply insulting to them to have a doctrine of theirs attacked even remotely? Certainly; the whole body of theologians, the entire Church, all that existed, must accommodate themselves to the opinions of the black-cloaked Fathers, or otherwise must expect nothing else than to be persecuted to death by them! Unanimously, therefore, and with a true shout of defiance, did they fall foul of Quesnel's book, and persuaded all bishops who had hitherto given adherence to it to condemn the latter in their pastoral letters; as the ground for such condemnation, however, the Jansenist tendency of it was given, as was evident from a perusal of almost any line, and thus the Jansenist strife was re-awakened after it had been with difficulty lulled to sleep hardly two years before. Yes, indeed, the old contention awoke again, and, in truth, with double and treble vehemence, so that the whole of France was drawn into the vortex.

This time, however, the Jesuits no longer contented themselves with the poisonous operation of invective and slanderous pamphlets, but they added thereto the thunderbolts of secular power, as Louis XIV., the ruler of France, had in the meantime become a weak and aged hypocrite, and allowed himself to be completely governed by the Jesuit Father Confessor La Chaise, and by his equally Jesuitically-disposed mistress Madame de Maintenon.

"Down with the Jansenist heretics," was the war-whoop of the Jesuits; "down with them, as well as with the Huguenots and the Calvinists; with the aid of the sword must one make an end of such people. We have tried long enough, now, by instructing and converting, we have long enough brought all peaceable means into use, and long enough strained every fibre of our patience. Now is the pitcher full to overflowing, and there remains nothing else for it but conversion with blood and iron if tranquillity and order is to be re-established in the State."

Thus shouted the Jesuits, and, as has been already said, they had the King—in the plenitude of his royal power established, it may almost be said, as absolute monarch of the world—completely in their hands; one can easily imagine, then, what now followed. Everyone was quite arbitrarily proceeded against who professed Jansenism, or whom the Order of Jesus suspected to be a Jansenist because he displeased the Order in some respect or other, and soon no one throughout the whole of France, with the exception of declared adherents of the Jesuit party, was any longer sure of his liberty, honour, property, or even of his life. Quesnel, himself, with a great part of his more wealthy adherents, fled to the Netherlands, and thus escaped the vengeance of his furious enemies;* on this account, therefore, the Order of Jesus expended its fury on Port Royal, and actually carried it so far as this, that this delightful cloister, as the nursery and chief abode of Jansenism, was not only shut up by the police of Paris, but, in the year 1709, was completely demolished and destroyed, with all the many structures belonging thereto. Moreover, all the prisons of France, and more especially the Bastile, were filled in a frightful manner with those suspected of Jansenism, and whoever was put into it might be quite certain that he would only come out again from its miserable walls as a corpse.

The whole of France groaned under these despotic deeds of violence, and, because it was well known from whom these acts proceeded, so the day on which the wicked Father Confessor, La Chaise, died—it was the 20th February 1709—was hailed as an occasion of universal rejoicing. Still the joy soon became changed into the deepest grief, as, after the wicked La Chaise followed the still more wicked Le Tellier, who was even richer in evil artifices, and, even more than his predecessor, got the old repentant sinner called Louis XIV. more completely in his power.

The persecutions of the Jansenists, or, rather, of all those who would gladly have got rid of the Jesuits out of the way, not only still continued, but were aggravated more and more, and again a considerable number of French citizens fled into the neighbouring Netherlands for greater safety. In order, now, to give

* He died in exile at Amsterdam in the year 1710, an old man of seventy-six.

an appearance of justification for these persecutions, Le Tellier begged Pope Clement XI. to appoint a court of investigation regarding the heresy of Quesnel, after the pattern of the *Congregatio de Auxiliis*, and His Holiness at once acceded to this request. Indeed, further, he nominated as judges in the investigation none but adherents of the Jesuits, and appointed Cardinal Fabroni, a bosom friend of the Society, to be President of the Congregation. But what put a crown upon the affair—of all these judges only one single one of them understood the French language, and they had to read a work written in French, deliver their judgment upon it, and condemn it! In fact, it was a colossal comedy, the like of which had, indeed, never before been acted; but what did that signify, if only the believing world could be deceived?

The Congregation thus held its sittings, and the member Aubenton, who understood French, soon brought it about that 101 propositions of the Testament of Quesnel were designated as dangerous, calculated to give offence, and heretical. Truly, these included even statements out of the Bible itself, as well as doctrinal propositions of the holy Augustine and other orthodox Fathers of the Church. This was done without the learned members of the Congregation having any conception of it, as they had not, all of them, made much particular progress in the study of the Fathers or of the Bible—but what did that also signify? Suffice it to say, the Jesuit Jouvenci concocted a Bull, in which the said 101 propositions were solemnly condemned, and, on the 8th October 1713, the Pope published the document, which, according to the words by which it commences, was called *Unigenitus*.

Now the sons of Loyola had an ostensibly justifiable foundation for their Jansenist persecution, and while Louis XIV. stood firmly by them with his regal power, they hoped to be very quickly rid of Jansenism, and, moreover, of all their enemies in France. This hope, too, was literally fulfilled, although Louis XIV. died two years afterwards, and many French Bishops declined to accept the Bull *Unigenitus*, as being an infringement of the rights of the Gallican Church.

As Louis XV., whom Cardinal Fleury governed completely, followed in the footsteps of his grandfather, he finally, in the year 1728, promulgated a so-called *Lit de Justice*, the con-

sequence being that the last of the Jansenists took flight to Utrecht in the Netherlands. In this manner the great Jansenist strife came to an end, and the sons of Loyola could boast of having gained the victory. But although the triumph was physical, it was in no respect a moral conquest. On the contrary, the world learned by it how to estimate the Jesuits, and this did them more harm than if they had completely ignored the Jansenist "Augustinus." Moreover, Jansenism continued in full force in the Netherlands, and it is now there recognised by not less than twenty-seven communities. Its adherents, however, do not call themselves Jansenists, but "Scholars of the holy Augustine," as they hold strictly by the teaching of this Father of the Church, and remain antagonists of Jesuitism.

CHAPTER II.

THE REPULSIVENESS OF THE JESUIT CONSTITUTIONS, DOCTRINE, AND TEACHING.

I HAVE already narrated, in the First Book of this work, in what way, on what principles, and with what rules the Order of Jesus was constituted; of all this, however, besides the Society itself, no one, with the exception of the Pope, was made acquainted; and still less did mankind in general know how the original statutes and rules of the Order had been further added to by the later Generals. The sons of Loyola preferred rather to shroud themselves in secrecy in this respect, without doubt, because they were well aware how superstitious people always looked upon secrets with mingled wonder and awe; still more, however, lest on this account the world should be thrown into a severe panic, by becoming acquainted with the contents of their constitutions, rules, and principles. Enlightened people very soon formed an opinion respecting the latter, and we perceive, for instance, from the letters of Bishop Palafox to Pope Innocent X., in the year 1649, that he had a very bad suspicion of the Jesuits, on account of their antipathy to the enlightenment of the people.

"The resolutions and conclusions," he writes, "of the general assemblies of the Church, as of the popes, cardinals, bishops, and more especially the clergy in general, are known to the whole world, and show that at no time whatever has the Church shunned the light, while darkness is an abomination to

her. In like manner writings are to be found, in every well-appointed library, respecting the liberties, rules, ordinances, and principles of all ecclesiastical Orders; a Franciscan novice, for instance, can see and become acquainted with everything he has any need to know, should he, later on, become General of the Seraphic Order. But the Jesuits, alone, shroud themselves intentionally in a darkness which the laity are completely forbidden to penetrate, and the veil is not even uplifted to many of their members. There are among them a large number who have taken merely three vows, but not the fourth, and who are, in consequence, not at all, or at any rate not properly, instructed regarding the true principles, institutions, and liberties of the Order. This secret, on the other hand, is entrusted, as is known to His Holiness, to only a small number, and whatever is especially important is known only to the Superiors and the General. Besides, their form of Government is not regulated according to the rules of the Catholic Church, but is carried on according to certain secret principles, only known to the chiefs, the motives being concealed from many of the subordinates, without reasons ever being given to them, or even the circumstance, investigated. In short, the Order of Jesus forms quite a peculiar institution, which is conducted neither according to the customary regulations of the Church nor according to the usual laws of reason, and it may, therefore, be well considered that its secret operations do not at all correspond to the words of Jesus, 'I am the Light of the World.'"

Thus wrote Palafox, and many other clear-headed people thought precisely the same; but in spite of this evil suspicion which was entertained as to the Order of Jesus, people in general still remained in the dark regarding its rules, as well as concerning its internal government, and it was long, indeed, doubted whether such rules existed; that is, whether they were extant in print, or even in writing. By degrees, however, some few began to be brought to the notice of the outer world; one learnt, for instance, for the first time in the year 1584, and, therefore, at a period when the Order had already become extended among the rich of this earth, and had obtained considerable power, that its rules had been printed. Nevertheless, only for the use of its members, and under the strictest orders

that the book should not be allowed to reach profane hands. With this foresight, moreover, it was whispered, the Order was not yet satisfied, but there existed, on the other hand, a regulation that the more important statutes and instructions which the chiefs applied were to be only in writing, and even then there were just such a number of copies as was absolutely necessary; so that besides the lay world, the bulk of the Order, too—that is, the novices, coadjutors, and scholastics—could have no knowledge of the same, as there were things which were not fitted for everyone's ears. It was thus whispered, I repeat; but this rumour embodied the truth, and the more profound secrets of the Society were, on this account, never completely revealed.

As regards many, however—and, indeed, very many—it was, in the lapse of time, no longer necessary to preserve such extraordinary secrecy, and accordingly, in the year 1635, they were printed under the following title: *Ratio et Institutio Societatis Jesu* (The Nature and Institution of the Society of Jesus).

A new edition of the Society's rules came out subsequently, in which were comprehended a number of things—as, for instance, Papal briefs, decrees of the General of the Order, and of the General Assemblies or Congregations, the professed, regulations for the colleges, and school precepts, &c.—which had been considered for fifty years "as not suitable for printing."

A third edition, still more complete, appeared in the year 1702, in two thick quarto volumes, having the following title: *Corpus Institutorum Societatis Jesu, in duo volumina distinctum; accedit Catalogus provinciarum, domorum, collegiorum, &c. ejusdem Societatis.* 4 *Antverpiæ apud Joannem Meursium* (Compilation of the Regulations of the Society of Jesus, in two volumes, to which is added a list of the whole Provinces, Houses, Colleges, &c. of the Order).

Lastly, there appeared, in the year 1757, a fourth edition, issued from the printing press of the Jesuit College at Prague, also in two volumes, quarto, and this was, or rather is, the most complete of all, as in it are incorporated the newest decrees and orders of the General Congregations, as well as the briefs of the Generals of the Order from Ignatius Loyola to Ignatius Visconti inclusive; all others, therefore, are merely copies of the third edition, as they bear the same title, and nothing more has consequently been made known of the Order since the year 1702.

All this, taken together, shows us clearly enough that not too much printed matter is to be found concerning the Jesuit Order, but the little extant, when we can get a sight thereof, perfectly suffices to give the world a correct idea of that Society. This knowledge, however, was not intended to be imparted to mankind, and, indeed, simply on this account, because the sons of Loyola never on any occasion committed a copy of their statutes to a layman, and, indeed, not even to a brother of low rank in the Order. At least, up to the year 1761, there never occurred a single instance of anyone having in his hands a *Corpus Institutorum Societatis Jesu*, except the black-clad Fathers themselves; and whatever was known respecting the Jesuit institutions was merely from oral communications, or consisted of mere conjectures.

The astonishment of the world was all the greater, then, when at the termination of the La Vallette trial, as we have seen in the Fourth Book, a copy thereof—the Prague edition of 1757—was, on urgent demand, laid before the Parliament of Paris, and this astonishment rose the higher when the contents of the *Corpus Institutorum* became known. Truly, this production, on the part of the Father-Procurator Montigny, of a copy of their statutes, was the most highly inconsiderate error of judgment which the sons of Loyola ever perpetrated, and they would have given much, later on, had they been able to amend the error of the said pious Father; but the Parliament had this time got the book in its hands, and would at no price give it up again. On the other hand, taking its stand on the contents of the same, it declared all Bulls, letters, and briefs of the Pope referring to the Jesuit Order, as likewise the constitutions of the same, and the explanations thereof, and lastly, the decrees of the Generals and of the General Congregations, as well as, generally, all other enactments of the Chief, as gross abuses, and this on the following grounds:—

In the first place, because the statutes of the Society were in contradiction even as much with the nature of the Church, of the General Councils of the Holy See, and all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as with that of the secular monarchs and sovereigns, as also of States in general; while the General of the Jesuits, on the strength of the privileges and acts accorded to him, and orders issued, could absolutely set at defiance the resolutions

of the Councils, the Bulls of the Popes, the enactments of the higher ecclesiastics, and the laws of secular governments. Could, indeed, either the ecclesiastical or the secular power have any hold upon an Order to which power is given to alter, abolish, or recal its own constitutions, or to make them entirely new, according to circumstances, without any authority whatever, not even the Holy See itself, having any control of the matter? Secondly, because, according to the constitutions, a single individual, the General, excercised an absolute monarchical power over the whole Society distributed throughout all regions of the world, and over all the individual members of the same, even such as are exempt from control through the offices which they hold; and because this power extended so far—not only, indeed, respecting the management of estates, and as to the right to conclude contracts and to abolish the same again —that all who belong to the Society were bound to this supreme chief, even as to Jesus Christ, blindly to obey, without delay, without exception, without investigation, even without inward doubt, all his orders with as perfect punctuality as if they were the dogmatic laws of the Catholic Faith, and, like a living corpse, to carry them out as tools with no will of their own, and with entire abnegation of all moral perception. Thirdly, because privileges were accorded to the Order of Jesus which directly oppose the rights of rulers and authorities, the rights of bishops and archbishops, clergymen and universities, and, lastly, the rights of all the other ecclesiastical and secular Orders, so that, properly, all parties in the State came under the greatest disadvantage through these Jesuit privileges. Fourthly, because, while otherwise every deed of social contract accords to its several members rights and duties, the members of the Society of Jesus were only assigned duties, and, indeed, duties towards their General alone, to whom they owed implicit obedience, without, on the other hand, possessing any rights. On the contrary, the General had the power to turn out of the Order this or that member of the same, according to his pleasure, and the expelled member had neither the right of appeal against this despotic action, nor even could he ask the reasons for it, or make any claim to a provision for the remainder of his life. Fifthly, and lastly, because every member of the Society of Jesus, according to the belief and to the statutes of belief, was bound to

render implicit slavish obedience to the General, even in the case of its being the pleasure of the latter and his Congregations to decree statutes which stand in open contradiction with the general Christian doctrines of the Church, so that it might be possible for completely heretical doctrine to become Jesuit articles of faith.

On these grounds, to which may be added many others of a subordinate nature, the Parliament of Paris declared the constitutions of the Jesuit Order as through and through offensive, and such as it was impossible to tolerate in any well-ordered State; and as this sentence was promulgated, it may be well imagined what an enormous sensation it caused in the minds of all right-thinking men. This sensation, too, was still vastly more increased when, a few months later, at the beginning of the year 1762, an abridgment of the repulsive principles contained in the *Corpus Institutorum*, appeared in a thick quarto volume,* and the sentence of condemnation pronounced against the frightful Society of Jesus was the subject of conversation in all cultivated and right-minded circles of human society. Oh! how the sons of Loyola now regretted having laid before the Parliament of Paris their book of constitutions. How quickly they made haste to destroy, by fire, all copies of the same, as far as it was possible to get hold of them; but they soon became convinced, to their most profound grief, that they had been too late with all these measures. It was not merely the books of the constitution of the Order regarding which the world was horrified, but almost still more the doctrinal works prepared by their most distinguished theologians. I mean the books of doctrine respecting Christian morals and moral theology, the principles of which the whole Society of Jesus had hitherto claimed as their own, and for which they must thus now take upon themselves the responsibility. Therein were to be read truly horrible things—calculated, indeed, to make one's hair stand on end! For one could not but see, at the first glance, that here was no question of "Christian morals," but of a more than heathenish prudential doctrine, which even allowed, according to time and circumstances, the commission

* The title of this book is, *Epitome of the Dangerous and Disgraceful Affirmations which the Jesuits constantly and uninterruptedly taught in their Writings with the Approval of their General.*

of the worst sins. Truly, it could not any longer be denied that such books had been written in part for a hundred years and more, and one now had the opportunity of becoming horrified regarding their contents; but the sons of Loyola stood, at that time, in such extreme estimation that one could hardly dare to withdraw from them the nimbus of holiness, and when thus some few learned men called attention to the general pernicious tendency of the morality therein inculcated—as, for instance, Anton Arnold, in his *Moral Pratique des Jesuites*, written in the year 1643; Blaise Pascal, in his *Lettres Provinciales*, which appeared in 1656; or Nicholas Perrault, in his *Morale des Jesuites, extraite de leur livres*, published in 1669—such attacks had but little result.

The sons of Loyola contrived to take care that all that description of literature should be forbidden by Government, and be burnt by the hand of the hangman; they contrived to take care that the great mass of mankind should be instilled into the firm belief that the writings of an Arnold, a Pascal, or whatever name the opponents of the Jesuits might possess, contained nothing but unjustifiable calumnies. Now, however, as, by the study of the *Corpus Institutorum*, the dangerous tendency of the Order of Jesus was proved, in as far as it affected the whole society of mankind, the Jesuit writings came to be zealously looked into, and in them was now discovered what had previously been held to be quite impossible—a moral doctrine was taught that was purely immoral. Indeed, on this account the Parliament of Paris caused a number of the most prominent Jesuitical writings to be officially investigated, and the result was a unanimous resolution that the moral writings of the Jesuits Emanuel Sa, Martin Anton Delrio, Robert Person, S. Bridgavater, Robert Bellarmin, Ludvig Molina, Alphonso Salmeron, Gregor de Valentia, Clarus Bonarscius, Johann Azor, Jacob Keller, Gabriel Basquez, Johann Lorin, Leonard Less, Francis Tolet, Adam Tanner, Martin Becan, Edmund Pirot, Anton de Escobar, Jacob Tirin, Jacob Gretser, and Hermann Busenbaum, should be torn up and burnt by the public executioner at the foot of the great staircase of the Palace of Parliament, on account of their highly pernicious tendency and their horrible contents, which were entirely subversive of Christian morality.

In order, now, however, to give the reader a more exact idea of what the sons of Loyola taught in their writings and colleges, I will serve up a little specimen of their doctrines. I will not, however, confine myself to the so-called head matadore of the Order, but quote more modern authors, as herein lies the proof that the principles alluded to belong not to an individual merely, but to the whole Society as such, not being altered by the lapse of time. Let us see, first of all, how the sons of Loyola give their judgment as to the crime of unchastity and adultery. "He," says Father Francis Zaver Fegeli (in his *Practical Questions regarding the Functions of Father Confessor*, Augsburg, 1750, p. 284), "who leads astray a young maiden with her own consent, is not guilty of sin, because she is mistress of her own person, and can dispense her favours according as she wishes." Father Escobar affirms precisely the same in his *Moral Theology*, which he caused to be printed at Lyons, in folio, in the year 1655, and also Father Moullet expresses himself in a similar manner in his *Compendium of Morals*. "But," the latter adds, further on, "whoever through force, threats, or cunning causes a girl to leave the path of virtue, without having promised her marriage, is bound to compensate the young maiden and her relatives for all damage which has been occasioned to her, giving her, when he cannot otherwise compensate her, a dowry in order that she may find some one who may marry her if he does not himself espouse her. If, nevertheless, his transgression should remain completely secret, she is not, according to the inward laws of conscience, entitled to any compensation." This Father Moullet further teaches: "If anyone enters into a guilty relationship with a woman, not on account of her being married, but on account of her being beautiful, the sin of adultery is not chargeable in such a case, even although she may be married, but simply that of impropriety." As regards unchastity in general, Father Etienne Bauny expresses himself (in his work *De la Somme des Péchés*, Paris, 1653, p. 77) in the following manner:—

"It is allowable to all descriptions of persons to visit disorderly places in order there to convert sinful women, although it is very probable that one may even one's self fall into sin, as one may but too easily be seduced by the sight and endearments of these women. This, however, is no *stuprum*, but

merely *fornicatio*, as a *stuprum* infers force; *fornicatio*, on the other hand, depends on mutual consent, and thereby no injury takes place."

Again, according to the views of the Jesuits, in the person of Father Castro Paulo (in his book *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, 1631, p. 18): "When a domestic sees himself compelled, on account of his livelihood, to serve a dissolute master, it is allowable for him to render assistance to the latter in the most grievous transgressions." Father Corneille de la Pierre gives a somewhat peculiar interpretation, in his *Commentaries on the Prophet Daniel* (Paris, 1622), to the familiar incident as to Susanna, when he puts the following reasoning into the mouth of the latter: "If," says Susanna, "I yield to the wishes of these old men, thus my honour is lost; if, however, I offer resistance, then is my life at stake. I will not, then, consent to this disgraceful transaction, but I will tolerate it, and say nothing about it, in order to retain at the same time both honour and life." Jacob Tirin, too, agrees entirely with Corneille de la Pierre, and says, in his Biblical Commentary (*Commentarius ad Biblia*, 1668, p. 787): "The chaste Susanna was compelled to yield to the elders, nevertheless without mental consent, and nothing obliged her, to make known her shame by crying out, seeing that her good reputation and life of outward integrity were at stake."

Unanimous, however, as were the Jesuit authors regarding the immoral principles hitherto adduced, it appeared, on the other hand, that on another point, namely, the taking of money for prostitution, some difference of opinion prevailed amongst them. Thus Father J. Gordon, a Scottish Jesuit, writes (*General Moral Theology*, vol. ii. book v.): "A girl of pleasure is justified in receiving payment, only she must not make the price too high. The same holds good in the case of every young maid who pursues her calling secretly. A married woman, however, has not the same right to receive payment, seeing that the gain from prostitution has not been previously stipulated for in the marriage contract." The celebrated Escobar, on the contrary, says: "What a married woman gains by adultery she may look upon as well earned property, only she must allow her husband to participate in her gains." Father Tamburini goes still further than this (*Confession aisée*, from which

I allow myself to quote the following passage) : " How dear can a woman sell the pleasure of the enjoyment of her charms ?' Answer : In order to form a correct judgment one must take into consideration the nobility, beauty, and deportment of the woman, as a respectable woman is of more value than one who opens her door to the first comer. We must distinguish ; it depends upon whether the matter concerns a girl of pleasure or a respectable woman. A damsel of easy virtue cannot demand more from one than she has taken from another. She must have a fixed price, and it is a contract between her and her visitor. The latter gives the money, and she her favours, exactly as the host the wine and the guest the drink-money. But a woman of respectability and condition can demand what she pleases, for in matters of this kind, which have no fixed price in general, the person who sells is mistress of her wares. She has thus the right, like an innocent girl, to sell her honour as dearly as she values the same, and no one can, on that account, accuse her of usury."

So much for the Jesuit teaching concerning the transgression of unchastity. Let us now hear what these pious Fathers hold regarding the crime of theft. Father Pierre Aragon (in his *Abrégé de la somme theologique de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, p. 365), asks: " Is it allowable for anyone to steal in consequence of the straits in which he finds himself? Answer : Yes, this is allowable, let it be either secretly or openly ; but only when a man has no other means of meeting his wants. There must also be no question of either oppression or robbery, because, according to the rights of nature, all things are common property, while everyone is obliged to preserve his life." Father Benedict Stattler takes quite the same view, as he expresses himself as follows in his celebrated work *Allgemeine Katholisch-christliche Sittenlehre, oder wahre Glücts elig-keitslehre, aus hinreichenden Gründen der Gottlichen Offenbarung und der Philosophie für die obersten Schulen der pfalz-bayrischen Lyceen auf höchsten, Kurfürstlichen Befehl verfasst München*, 1790, in the first volume, p. 427 : " When a needy person, on account of sickness or lack of employment, is not in a position to supply his wants by his own work, he has the right to abstract from the rich, by secret or open force, the superfluity of the latter." Anton de Escobar, also, to whom I have already several times alluded, is of the same opinion, only he adds (*Theologica Moral*, Tract v. Exempl. v., No. 120), that the person robbed must

necessarily be a rich man. "Therefore," it is further stated, "when thou findest a thief who has the intention to rob a needy person, thou must restrain him from doing so, and point out to him another rich person whom he may plunder instead of the needy one." Antoine Paul Gabriel goes still more into detail, as he fixes the sum which one may steal at one time at three francs, and in his *Theologie Morale Universelle*, p. 226, he gives the following opinion: "A man may repeat the theft as often and as long as he finds himself in want; also, a person is not at all bound to replace what, from time to time, he has taken, even when the total may amount to a very large sum." Father Longuet teaches nearly the same thing, only in much more general terms, when he says (Question IV., p. 2): "Is a man so poor and another so well-to-do that the latter is bound to assist the former? In this case the destitute person may take the goods of the other without sinning and without being bound to restore them again, only he must do it secretly and not in an open way."

Thus, not only in the case of the greatest need may a man steal, according to Jesuit views, but also when the object is to equalise the great contrast between rich and poor, as, indeed, men were originally created equal and with equal rights! Without this, however, one was justified in "taking" when it was a question of paying one's self, while that the right of secret compensation went for something with the sons of Loyola was to be understood.

"When masters," says J. de Cardenas (*Crisis Theologica*, p. 214), "deduct something from the pay of their servants, the latter can either appeal to justice, or take the law into their own hands and make use of secret compensation." Father Zaver Fegeli (*De Confessore*, p. 137), teaches the same thing; he adds, however, "It is, indeed, allowable to steal, by compensation, from one's master, but under the condition that one does not allow one's self to be caught in the act." Also, according to the information of Jean de Lugo (*De Incarnatione*, p. 408), a man may steal from his debtor, when he has reason to believe that he will not be paid by the same; "Only," adds Valerius Reginald, "one must take the exact compensation, and not steal anything more than that for which one has a claim."

In relation, also, to falsehood and perjury, the sons of Loyola

had very peculiar views, as they plainly expressed themselves to the effect that lying and false swearing were allowable in all cases in which a man's honour, or his property, or his health, might be injured if he spoke the truth. J. de Cardenas says, in the book above referred to: "It is allowable to take an oath, as well in important as in unimportant matters, without having the intention of keeping it, as soon as one has good grounds for so acting." "To make use of words of double meaning and to falsely deceive the judge, is allowable in certain cases," as Father Castropalos writes (tom. iii. of his work, Tract 14), "when one can only find a worthy excuse in concealing the truth. For instance, dissimulation might be necessary, in order not to pronounce sentence of death against one's self, where instant destruction is in question; thus canst thou deny the truth and take refuge in dissimulation in such a case without being guilty of the least transgression. It is, indeed, allowable in such instances to take an oath of equivocation, as every man has a right to preserve his life by any means in his power. . . . To this view of mine our most learned theologians agree." Castropalos then adds, after some further discussion, "and for this I refer to the works of Navarra, Tolet, Suarez, Valencia, and Lessius." Sanchez and Bonacinus also teach the same thing, and the latter says: "Interrogated as to a crime committed, it is not at all incumbent on you to confess, as long as you can find for your advantage any tolerable excuse. And when judicially interrogated, or when a great and important injury would accrue to you from a confession of your misdeed, you may boldly affirm that you have not committed it; only you must so form your words that you may afterwards be able to explain them according as you wish. Are you then asked as to your accomplice? You are not bound to make any declaration of the truth, rather you may be silent about the matter, or, still better, answer in such words that the true meaning remains concealed." Thus writes the learned Castropalos, and the greatly admired Father Filliutius expresses himself in a precisely similar way in his great work on theology (vol. x., Treatise 25, chap. 12). He writes: "One asks whether it is allowable at times to take an equivocating oath, a secret mental reservation being kept concealed. I answer, Yes, only the chief thing is that the answer must be so framed according to the

question, that afterwards another interpretation may be given to it, if it be found necessary, and difficulty be not occasioned by so doing."

The sons of Loyola showed themselves not less tolerant regarding other transactions branded as sinful by moralists at large. Thus, for instance, the Jesuit Tolet expresses himself in relation to a small commercial fraud as follows (in his book on the *Seven Mortal Sins*, p. 1027): "When one cannot sell his wine at the price he considers it to be worth, because it is considered to be too dear, he can give smaller measure and mix with it a small quantity of water, in such a way, of course, that everyone believes he has the full measure, and that the wine is pure and unadulterated."

In relation to bribery, Father Taberna says (in his *Sketch of Practical Theology*, which appeared in the year 1736): "It is asked whether a judge is bound to repay what a party has given to him, in order that he might record a decision in his favour. I answer that he must restore what he has received if he obtained it in order that he might pronounce a righteous and proper judgment; should he, however, have acquired the money or valuables in order to propound an unrighteous sentence, he can retain the property, as he has deserved it." Respecting another kind of bribe, Benedict Stattler expresses himself in the following words (vol. i. of his *Moral Ethics*, p. 460): "When, on account of the selfishness and factiousness of the higher authorities, there is no way left open to our obtaining public offices by our own merit and our own worth, it is not only allowable, but, indeed, serviceable, from the motive of the love of God and of our neighbour, to obtain by presents or flattery the favour of those who have it in their power to bestow these offices."

The getting rid of an immature child is likewise considered to be allowable by the sons of Loyola, at least in certain cases, which, however, are of a very flexible character, and Father Airaut writes regarding this (*Proposition sur le Cinquième Precepte du Decalogue*, p. 322): "One asks whether a woman may make use of means to obtain abortion. I answer, Yes, if quickening has not taken place, and the pregnancy is not dangerous. But even if there has been quickening already, it may be effected as soon as a conviction is arrived at that she must

die by the birth. Under all circumstances, however, a young person who has been led astray may do so, as her honour must be to her more precious than the life of the child."

Assuredly very peculiar morality! More peculiar still, however, is the manner in which Father Gobat expresses himself in his *Œuvres Morales* (tome ii., p. 228), regarding crime committed during drunkenness, and even in the case of parricide. After coming to the most sophistical and fallacious conclusion that a drunkard cannot be made responsible for his actions, he concludes as follows: "A son who has become intoxicated, and in this state has killed his father, is not merely no criminal, but he may rejoice, indeed, at the circumstances of the murder which he has committed, if, that is, a great fortune which he inherits is in question, as large riches belong in every way to those things much to be desired, especially when one understands how to make good use of them."

Lastly, I may be allowed to say something regarding the highly wonderful precept which the Jesuits inculcate in respect to the right of self-defence, since neither before nor after them was ever a similar theory advanced. The sons of Loyola maintain that one is fully entitled to make use of the sharpest "reprisals against anyone by whom one may have been insulted, and not merely by means of judicial complaint, but by retaliation, and, before everything, by detraction and calumny, to deprive such person of his honour and good repute. In regard to the latter (detraction of honour and calumny), one may be certain," says Tamburin in his *Decalogus* (lib. ix. cap. ii. § 2), "that a number of people will soon be found who will swear to the calumny, as, naturally, men have much desire for wickedness, and thus the person insulting always falls into greater disgrace, until at length every one points a finger at him." Herrmann Busenbaum expresses himself somewhat more circumspectly (*Christian Theology*, book iii. part vi. chap. i.) when he writes: "In the case of anyone unjustifiably making an attack on your honour, when you cannot otherwise defend yourself than by impeaching the integrity of the person insulting you, it is quite allowable to do so. You must, however, tell the truth, and not carry the thing further than is required for the maintenance of your own reputation, while no greater insult must be inflicted on the person than has befallen yourself, an exact comparison being

made between your own worth and that of your insulter." Leonard Lessius expresses himself far more freely (lib. ii. *De Anst.* cap. 2), as he teaches thus: "Has anyone made an attack on your honour, you may then at once make use of retaliation, and you have thereby nothing else to observe than to keep up a comparison as much as possible." The language of Benedict Stattler is, however, the most severe, and at the same time the most clear, when he makes use of the following words: "It is still more allowable in this case (namely, when one is injured ignominiously) to bring the calumniator to universal notice by a disclosure of his secret transgressions or crimes, by which means people may change their opinion as to his injurious imputations. Also to attribute a false crime to the calumniator is allowable for such an object, if this should be the only sufficient, indispensable, or even serviceable means to deprive him of all belief and credit for his calumniation."

A practical moral, will the reader say, a moral which bids defiance to all divine, civil, and political laws; as what would become of order in a State where everyone was allowed to be judge in his own affairs and executor of his own sentence—when every one, instead of preserving love in his heart, as Christ hath ordained, thinks always merely of revenge, and requites injustice by still worse deeds?

Although this kind of morality must, indeed, be termed as partly insane, the sons of Loyola were by no means satisfied with the same, but went considerably further, and affirmed that it was allowable to take the life of the calumniator in the event of its not being possible to save one's honour in any other way. Thus Father Airaut, already previously referred to, says: "In order to cut short calumny most quickly, one may cause the death of the calumniator, but as secretly as possible to avoid observation." The Jesuit Herreau, too, dictated the following principle to his pupils at the college in Paris in the year 1641: "If anyone, by a false accusation, should calumniate me to a prince, judge, or other man of honour, and I can maintain my good name in no other way than by assassinating him secretly, I should be justified in doing so. Moreover, I should be also justified had the crime of which I was accused been actually committed by me, though concealed under the veil of secrecy in such a way that it would not be easy to discover

it through a judicial investigation." Escobar, likewise, in his *Moral Theology*, published in the year 1655, teaches the like thereto: "That it is absolutely allowable to kill a man whenever the general welfare or proper security demands it"; and Hermann Busenbaum elucidates this doctrine still further: "that, in order to defend his life, preserve his limbs entire, or save his honour, a son may even murder his father, a monk his abbot, and a subject his prince." Father Francis Lamy enters more into specialities when he says, in vol. v. of his work (Disp. 36, Num. 148): "It cannot be denied that ecclesiastics and members of monkish Orders are compelled on this account to maintain their honour and consideration, which are inseparable from their virtuous life as well as their scientific culture. These cause them to be respected in the eyes of the laity, and if, then, one of them loses the same, he can neither be any longer useful nor deliver spiritual counsel. On that account, is it not an established truth that ecclesiastics must save their honour and consideration at any price, even at that of the life of the persons insulting them? Yes, they are indeed forced to remove their calumniator, when by this means alone they can make themselves secure; and this is especially the case when the loss of their honour would tend to the disgrace of the whole Order." Father Henriques teaches exactly the same doctrine in his *Summa Theologiæ Moralis* (Venet. 1600), only in more precise words. "If an ecclesiastic," it is said therein, "caught in adultery by the husband of a woman with whom he has a love affair, kills the man in order to defend his own life and honour, he is not only quite justified in doing so, but he is, on that account, not incapacitated from continuing the exercise of his ecclesiastical functions." The precepts laid down by the famous Sanchez are even still more stringent, as he coolly asserts that it is allowable to murder everyone who advances an unjust accusation or bears false evidence against us, as soon as we are assured that a great injury will thereby be occasioned to us. "Such acts cannot be properly designated as murders, but merely allowable defences; nevertheless, before perpetrating the deed, one must have a certain conviction as to the offence of the enemy." But Benedict Stattler, so frequently before quoted, expresses himself most clearly of all when he intimates as follows (vol. i. of his *Moral Philosophy*, p. 337): "A real

injury, bringing disgrace on one, as, for instance, a horsewhipping or blow on the face, may be retaliated by the murder of the insulter, if it cannot be remedied in any other manner; still Christian love counsels forbearance from this mode of defence, as long as such conduct does not occasion a heavy misfortune to us and to others connected with us. Other grievous offences, especially calumniations, need not certainly be obviated in general by the murder of the offender, but it is very allowable in the following cases:—1. When there appears to be a certainty of the false calumniator finding credence among men. 2. If he cuts off from us thereby all means of saving our honour. 3. If we can remove, by the murder of the enemy, the danger of our suffering shame."

Such and similar doctrines did the sons of Loyola advance in their works on moral theology; and now, O reader, ask thyself, has not mankind just reason to be mortally alarmed on this account? Yes, indeed, it cannot be filled with any common horror when it considers that the youth of Europe, which for the most part was entrusted to the Jesuits for instruction, should have been indoctrinated with such horrible principles? Moreover, is it not clearly apparent in practice what frightful consequences such a Jesuitical system of doctrine brings in its train? Did not, for instance, Parson Riembauer adduce Stattler's *Christian Moral Philosophy* as his justification when he murdered Anna Eichstätter in cold blood because she threatened to make certain revelations about him? And are there not many such Riembauers, no doubt, in secret, who declare that murder is allowable when one's honour and good repute are in danger, only with this difference, that they know better how to keep their murders veiled and concealed? A horrible thought for every father, if he reflects on the welfare of his son committed to the care of the Jesuits; must it not indeed, cause him to shudder?

But not merely on this account did a general cry of displeasure arise against committing the youth of Germany into the hands of the sons of Loyola, but also by reason of its having been discovered, on more accurate investigation, how little of an actually scientific education was imparted by the so highly vaunted Fathers, and how perverted, defective, and generally injurious was their whole method.

In this respect the celebrated historian Spittler, who hit the nail on the head with fewest words, says:

"They sought to appropriate to themselves all the education of the people and the students, and for a certain time they succeeded in this; but they taught the sciences with the abstraction of the noblest portions therefrom, that is to say, of all that might enlighten the understanding, and raise and ennoble the sentiments of the heart—all that might have the effect in any way of laying bare the objects of the Papacy and of Jesuitism. They did not, indeed, promote anything like good taste by their instructions, and Jesuit Latin has everywhere become proverbial."

In fact, the scholars in their gymnasiums were plagued during nine years or more with grammatical rules, without ever obtaining any fundamental knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, and with the spirit of the authors in those languages they never became acquainted, as the sons of Loyola thoroughly emasculated the works before giving them to their pupils to read. On the other hand, the latter were brought up to have a great readiness and dexterity in speaking the Latin language, seeing that it was, in the 17th and 18th centuries, the general tongue of diplomatists and ministers. Moreover, they exercised the young at an early age in the art of disputation and public speaking, in order that they might in later years be able to excel as sophistical debaters, and thereby never be discomfited in this respect.

This art, which was also called dialectics, gave them a semblance of knowledge and culture which blinded the multitude; and what more could be desired when this result could be accomplished? As for the acquirement of a knowledge of other languages than Latin and Greek, but little or nothing at all was effected in the whole of their colleges, and even the vernacular of the country was totally neglected. Indeed, the native language of the country was, up to the beginning of the 18th century, completely excluded from the subjects taught, and in Germany many Portuguese were employed as teachers and professors in their institutions, while in Portugal Italian, in Spain German, and in Italy Spanish Jesuits were made use of.

In the year 1703 the General Congregation of the Society certainly resolved that in future the language of the country

should be taken into account; but the instruction imparted still remained but miserable, and in the German Jesuit schools, for instance, according to a report of the Bavarian Government in the year 1770, which entered very fully into the matter in question, the German pupils forgot their German much more than they learned it. And why not? Jesuit pupils were not intended to be brought up as good citizens of the State in which they were born, or as excellent and independent members of the nation to which they owed allegiance, but rather as merely friends of the Order of Jesus, whose welfare alone they had to further completely and entirely without regard to nationality. They should henceforth, if they formally entered into the Order, have no other interest whatever than that of the Society. If they did not join the fraternity, however, but on the completion of their education enrolled themselves in the service of the State, or found some other occupation, they had become so devoid of any national or patriotic feeling, that the weal of the Order lay more at their heart than that of the State to which they belonged. Equally indifferent and feelingless were they to become towards their own family, their relatives, and their home, and another love was instilled into them—that for the Society of Jesus, which was to be considered by them now as the sole protector of the welfare of mankind.

Such was the end and object of Jesuit teaching, and in this, to a great extent, they were successful, that is, in the art of estranging the youth from their paternal home and love of country, of detaching their minds from the direction to which they should have been naturally inclined, and of inoculating them with adherence to their spiritual Father and their Romish fatherland; so that, on this account, they never quitted the schools of the sons of Loyola as good, obedient sons, never as truly devoted citizens upon whom the country and its ruler could depend.

Such was the view which, on more minute examination of the subject, came to be entertained of the Jesuitical instruction of youth; and, I would ask, was not the universal cry of indignation which now began to be raised, at least among the cultivated, against the pious Fathers, completely justified?

CHAPTER III.

INCREASING ENLIGHTENMENT, AND THE STORM WHICH AROSE OUT OF THEIR OWN MIDST.

A THIRD epoch now set in, contributing to display the sons of Loyola in their nakedness, showing, that is, what they really were, and I designate this as the period of increasing enlightenment in connection with the storm which broke over the Jesuits out of their own midst.

Much evil had been brought about in France, Germany, and Spain, and, indeed, the whole of Europe, by the rule of King Louis XIV.; but, on the other hand, an immeasurable advantage to mankind was also occasioned thereby, namely, this, that it raised up writers, who not only opposed the tendency to superstition and darkness, by the light of their genius, which persistently revealed the errors of the time, but also wrote in such a way that, and in a language by which, the great masses of the public might be enabled to devour these works. Hitherto Latin had been the sole language of the learned, all literary discussions between men of science having been entirely carried on in that language. Although, in this way, much had been done after the invention of the art of printing, in regard to re-awakening spiritual liberty, it did not penetrate to the common people, because they were ignorant of the Latin language. If any result was to be obtained, it was necessary to speak to the populace in a language with which they were familiar, and also, at the same time, in such a manner as would impart some interest and plea-

sure. What benefit could the great masses derive from learned trash? The indolent allowed it to remain unnoticed, or sleepily yawned over it.

The most profound spiritual darkness, then, reigned in Europe, even after the re-awakening of the sciences there, and even after the grand working of the Reformation, weighing down the nations like a fearful incubus, and no ray of sunlight showed itself which could penetrate this eternal darkness, except here and there, during the 17th century. The sons of Loyola, who mostly contributed to the maintenance of this profound darkness, internally rejoiced, and hoped that daylight might never show itself. Their wish, however, was in vain, for even when they had attained their highest degree of power, there sprang into life throughout France, *in consequence of the great religious and political feuds which, under Louis XIV., shook the world*, quite a new literature, of which no one before had any conception, and which was destined entirely to shake the faith of the people as to the sanctity of the Society of Jesus. I allude to the dramatic poetry which at that time emancipated itself from classical antiquity, and began, at least in comedy, to place itself on its own proper footing.

He who had the merit of introducing this new kind of literature was Jean Baptiste Poquelin, called de Molière, and from him, the master pattern and type of all existing writers of comedy, the sons of Loyola received a shock which injured them more in the eyes of the masses than all the attacks of their most learned opponents. Molière, attached by inclination to the theatre from his early youth, in 1642, at the age of two-and-twenty, joined a troop of play-actors who, at that time, gave representations in the suburbs of Paris, and then, during sixteen long years, ran through with them the provinces of France, erecting the temple of Thalia, now in this town, now in that, for a couple of months or more. There was a want, however, of suitable pieces for this troop, as the public had no great inclination for the usual highly-tragical classical tragedies of those days, and one of this description, *La Thébiade*, written by himself, did not please any better in the least. There then occurred to him the happy thought of writing comedy instead of tragedy, and his very first attempt, the *Etourdi*, which appeared in the year 1653, at once took with the masses.

He treated therein subjects from life, and the people were compelled to laugh whether they would or not. One comedy now followed after another, in each of them some defective condition of the day being exposed to the ridicule of the public, at one time some peculiar disposition, at another some arrogance of this or that class of the people. Was there any wonder, then, that the name of Molière should soon resound throughout the whole of France? Was it to be marvelled at that he transferred himself, with his troop, to Paris, after the year 1658, and there likewise gained immense applause? Was it cause for astonishment that the art-loving Louis XIV., who at that time was gushing over with the love of pleasure, took him and his company into his special service, under the title of the "royal troop," in order to make the brilliant Court festivities still more glorious? Molière was now, for the first time, in his right place; henceforth, the classics, that is, Plautus and Terence, were thrown completely overboard by him, in order to bring on the stage the sayings and doings of actual present life, and to put in the pillory vice and folly wherever he found them.

There appeared now, one after another, *l'Ecole des Femmes*, *l'Ecole des Hommes*, *Le Misanthrope*, along with other pieces; and as the great King highly applauded the same with his own hands, the author of these was armed against all persecution, although, indeed, many persons of high standing and position who had met with castigation from him entertained very great hatred against him. He had not, however, as yet ventured to touch upon the hypocritical devotion of the sons of Loyola, who in those days had acquired greatly increasing power in France, and it thus seemed madness to set them at defiance. But his genius carried him away, and in the year 1664 there appeared his *Tartuffe*, the most biting of all satires which had ever been made upon the black cohort. It was, indeed, incomparably daring to wish to hold up the Jesuits to the laughter of the world, and Molière, consequently, soon experienced what it was to enter the battle-field against such an army of warriors. The pious Fathers, as soon as they got certain information of the existence of the piece, contrived to get it prohibited by their machinations, and it remained forbidden, in spite of all the efforts of the poet, during five years. At

length, King Louis gave ear to the representations of Molière, that his *Tartuffe* was not directed against the Society of Jesus as a body, but merely ridiculed the hypocritical and pharisaical among them; rather, perhaps, the monarch could no longer restrain his curiosity to witness the performance of the *Tartuffe*, and peremptorily ordered that it should be allowed to be brought on the stage.

What a grand result, however, crowned its production! The half of Paris, and, afterwards, the whole of France, clapped their hands in applauding until they were sore, and all people of cultivation went almost beyond themselves with delight and enthusiasm in admiration of this inimitable work. The piece was required to be repeated dozens of times, and it was represented in all the theatres of the provinces, being even taken up abroad and translated into almost all the living languages of Europe. The Jesuits were pointed at with scorn whenever they ventured to make themselves at all conspicuous, and, moreover, the work-people in the towns, those, therefore, who constituted the middle class, were also infected with the spirit of enlightenment. But what of the sons of Loyola? They revenged themselves by condemning from the pulpits of their churches the divine poet, although still living, to eternal hell fire, and, when he died in February 1673, they worked upon the Archbishop of Paris in order that he should deny an honourable burial to his remains. King Louis, however, who had known how to esteem his favourite during his lifetime, once again interfered, and, by his order, Molière obtained a resting-place in the churchyard of St. Joseph. True, it was but a very quiet, modest place, but honourable, nevertheless, and inaccessible to the revenge of the Jesuits; he thus fared better than thousands of others who had drawn down upon themselves the wrath of the sons of Loyola.

After Molière, many now strove to follow in his footsteps, working in his spirit, manner and mode of speech; the ice was now broken, and the wheel of progress could not again be rolled backwards. I may be excused for refraining from mentioning the names of these men—the reader may make himself acquainted with them in the history of literature—and I simply affirm that enlightenment, in a few decades, made most gigantic progress, especially among the town populations of France, since the

first production of the *Tartuffe*. It would be, however, a great sin not to make at least one single exception in favour of that author who contributed at least as much to the overthrow of Jesuitism as the whole hundred years of Jansenist strife; I allude to the author, François Marie Arouet de Voltaire. Born in the year 1694, he obtained his first education in the Jesuit College of "Louis le Grand"; after which he devoted himself to the study of law, only, however, for a short time, as he was unable to acquire any taste for the same; finally, at the age of twenty, encouraged by literary men who were impressed by his marvellous mental endowments, he ventured upon the field of poetry, and as the tragedy of *Oedipe*, with which he made a commencement, met with great applause, he now firmly resolved to devote his time entirely to literary pursuits. He kept loyally to this purpose, and during the whole of his long life—he died in 1778—one work after another saw the light, as the flight of his imagination never flagged, the energy of his activity never halted. Still it was not only with poetry that he occupied himself, nor merely poems, tragedy, and comedy, which he edited in abundance; he laboured much more extensively in the field of history, as well as in discussing the questions of the day, and his writings exercised such an enormous power over men's minds, that he became the ruling spirit of his nation on all religious, political, and social questions. Yet it was more by the thunderbolts which he launched forth against fanaticism, superstition, and hypocrisy, that he raised himself to be the chief representative of all French philosophers, and he was, indeed, looked upon as the prime mover of the entire mental tendency of Europe. Was such a man, however, only intended to write simply and solely for those of high position and cultivation? No; he composed for the whole of the world who could read, while kings and their ministers could not do otherwise than devote attention to his works; still more was he the favourite author of the female world. And, as to the bourgeoise, they actually devoured him, and whoever had not read the *Henriade*, the *Pucelle*, the *Zadig*, or the *Candide*, was looked upon as a complete barbarian. There was one class of people, however, who read him, indeed, but with fury, and who would gladly have poisoned him for every word he had written; there was one set of individuals of this

description, but they constituted a very widely distributed and, hitherto, almost all-powerful body. I allude to the ordained clergy, among whom, again, the black cohort of Jesuits ranged themselves in the foremost rank. They hated him most mortally, and rightfully so, seeing that he also detested them, and, indeed, if possible, still more bitterly than they disliked him, and persecuted them with his wit, his satire, his contumely and contempt, in such a keen cutting way, and with such immense results, that he thereby brought about a complete revolution in the mental tendency of a very large number of the living community of the time. It may be that in our days a good many object to his writings, especially his historical, philosophical, and critical works; it may be that he may be accused, with more or less reason, of want of solidity, and, on the other hand, with superfluity of frivolity: in spite of all this, he still stands forth as the man the most highly endowed mentally of his age; none the less he was the rock upon which was shattered the authority of the hitherto adored Church in religious matters, as well as, to some extent, political and social questions.

I trust, with this little that I have said about Molière and Voltaire, to have sufficiently demonstrated how immensely the increasing enlightenment, resulting therefrom, contributed in displaying the sons of Loyola in their true light, in beautiful contrast to that in which they had hitherto represented themselves. Not the less did it also conduce to the circumstance that now some individual members of the Society itself, whether with closed or open vizard, dared to come forward with certain revelations, by which the Society of Jesus was stripped of the garment of sanctity in which it had hitherto been clothed, as well, also, of most of its hitherto usurped privileges. Some few individuals, indeed, had the boldness to burst the bonds which had hitherto restrained them, and, ensuring their safety by taking flight to Protestant lands, initiated the astonished world into the hidden secrets of the Society. When I say "some few individuals," I beg that I may not be misunderstood. I am fully aware, and it is otherwise sufficiently well known, that the number of those who, in the course of time, retired from the Jesuit Order and returned again to the world, could not be called a few; but such were either lay brethren, or intended

novices, coadjutors, and scholastics. In other words, they were merely such as were called, and, indeed, actually belonged to the Society of Jesus, but had not in any way taken upon themselves the fourth vow and become enrolled among the professed members. They also by no means possessed a complete knowledge of the nature of Jesuitism; they were not cognizant of its most intimate organisation, with which only the adepts were entrusted, and consequently could not let out many of the secrets. Accordingly they are not comprehended among the "few individuals," and even less do these latter include those who, on account of being useless, or from some cause or other, had been expelled out of the Society, just as unsound limbs must be amputated; it was known that such could do no injury to the Society. The "few individuals," of whom I spoke, belonged, on the other hand, to the professed rank; they formed part of the most advanced amongst the consecrated members of the Society; they were of the number of those who were put in the foremost rank, and who, in consequence of long trial, had established a right to be promoted; of those who, being animated by true Jesuitical sentiments, had been considered as worthy of taking upon themselves the fourth vow. Of such as those very, very few quitted the Order, and this lay in the nature of things—so much so, indeed, that it was to be wondered at that such a case should ever occur. It did, however, occur, and, indeed, more than once, as I shall now, by examples, show.

In the year 1648 there appeared a pulpit orator in the Protestant Church of Leyden in Holland, who vehemently thundered against the sons of Loyola, and at the same time a little book, in the French language, came out, having for its title *The Jesuits on the Scaffold, owing to the High Crimes perpetrated by them in the Province of Guyenne.* The pulpit orator and author of the book were one and the same person, namely, Peter Jarrige, formerly a Jesuit, and a professed one of the four vows, who had done service for some considerable time as teacher, preacher, and Confessor, and also as Rector of the College in Bordeaux, as well as in other towns of the province of Guyenne, where the Society of Jesus possessed a College. Born in the year 1605, and falling very early into the hands of the Jesuits, he was brought up by them, and, on account of his superior talents, seduced into joining the Order; he advanced then quickly from grade to

grade, and was very soon considered worthy to be received among the number of those initiated into the fourth vow. In spite of all this Jesuitical education, the better feelings of his heart were still not extinguished, and, when he was advanced to be among the professed, he now became acquainted with the frightful wickedness of the Order of Jesus—a wickedness which must have appeared to him in a still more glaring light, seeing that, at the same time, he became intimate with the writings of the Reformers, and their plain Bible faith. The resolution was now matured in him to quit a society, the leaders of which united in themselves the attributes of the tiger, the wolf, and the fox, and to league himself with Protestantism. He caused himself, therefore, on some plausible pretext or other, to be transferred to his paternal town of La Rochelle, where, on the 25th December 1647, he secretly lay his new confession of faith before the Calvinistic Consistorium, and then hastily took flight to Holland, under the protection of the Calvinists, in order to escape from the cellars in which the Society of Jesus was accustomed to smother the cry of its disobedient and unfaithful sons. His flight caused a great sensation, and still more so his book *The Jesuits on the Scaffold.* In the twelve chapters of this work he treats of the whole of the doings and sayings of the sons of Loyola, exactly as they have been brought to the acquaintance of the reader in the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Books of this work, establishes by proofs everything that he alleges against them, and, although most limited as to what he had seen, heard, or experienced concerning them (and, *nota bene*, I repeat that he had never been out of the province of Guyenne, and thus could scarcely become acquainted with the hundredth part of the Jesuit territory), he so completely removes from them the comedy-mask of sanctity, that they are presented to the eyes of the world as thoroughly exposed miscreants. No wonder, then, that the world should have been overtaken with astonishment at these disclosures; no wonder, also, that the sons of Loyola should have been seized with the greatest rage. Such a thing had never been witnessed since the world had existed—a Jesuit to become the betrayer of his fellow Jesuits, one of the initiated of the Society to put the whole of the Society in the pillory, and drag it before the high court of judicature of Europe! Verily, poor Jarrige would have been torn to

pieces if his former associates had been able to get him for a moment into their clutches; as it was, however, they had to be contented with his effigy, which they burnt in the court of their college at La Rochelle. They were not, indeed, satisfied with this mercly, but one of them named Jacob Beaufés was at once appointed to controvert the work of Jarrige. He, therefore, set about the matter immediately, and his book made its appearance in a few weeks, but what was the nature of its contents? From beginning to end it was merely a torrent of insulting abuse.

"Father Jarrige," he writes, "is a contemptible scoundrel, a shameful calumniator, liar, and renegade, who merits no belief. He has himself committed all the crimes of which he charges his fellow brethren, and if he had not deserted from the Order he would have been expelled from it in disgrace. Moreover, the spirit of revenge predominates throughout his book, as he was furious at not being promoted to a superior preferment—to a preferment which, by his vulgarity and almost brutal stupidity, he possessed no capability of filling."

In this fashion Beaufés refuted his former associate, and the reply to this was therefore easy. "Had I," rejoined Jarrige, "been such a reprobate as Beaufés affirms, why, then, did the Society of Jesus tolerate me among them during five-and-twenty years? Why did they make me a professed member of the four vows, and entrusted me with offices of preaching and teaching? Besides, there is no question as to my person, but as to the crimes of which I have made a report, to the facts of which I was the eye and ear witness. Why has he not, then, refuted these?"

This rejoinder of Jarrige's naturally produced another pamphlet of Father Beaufés' in reply, and as other Fathers now came to his assistance, the Dutch Reformers, as friends of Jarrige, did not on their part remain silent. The battle thus became more and more extended, and it caused much enjoyment to the scandal-loving world, when all at once an order emanated from the General in Rome, which prescribed quite a different mode of proceeding. "It was not by heaping insults on Jarrige that the Society of Jesus could be washed clean," wrote the General, "but this was only possible by winning the ex-Jesuit back again into the Order, and obliging him then to make a public recantation."

The sons of Loyola consequently desisted from all further controversy, just as if their mouths had been frozen up, and, on the other hand, Father Ponthélier, a Jesuit distinguished by his adroitness and worldly wisdom, accompanied by others placed at his disposal by the College, betook himself in all secrecy, well disguised, to Leyden, where Jarrige still remained. There the two met. Thus much has been ascertained, and equally correct is it that they had long interviews together; but from this point reports differ, or rather, there are two varying statements, which give a completely opposite account of what became of Jarrige afterwards. The one, namely, that of the Jesuits, represented mainly by the partial historian Etienne Baluze, acquaints the world that Ponthélier's eloquence had such a powerful effect on the apostate Father that he testified deep repentance, and came to the resolution of giving full satisfaction to the gravely-insulted Society. He thereupon instantly took his departure, along with his converter, to Antwerp, where the sons of Loyola possessed a college, and thence addressed himself to the General, Francis Piccolomini at Rome, in order to obtain permission to return into the Order free of punishment. The General had, indeed, actually promised, in answer to this petition, a written general pardon, to which was conjoined a letter of security from the Pope; and upon this Jarrige was so much affected that he immediately handed over to be printed a recantation of the calumnies he had advanced against the sons of Loyola. After the completion of this propitiatory transaction, however, he was transferred from Antwerp into the profess-house at Tülle in France, and lived there up to the year 1670, highly esteemed and honoured by all his brethren and fellows. Thus it is related by the Jesuits, and, as a proof of the truth of their statement, they refer to Jarrige's recantation, which, in fact, was actually in existence, and was issued from the house of the Jesuits in Antwerp in the year 1651. But other people—and this is the second statement of which I have above spoken—affirm that the said recantation was a pure fabrication of the sons of Loyola, seeing that they had not anything whatever to do with Jarrige, and could not have had anything to do with him, since he was no longer alive in the year 1651. He had, indeed, suddenly disappeared from Leyden, shortly after the advent of Ponthélier there, but had never afterwards been seen

by anyone soever. Nor did all researches, officially instituted, with the view of clearing up the matter, have the least result, as Ponthélier also vanished at the same time as his associate, and did not leave behind the least trace of what had become of him. Without a doubt, here, also, there is some crime in question, namely, either the sin of murder, or that of forcible abduction, and if it was the latter, the probability is that Jarrige had been ironed by Ponthélier and his associates, and carried off bound in the night-time, in order to be allowed to rot in some Jesuit prison. So do the non-Jesuits affirm, and almost the whole enlightened world also go with them as to this. What opinion, then, the reader will be inclined to take, I leave himself to determine.

A still more extraordinary sensation than that caused by *The Jesuits on the Scaffold,* was occasioned by a work which appeared about the same time, which had for its title *Lucii Cornelii Europæi Monarchia Solipsorum* (The Monarchy of Solipsen described by Lucius Cornelius Europæus), and, as may be at once recognised, this was nothing else than a complete *exposé* of the true nature of the Jesuit Order, as by the word "Solipsen," which means "people who wish to govern entirely," is simply and solely to be understood the sons of Loyola. The author of this very remarkable book commences the same by describing to us in glowing words the extraordinary magnitude, extension, and boundless power possessed by the ruler of the monarchy of Solipsen. "So boundless," says he, "is this power that whatever the monarch orders to be done, let his commands, indeed, be even contrary to reason, justice, and morality, and opposed to all divine and human laws, they must be blindly obeyed by his subjects without the least consideration." Thereupon the author conducts us into the capital of the monarchy of Solipsen, that is, into Rome, showing us the many beautiful houses, like palaces, which belong to the Solipsen, making us at once acquainted with the truly royal splendour in which the ruler of the monarchy, the despotic Avidius Cluvius, as he calls him (meaning the General of the Order, Claudius Aquaviva), is accustomed to live. "He, the proud man who imitates the rest of the sovereigns of west and east, allows no one to approach him, not even his ministers, without humbly kissing his hand." From the palaces we are then conducted into

the colleges of the Solipsen, and in this direction the author of the *Monarchy* teaches us that the said educational institutions are proclaimed by the Solipsen to be the first and most perfect in the world. One must not, however, allow oneself to be deceived by external appearances, upon which all depends, but look thoroughly into the matter, and then one will certainly discover that the pupils are brought to obtain great proficiency neither in languages, philosophy, nor theology. And it is equally bad, he goes on to say, as regards the appointment to the higher offices in the state of Solipsen, as the very worst members are advanced to the most important situations. Also, the whole government consists in a system of the most perfect espionage, and he states that the number of informers is something truly enormous. Whoever distinguishes himself conspicuously in this department may assuredly reckon on advancement, even when he may have been guilty of theft, robbery, or any other kind of crime. In the kingdom of Solipsen, there reigns an entirely different description of moral law from what obtains among the rest of mankind, some things being more or less looked upon as virtuous which are scouted to the uttermost according to Christian doctrine. In short, the author of the *Monarchy of the Solipsen* draws such a true and complete picture of the Society of Jesus, and gives the reader so deep an insight into the secrets of the Order, that, when the book first made its appearance, everyone was on the *qui vive* as to whom the author of the same might be. This much seems certain, that the name Lucius Cornelius Europæus was entirely fictitious, and not the less unquestionable was it that the writer must be a veritable Jesuit, as only a true member of the Order, and one, indeed, of superior position, could have produced the book, as a subordinate brother could have no knowledge of such facts as this work lays before the public with such extraordinary minuteness. The Society of Jesus must, then, necessarily have a traitor in their midst; but the question was, who could this black sheep be?

With angry eagerness the sons of Loyola sought after him, and the first upon whom suspicion fell was Melchior Inkhofer, Professor of the German College in Rome. Fortunately for him, however, he was able to clear himself, and thus escaped from the frightful punishment which had already been prepared for him. Later on, from certain indications, it was concluded that Father

Julius Clement Scotti, a Venetian Jesuit, had perpetrated the foul deed, and the circumstance that the book first saw the light in the year 1645, in a Venetian printing office, appeared to give confirmation to this view; but no one could discover this for certain, because Scotti, at the time that suspicion fell upon him, was already dead, and the printer could by no means be induced to make a positive declaration about the matter. Be this, however, as it may, this much is certain, that the little work caused the greatest sensation, and, on that account, it was not only thereafter frequently reprinted, but was also translated into almost every European language. It displayed the Jesuits in their true character, and, on that account, everyone had an interest in reading it. It was only a pity that its language could not be properly understood by the common people, and, therefore, that its efficacy was almost simply and solely restricted to the intellectual and learned.

In such and similar ways did the cloud, in which the sons of Loyola shrouded their society, by degrees disappear; and the best proof of how the perniciousness of the Order had been recognised by enlightened minds in the middle of the 18th century, lies in the appearance at Naples, at that time, of the little work *Monita ad Principes*. In this "advice to princes," rulers were admonished to abolish the whole of the monkish Orders, and, above all of them, the Society of Jesus; and generally to break off with Rome, to separate Church from State, and to deprive religion, or, as may be better said, Priestcraft, of the influence which it had hitherto maintained over politics and governments.

BOOK VI.

THE BENEVOLENCE OF THE JESUITS,

OR,

THE PERMISSION TO MURDER AND ASSASSINATE.

MOTTO:

Hieher, ihr Herren und Obrigkeit,
Hieher beruft euch die Wahrheit,
Und stellt euch an des Tages Glanz
Den Jesuitisch Mummenschanz:
Ihr Gleissnerei und Heuchelei,
Ihr gottlos Fuchsschwänzerei,
Ihr Fürstenmord und Tyrannei,
All' ihrer Laster Teufelei.
Konig Heinrich sei der Welt
Allhier zum Spiegel vorgestellt.
Was diese Sekt mit ihm gespielt,
Ist gleichfalls auch auf euch gezielt.
Drum glaubt es nur und seht euch für,
Die G'fahr euch ruhet von der Thür.
Kein Treu noch Glauben zu der Frist
Bei diesen Jesuiten ist.
Die Jugend sie reitzen fort und fort
Zu der Könige und Fürsten blut'gem Mord.
All' Marter sie verachten thun,
All' Pein haltens vor Spott und Hohn
Meinen, dass in des Himmelsthron
Ihn' wird gegeben grosser Lohn,
Wenn sie einen Fürstenmord vollend't.
* * * * *
Also die Jugend wird verblend't

CHAPTER I.

JESUIT ATTEMPTS IN GERMANY.

In the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Books I have endeavoured to show how it happened, as must necessarily have been the case, that almost the whole Catholic world, priests as well as laity, were imbued with a feeling of disgust against the sons of Loyola, and in consequence of this would have been greatly pleased at their expulsion from the whole of Europe; but the fulfilment of this wish appeared to be impossible, as the Fathers mentioned dominated not only over Rome and the Pope but also over all the ruling Catholic princes. But behold, as regards this sway over the European Courts, a peculiar turn took place, which sagacious people had long foreseen, but which the Jesuits, with their many years' experience, had hoped would never arrive. Things had come to such a pass, that the rulers of the different European Courts became as convinced as of their own existence that their lives were endangered by the Society of Jesus, and there remained nothing else, if they were to sleep quiet in future, than to make an end by force of this terrible Order. Truly the high rulers did not come to such a conviction quickly, most of them requiring a long time, a very long time, indeed; but, none the less, they did at length form this conclusion, to attack Jesuitism, and it is now my task, by giving a historical sketch to the reader, to show the grounds on which they acted.

In the preceding Book I proved that the Jesuits considered murder allowable in certain cases, and that they, indeed, advanced

the proposition that it was a duty to deprive an enemy of life, as soon as it became evident that such a proceeding was the only means of saving a one's own honour or life. They did not exactly, perhaps, hold views which trampled under foot all the laws of morality, but they rather stretched the latter to such an extent as to make such permission to kill extend, in certain cases, even to regicide. They, indeed, formulated this theory as a moral dogma, which they caused to be printed in their theological educational books, proclaiming it as well to their pupils from the professorial chair. Not infrequently, indeed, they went so far as to impose upon the subjects of a monarch the duty of making away with him out of the world with dagger or poison, as being unworthy of sitting on the throne. This, the reader will say, is a calumny, or, at least, a misunderstanding, as the sagacious sons of Loyola could not commit themselves to such a piece of folly; but, indeed, it is unfortunately the case, just as I have said, and as a proof thereof I will allow the first and foremost work on murder-theology to speak for itself. In the *Opuscula Theologica* of Martin Bécan, at p. 130, the following passage occurs:—

"Every subject may kill his prince when the latter has taken possession of the throne as a usurper, and history teaches, in fact, that in all nations those who kill such tyrants are treated with the greatest honour. But even when the ruler is not a usurper, but a prince who has by right come to the throne, he may be killed as soon as he oppresses his subjects with improper taxation, sells the judicial offices, and issues ordinances in a tyrannical manner for his own peculiar benefit."

In a similar way writes Paul Comitolo, an Italian Jesuit, in his *Decisiones Morales*, book iv. p. 458:—

"It is allowable to kill an illegal aggressor, even be he general, prince, or king, as innocence has more value than the life of a fellow-creature, and a ruler who maltreats the citizens ought to be annihilated as a wild, cruel beast."

Father Commolet, of Paris, went still further when, in preaching, on a Sunday in 1594, in the Jesuit church there, he took for the text of his sermon that portion of the Book of Judges where it is related that Ehud killed the King of the Moabites. So the pious Father exclaimed with evident allusion to King Henry IV., "We require an Ehud, we require another Ehud, be

he monk, soldier, or shepherd." In the further course of his sermon he spoke of the King above-mentioned as a Nero, Moabite, Holofernes, and Herod, and loaded his hearers with the most bitter reproaches for allowing such a false, newly-converted person to remain on the throne; and, lastly, he hinted that "the crown might be conferred, by election, upon another family."

With such principles Father Hermann Buchenbaum entirely agreed, and, in the *Medulla Theologia Moralis*, permission to murder all offenders of mankind and the true faith, as well as enemies of the Society of Jesus, is distinctly laid down. This *Moral Theology* of Father Buchenbaum is held by all the Society as an unsurpassed and unsurpassable pattern-book, and was on that account introduced, with the approval of their General, into all their colleges.

Imanuel Sâ says, in his aphorisms, under the word "Clericus": "The rebellion of an ecclesiastic against a king of the country in which he lives, is no high treason, because an ecclesiastic is not the subject of any king." "Equally right," he adds further, "is the principle that anyone among the people may kill an illegitimate prince; to murder a tyrant, however, is considered, indeed, to be a duty."

Adam Tanner, a very well known and highly-esteemed Jesuit professor in Germany, uses almost the identical words, and the not less distinguished Father Johannes Mariana, who taught in Rome, Palermo, and Paris, advances this doctrine in his book *De Rege* (lib. i. p. 54), published with the approbation of the General Aquaviva and of the whole Society, when he says: "It is a wholesome thought, brought home to all princes, that as soon as they begin to oppress their subjects, and, by their excessive vices, and, more especially, by the unworthiness of their conduct, make themselves unbearable to the latter, in such a case they should be convinced that one has not only a perfect right to kill them, but that to accomplish such a deed is glorious and heroic."

Father Nicolaus Serrarius, also, an Italian Jesuit, expresses himself in a similar way in his *Commentary on the Bible*, and, especially in his explanation of the murder perpetrated by Ehud on King Eglon, he makes use of the following words:—

"Many learned men think that Ehud had done well, and, on this ground, indeed, that he had been impelled thereto by God; I

say, however, that not only was this so, but there is yet another point of view, namely, that such a proceeding against a tyrant is perfectly justifiable. When a ruler proves, by his mode of governing, that he is a tyrant, he may, in such case, be slain by any of his vassals or subjects, irrespective of any oath rendered to him, or of waiting for any sentence or decree from any judge whatever."

The well-known and justly celebrated Bellarmin expresses himself almost still more plainly—the same Bellarmin who, by the demand of the Jesuits, was translated by the Pope among the saints—when, in his work, *De summa Pontificis Autoritate* (tom. iv. p. 180), he thus writes: "It is not the affair of ecclesiastics, or even of monks, to kill kings through artifice, and even sovereign pontiffs are not accustomed to crush princes in this manner. But, when they have warned the same in a fatherly way, excluded them from communion and the sacrament, absolved subjects, when it becomes necessary, from their oath of allegiance, and lastly, deprived monarchs of their royal authority and dignity, it belongs to other than ecclesiastics to proceed to execution."

But most precise are the words of the work, so highly prized above all others by the Roman Curie, *Defensio Fidei Catholicæ et Apostolicæ* (Defence of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith) of the Jesuit Suarez, which appeared in Lisbon in the year 1614, as therein it is stated (lib. vi. cap. iv., Nos. 13 and 14): "It is an article of faith that the Pope has the right to depose heretical and rebellious kings, and a monarch dethroned by the Pope is no longer a king or legitimate prince. When such an one hesitates to obey the Pope after he is deposed, he then becomes a tyrant, and may be killed by the first comer. Especially when the public weal is assured by the death of the tyrant, it is allowable for anyone to kill the latter."

Truly regicide could not be taught by clearer words, and the Parliament of Paris was so horrified thereat, that it caused the book to be at once burned by the hand of the executioner, on the 16th June 1614. The sons of Loyola, on the other hand, declared that a more learned, or God-fearing book, had never appeared, and that, therefore, whoever assailed it would be attacked by the Church. Indeed, from this time forth no Jesuit professor whatever wrote on Moral Theology, or any similar

subject, without adopting the teaching of Suarez; and many, as for instance, the Fathers Ribadeneira, Commolet, Salmeron, Jacob Keller, Antony Jantarell, Baptist Bauny, James Herreau, John Dicastille, M. Escobar, Jacob Gretser, and others, ventured to go beyond him in their doctrines. But how, indeed, could this be otherwise? One need only go into the Church of the Holy Ignatius, in Rome, and look at the pictures there which adorn the four sides of the cupola, to gather the sentiments of the Order of Jesus in relation to murder, especially as concerns regicide. On one side is to be seen Jael as she destroyed her guest Sisera by striking a nail through his skull; on the second side, Judith, as, impelled by the spirit of God, she cuts off the head of Holofernes; on the third side, Samson slaying the Philistines; while on the fourth appears David after he has killed Goliath. Lastly, in the middle of the cupola is to be seen the Holy Ignatius, surrounded by a halo of glory, and launching great pillars of fire on all the four quarters of the globe, as if desirous of putting all lands of the earth in flames. And now, I ask, can the spirit of Jesuitism be more plainly expressed than it is thus indicated; or, in other words, is there not a proof in these emblems that the Jesuits would be in contradiction to themselves if they had put forward any other teaching than this, that it is allowable to remove out of the world, in one way or other, anyone, let him even be a king, who stands in their way?

But the sons of Loyola did not rest content with what they taught in this respect, but, wherever they considered it proper, they at once proceeded to action, directing their proceedings, of course, however, in accordance with the peculiarities of the country in which they were carrying on their operations. Thus it would be perfectly useless for them, as regards the employment of their system of murder in the different European Courts, if, through their agents, they got quit of this or that Protestant Prince in Germany, when his successor happened also to be a Protestant, and in this country, therefore they required to be guided by another maxim. What was it, then, that they promulgated? Simply they brandished there, instead of the torch of murder, the torch of conflagration; that is to say, they contrived to beget, maintain, and excite, by all manner of means, the hatred of the Catholics against the Protestants until it broke out into flames, whereby the latter sect

never had any quiet, and at last, from sheer despair, fell voluntarily into the hands of Catholicism.

It is true, indeed, that through the last act of the Thirty Years' War peace was brought about between Catholics and Protestants; it is true that each party was guaranteed in the most solemn way the enjoyment of their religious liberty; it is true that both Catholics and Protestants longed after quietude, and desired to become reconciled to each other. But how entirely differently did the Jesuits think! Under the likeness of the Holy Ignatius in their church in Rome are the words, "*Ignem veni mettere in terram, et quid volo nisi ut accendatur*" (I came to send fire throughout the earth; what, therefore, could I wish otherwise than that the world should burst into flames?)—the motto of the founder of the Order. Have the sons of Loyola ever disavowed the same? No, never; for where peace and concord reigned there was an end to their dominion, so they must needs strive, at all hazards, to maintain such a state of things. Thus it was war that they desired, war at any price with the disbelievers; and in order to be victorious on the battle-field they, of course, addressed themselves, for help and support, to the Catholic princes of Germany, especially the House of Hapsburg, which furnished Germany with its Emperors. Indeed, it was not only by way of request that they came by this support, but they actually regarded it as a claim to which they had a right, and woe to those who instilled into the august mind to thwart them in any way. Woe to him, I say, for without hesitation they consigned him to death, and had resort at once to poison or the dagger, when they could not get him out of the world in a yet more silent way, or bring this about in another fashion by threats. True, it seldom happened that a German Catholic Prince, or one of the House of Hapsburg, earnestly resisted their proceedings, so it was, consequently, but seldom that they had in this case to bring their theory of regicide into practice.

I must, nevertheless, not be silent regarding a notable attempt at murder once made by them upon a German ruler, who to this day is known as one of the most zealous, submissive, and devoted promoters of Jesuitism. This monarch was Leopold I., who, in the year 1658, succeeded his father, the Emperor Ferdinand III., as well on the Imperial throne of Germany as in the

government of the Austrian inheritance, together with Hungary and Bohemia. Brought up by the two Jesuit Fathers, Müller and Neidhardt, there had, from his early youth, been infused into him a blind veneration for the Order of Jesus, and the Godhead itself (as one of his historians expresses it) did not appear to him so infallible and spotless as the sons of Loyola, to whom he belonged in the capacity of a so-called affiliant, that is to say, a secular confederate. Although the Emperor Leopold rendered such a bigoted attachment to the Society of Jesus, they, on the other hand, did not entertain the same love for him, but only made use of him in order to accomplish their great aim through his instrumentality. As I have before shown, the grand object of the Order was the formation of a Catholic universal monarchy, in which the Jesuit Faith should hold the dominion, and for a long time they hoped to be able to gain their end through the House of Hapsburg, which, after the time of the Emperor Charles V., branched off into a Spanish and Austrian line. But this hope was fruitless, and neither Philip II. of Spain nor the Ferdinands of Austria answered to the confidence placed in their capabilities. On the contrary, Spain, as well as Austria, sank so low through their rulers, by reason of continual wars, that upon their re-establishment there was no time for religious questions; consequently, the sons of Loyola henceforth directed their attention to the third great Catholic Power, namely, France, which, after the termination of the Thirty Years' War, began, under its youthful monarch Louis XIV., to put forward claims as the leading monarchy among all other states and kingdoms. He certainly, the powerful, generous, as well as highly-endowed Louis, was alone in a condition to found the much-longed-for universal monarchy, and, therefore, the sons of Loyola turned to him with untiring devotion, in order, through his great power and extensive influence, to further their high-soaring designs. It necessarily followed that the Jesuits, on the interests of France and Austria coming into collision, worked not for the welfare of the latter, but for the advantage of the former State, making every effort in order to persuade the Emperor Leopold to an accord with Louis XIV. The docile Leopold usually complied; on one occasion, however, when the sons of Loyola, at the instigation of Louis XIV., requested him to withdraw the religious liberty accorded solemnly to the Hun-

garian Protestants, as guaranteed to them by an oath, and to compel them by force to return to Catholicism, he dared to offer an earnest resistance. He ventured this, as he could not well do otherwise without placing at stake his entire empire, as how could he make head against a revolution in Hungary under the circumstances obtaining at that particular time?—it was in the year 1670, when the Austrian monarchy lay completely exhausted by the fearful events of the Thirty Years' War.

Besides, just in this very year, was there not a war threatening by the Ottomans, as well as another on the side of the aggressive Louis XIV. (against the German Empire); and in the immediate prospect of a struggle with two such powerful enemies was not the preservation of internal peace all the more urgently imperative? Certainly, Leopold I. did only that which he was compelled to do for his own existence when he positively refused the request of his Confessor, Father Philip Müller, backed by the other sons of Loyola,* all-powerful then at Vienna, to rouse the Hungarian Protestants to an insurrection precisely at this critical juncture, by withdrawing forcibly their religious freedom. But the interest of Louis XIV., who, as before said, was then carrying on an aggressive war against the German Empire, positively demanded such Hungarian insurrection, in order to weaken as much as possible Austria's means of resistance; on that account, the sons of Loyola continued to urge Leopold to proceed forcibly against the Hungarian Protestants. As, however, in spite of everything, he remained firm in his refusal, they therefore determined to get rid of him out of the way, in order that the Regency for the heir to the throne should fall into the hands of the weak Empress, and they at once brought this their determination to a conclusion.

Yet, no; I am not right in saying that they brought it to a full accomplishment, because Divine Providence did not permit the completion of the crime; but their guilt was not thereby diminished by one iota. The affair happened thus. In April 1670, a Milanese nobleman of the name of Joseph Francis Borro came to Warsaw, by way of Moravia and Hungary, travelling towards Constantinople; as, however, for various reasons, he

* These were, in particular, Father Balthasar Müller, Father Confessor of the Empress; Father Montecuculi, Father Confessor of the Empress-Dowager; and Father Richardt, Father Confessor of the Imperial Field-Marshal the Duke Charles of Lorraine.

had called down upon himself the hatred of the sons of Loyola—he was a skilful physician, chemist, and naturalist, with very free religious views—they thus pursued him everywhere, insomuch that, with the assistance of the Papal Nuncio, they succeeded in getting the Austrian Government to arrest him on the Silesian frontier, and bring him to Vienna as a sorcerer and heretic who had been already sentenced by the Roman Inquisition. Upon his journey to the capital,* the prisoner was informed by riding-master Scotti, who escorted him, that the Emperor Leopold had been, for some time, seriously ill, and that no remedies were of any use. Borro made himself acquainted with the symptoms of the complaint, and at once declared, after consideration, that it was undoubtedly a case of poisoning. "Should this, indeed, be so," he added, "with God's assistance he hoped he might be able to save the Emperor, and he, therefore, besought his conductor, immediately on his arrival in Vienna, to acquaint the Emperor with this conversation."

Following this advice the riding-master Scotti, on reaching the capital on the 28th April, at noon, after making his prisoner secure, at once proceeded to the palace and demanded a private audience of the Emperor, as he had something of the greatest moment to lay before him. He obtained an interview, and the result was that his Majesty ordered the Knight Borro to be brought that very night to the palace, but secretly, after dark, through a back gate; for, of course, it was impossible for such a bigoted monarch as Leopold to receive openly, by daylight, a man accused of heresy and persecuted by the Jesuits, even were he the most skilful physician in the world. Indeed, although this clandestine and nocturnal reception gave him scruples of conscience, he questioned the Knight in regard to the disease which had overtaken him, after having previously instituted an inquiry concerning his visitor's integrity, and having seen that all seemed to be in order.

Borro then examined the Emperor, and found him completely wasted and prostrated, afflicted with constant cramps, and plagued with insatiable thirst. Thereupon he devoted his attention to the chamber, and discovered there that the two wax

* The whole is taken from the *Collection of Political Documents of Prince Eugen of Savoy* (8 vol. Stuttg. Cotta, 1811–21), where the particulars may be read in the last volume, pp. 49–82.

candles burning on the table emitted a very peculiar reddish light and a strongly sputtering flame, from which a fine white smoke curled upwards which had already deposited a rather strong precipitate on the roof of the apartment. "The air of the room is poisoned," said he, "and the miasma comes from the burning wax candles." As proof of this, at his request, the wax candles from the adjoining room of the Empress were brought, and it was seen that they burned with a white and steady light without any smoke or sputtering.

After matters had gone so far, the Emperor ordered his body-physician to be brought quite quietly, and, at the same time, the whole supply of wax-candles destined for use in the room was produced. This consisted of somewhere about thirty pounds, but originally it had been at least double the quantity, as only this description of candle had been in use in the Imperial chamber since the beginning of February. The lights were now more minutely examined, and the first thing that was noticed was that each of them was edged above and below with a gilt wreath, in order, without doubt, to prevent them being changed. Upon this all the wax was carefully detached from the wick, and submitted to a most minute examination. Here nothing suspicious was detected, and both physicians declared that the wax was pure. Eventually, however, when the wicks were examined, it was found that the Knight Borro had been perfectly right when he spoke of poisoning, as the whole of the cotton was found to be impregnated by a solution of arsenic, in which these had been soaked and then covered with wax. The arsenic, also, had not been spared, for, as a further investigation proved, whilst the actual wax only weighed twenty-eight pounds, the mass of arsenic in the wicks was not less than two pounds and three quarters. Certainly more than enough so to poison the air, in the process of burning, that the Emperor, by breathing the same during some weeks more, would have succumbed. In order to be quite certain on the point, a dog, which was quickly brought, had some of the wicks given to him enclosed in pieces of meat, when, behold! he expired in about an hour in the greatest agony!

The Emperor, now, after being sufficiently convinced in regard to the attempt to poison him, removed into another room that very night, and gave himself up into the hands of the preserver of his

life, who completely cured him within the period of a few months. At the same time His Majesty at once ordered it to be ascertained who had been the provider of the wax candles, ordering that the same should be brought bound to the palace. What was, then, discovered? The purveyor was no other than the Father Procurator of the Jesuits in Vienna, and the attempt at poisoning proceeded from no one else than the Society of Jesus. The Emperor, who had hitherto been so highly favoured by the sons of Loyola, felt a severe pang run through his limbs, but the pious Fathers experienced a still more severe shock, as they concluded that the end of their days at the Court of Vienna had now arrived; but they immediately recovered their presence of mind, for within the next hour they devised a plan which, did it but succeed, would re-establish their supremacy with the House of Austria.

The most prominent of the members betook themselves to the palace the next morning, after convincing themselves of the discovery of their crime, in order to request a private audience of the Emperor, and in this they congratulated the monarch in the most extravagant expressions of joy at his being saved from certain death. They, however, did not omit, at the same time, to declare that the Father Procurator who, unfortunately, was a member of their Order, was a detestable rascal, the quintessence of a villain, who was unworthy to appear again before God's sun, and, as such, he had at once been sent to Rome, heavily ironed, to the General, in order that he might be punished as a criminal of such a description deserved to be. "But," added they, with voices choked with tears, "what can the worthy Society of Jesus do, that pillar of the throne, that Brotherhood so highly esteemed by the State and the Church, seeing that one so unworthy should have insinuated himself in their midst? Would it be Christian, or at all suitable to resent on the pious community the crime of a single profligate wretch, especially when the fraternity had testified their abhorrence of such a deed of darkness by the exemplary punishment of the culprit?"

Thus did the spokesman of the sons of Loyola deliver himself; and the good Emperor, in his holy devotion and narrow-mindedness, gave credence to such language. He believed them because he was not aware that in the Jesuit Order a

member never acted on his own account and of his own accord, and never could act without the order of his Superior, the whole machinery being set in motion by the General in Rome, whom the rest obeyed as involuntary tools. He confided in them, and never asked of them, for an instant, what punishment had been assigned to the murderous Father Procurator, although it would have been of no avail had he asked, as the pious Fathers in black robes were, as is well known, never at a loss with some deceitful answer. Thus did the sons of Loyola not only escape unpunished, but retained, also, all the influence they had hitherto enjoyed at the Court, to the fullest extent. Indeed, they contrived to bring it about that the religious liberty of the Hungarians was taken away from them by force, and although that people broke out in revolt, they, at last, attained their end by getting rid of their illustrious patron out of the world by means of poison. They also maintained their well-nigh all-powerful influence over the said Emperor during the remainder of his reign, and even later it was not otherwise, during the sovereignty of his successors. Although immediately after his death, under his first-born the Emperor Joseph I., from 1705 to 1711, there elapsed a short period during which the Holy Fathers had to draw in their horns in a small degree, they were gainers under his brother and successor, the Emperor Charles VI., an exceedingly great patron of theirs; and that Charles's daughter and heiress, the Empress Maria Theresa, a lady than whom few were more devout, allowed herself to be almost completely led by them, is an only too well-known fact of history. After this the sons of Loyola had no occasion to bring their fiendish doctrine of regicide often into operation in Germany, and I pass over, therefore, to their behaviour in other countries, above all in England.

CHAPTER II.

THE GUNPOWDER PLOT IN ENGLAND, AND THE POLITICAL INTRIGUES OF THE JESUITS IN THAT COUNTRY.

As I have already mentioned in the Second Book, Catholicism had been forbidden in England by Henry VIII., but not, however, altogether suppressed. Under his eldest daughter and successor Mary, rightly named "Bloody," it again boldly raised its head, and thousands of Protestants perished on the scaffold. Under Mary's successor, her half-sister Elizabeth, matters were, however, altered, as Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, was a Protestant. Still, she had the generosity and sagacity not to persecute the Catholics, but gave her protection to all those who recognised her sovereignty and rendered her complete homage as loyal subjects. The English Catholics might, therefore, have lived unmolested, and *quite* undisturbed have exercised their religion, if satisfied merely with this; and they would have been satisfied had the sons of Loyola only suffered them to be so. These latter, however, wished to govern, not merely to be content. In order to rule, they desired the extirpation of Protestantism, and the re-subjection of England to the old devoted dependence on the Popes, and especially to the tyranny of the priesthood.

All this have I already entered into in detail, but it is necessary to recapitulate shortly, in order to render intelligible the several attempts made upon the life of Elizabeth and her successor James I. In truth, nothing else than the murder of these two monarchs was in question, in order to enable other members of the Royal Family of England, who were devoted to Catholicism

and blindly obedient to the Jesuits, to ascend the throne. The sons of Loyola, consequently, commenced their machinations by moving the Pope, Paul IV., immediately on the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, to launch a Bull of Excommunication against her, declaring her to be a usurper.

"The marriage of Henry VIII. with Anne Boleyne," said the Holy Father in this Bull, "was no marriage, but adultery, and Popes Clement VII. and Paul III. had already pointed this out; consequently, Elizabeth is a bastard, and has no right to the throne. Besides, England was originally a fief of the Holy Chair, and no one can, therefore, ascend its throne without being nominated thereto by Rome. On these two grounds the illegitimate daughter of the tyrant Henry VIII. must relinquish the sceptre of England, and humbly retire into private life. The real queen, however, is Mary of Scotland, of the House of Stuart, the grand-daughter of Margaret of England, who married James IV. of Scotland, and gave birth to James V., Mary's father."

Such were the contents of the Papal Bull of Excommunication. This Bull had, indeed, no immediate effect, inasmuch as the English, for the most part, recognised Protestantism, and wished to have no more to do with Catholicism (Popery), and it was folly to expect that, agreeably to this Bull, they would drive their monarch from the throne; none the less it might be relied on that a firm conviction remained in the hearts of those Britons still adhering to Catholicism, that not Elizabeth, but Mary Stuart, was rightful heiress to the crown, and, as a matter of fact, this was the foundation of future insurrections.

In order now, however, to spread among the English Catholics the conviction as to Elizabeth's usurpation, the sons of Loyola, by aid of their great patrons, such as the Pope, the King of Spain, and Cardinal of Lorraine, founded at Douay and Rheims so-called "English Colleges," or, as they might better be denominated, "educational institutions for young English Catholics," and in these the Queen was called nothing else than an unbearable tyrant, a heretic, and a deservedly accursed persecutor of the true believers, who had been solemnly condemned by the Holy Father. It may well be imagined what spirit the pupils of these institutions infused amongst their co-religionists on their return to their native country. The Jesuits, moreover, were not

alone contented with this, but they also made use of these Colleges to mould therein revolutionary emissaries—men, indeed, who deemed rebellion and insurrection, and even murder, as quite allowable means—men so fanatical that they came to consider martyrdom an open door of immediate entrance to heaven, and shrank from no peril or danger, not even the very greatest.

Up to this time the sons of Loyola, as regards their contemplated attempts against Elizabeth, went to work in quite a systematic way, not scrupling, indeed, to employ many years in their preparations, in order to make the attainment of their end the more certain. In the meantime, however, a small thread was wanting in their calculation, owing to the circumstance that Mary Stuart, her subjects rising against her, in the year 1568, was compelled to flee from Scotland to England, where she was at once taken prisoner, and rigorously guarded, being no longer considered by Queen Elizabeth as a mere fugitive, but rather as a rival and pretender who had laid claim to the English throne. This was, indeed, a severe blow; however, the Jesuits, after a time, became reassured, and at once resolved, after that several conspiracies instituted by them, as that of the Duke of Norfolk, had ended in nothing, to put into execution an act of daring which left everything hitherto thought of quite in the background for daring rashness.

This took place in the year 1581, and the plan consisted not only in the murder of Queen Elizabeth, but, at the same time, the assumption of the throne by the imprisoned Mary Stuart as ruler of England. Elizabeth, however, had for some time previously obtained hints that dangerous plots against her life and her crown were being hatched in the Jesuit institutions at Douay and Rheims; indeed, the plots daily gathered strength, inasmuch as these schools and colleges served as refuges for all the disaffected English, for all conspirators who had been banished from the country, in a word, for all adventurous and fanatical Catholics who, for some reason or other, were obliged to flee from their own native country. On that account she sent some young men on whose fidelity and sagacity she could trust, the most conspicuous of whom were called Elliot, Cradock, Sled, Mundi, and Hill, to Rheims and Douay, in order to ascertain

particulars respecting the Colleges, and, as these aforesaid youngsters gave themselves out as expelled and persecuted Catholics, they found no difficulty in obtaining admission into Jesuit institutions. They soon learned that three Jesuits, of the names of Alexander Briant, Edmund Campian, and Rudolph Serevin, had just taken their departure for England by different routes and well disguised; they further ascertained that these three were expected in London by fifty selected men, completely armed from head to foot, and that these latter had declared themselves ready, under the guidance of the three Jesuits, to murder Queen Elizabeth, with her favourite Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the Secretary of State, Walsingham; they further gathered that, immediately on the accomplishment of these proposed murders, a distinguished person, placing himself at the head of the English Catholic party, would seize the reins of government, with the cry "Long live Queen Mary of Scotland and England!" All this they discovered, and, of course, quickly contrived to make Queen Elizabeth acquainted with the information. The consequence of this was that the three Jesuits were arrested immediately on their landing in England, and, after their criminal intentions had been proved, were hanged on the 1st December 1581, together with several others of their fellow-conspirators, who, fortunately enough, had also been seized.

Thus did the first murderous attempt of the Jesuits on the life of Queen Elizabeth end miserably, and, what was still worse, the strictest measures were now taken against the Jesuits, as well as against all those who maintained any intimate communication with them. Especially, all Englishmen were forbidden, under punishment of death, to study in any Jesuit College or seminary, or even to reside therein, and all who were bent on visiting the continent had to state accurately whither they had the intention of going; the black cohort, too, now came to understand that none of them dare put foot again on English soil, unless they had a desire to become intimately acquainted with the gallows and the wheel.

It may be well imagined that the sons of Loyola were seized with no small rage on becoming acquainted with all this, and they at once hastened to extol their three companions, especially Campian, as martyrs, saints, and heroes, who had shed their blood for the good of the faith. Still, this kind of revenge

could not, of course, be sufficient for an Order such as theirs, but they thirsted after a more effectual and blood-thirsty retaliation, and two years later they indeed hoped to have found in William Parry the right man for this purpose. The latter, a man of noble extraction, who had become much reduced in circumstances, betook himself to the Continent in 1582, in order, by some means or other, to re-establish himself; embracing the Catholic religion in Paris, he then went to Venice, where he entered into intimate relationship with the Jesuits, and, in particular, with Father Benedict Palmio. The two soon thoroughly understood one another, and the new convert eagerly promised that, for the honour of God, and in order to release the Catholics of England from their frightful oppressions, he would stake his existence to take the life of Queen Elizabeth. Thereupon he took his departure for Paris, well furnished by Palmio with money and letters of recommendation; there he had a long conversation with the Father Superior Hannibal Codret, who strongly encouraged him in his praiseworthy undertaking, and, after receiving the Sacrament for the safety of his enterprise, he returned to England in February 1584.

On arriving in London, he began by playing the part of a zealous Protestant, and immediately wrote to the Queen that he had important disclosures to make to her about the Popish machinations which were hatching against her in France and Italy, as he had succeeded, while on his Continental travels, in getting at the bottom of several secrets. The Queen accorded him an interview, and he there represented matters so plausibly, feigning, at the same time, an almost extravagant attachment to her, that she received him afterwards several times. In this way he succeeded in making himself acquainted with the opportunities adapted for his purpose, and he at once determined to accomplish the murder as soon as the Queen, as she was in the habit of doing, took a walk in St. James's Park without attendance. As he considered it, however, to be essentially necessary that a boat should be in readiness on the Thames, in order that he might make his escape in it from the rage of the people, he was induced to make a friend his confidant and abettor, and for this purpose selected a cousin of his own, of the name of Nevil, who, on account of poverty, brought on by his folly, appeared to be well fitted for the purpose. Nevil entered

into the project with zeal, and at once provided himself with a boat in which, in order to accustom the people to its appearance, he daily went up and down the river.

Just at this time, however, while Parry was waiting for a favourable opportunity for committing the murder of Elizabeth—several other Jesuits, well disguised, being present in London in order to further the movement about to break out in favour of Mary Stuart and the Catholic religion—the Earl of Westmorland, an exiled English Catholic, died in Paris, childless; and at once, on this news reaching Nevil, who stood in very near relationship to the deceased, he reckoned that if he were to be the discoverer of a conspiracy which endangered the life of the Queen, he might be enabled to secure for himself the title and property of the deceased nobleman. Consequently he betook himself straightway to the Earl of Leicester, and disclosed to him the whole plot, in presence of the minister Walsingham, and the Vice-Chamberlain Hunsdon, whom Leicester had quickly summoned; of course, he did not fail to represent that he had only entered into the project of Parry in order the more surely to be able to frustrate the frightful crime which was contemplated. Be this as it may, Parry was arrested on the instant, and, being confronted with Nevil, confessed everything. Several papers were also found on him, by which, besides the above-named Fathers Palmio and Codret, Father Chreickton, together with Cardinal Como, were shown to be implicated, and in such a way as to prove, beyond all doubt, the moral guilt of the Society of Jesus, in that William Parry had been instigated, and impelled by them to the commission of the intended crime. Still, it was unfortunately not possible to bring punishment on any of the black troop, as each of them had contrived to make his escape in proper time; William Parry, however, was condemned, as guilty of high treason, to a most fearful death, and rightly underwent this sentence on the 2nd March 1584. He was bound to the gallows, and then opened, and, while still living, his heart, liver, and bowels were torn from his chest and body, and then burnt in a quick fire beneath the gallows; his body was then cut into four parts, which were nailed to the four gates of London.

For two years after this frightful spectacle, the Jesuits maintained peace, at least, outwardly; but in the year 1586 they

again succeeded in getting up a new conspiracy, and in obtaining fresh plotters against the life of Queen Elizabeth.

It happened that Anthony Babington, a young man of good family, from Dothick in the county of Derby, took a journey, in the said year, into France; and having arrived there, he, good Catholic as he was, allowed himself to be beguiled to enter secretly into the College of Rheims, in order to complete his education there. He here became acquainted with Father Ballard, and soon formed an intimate friendship with him; the Father thereupon conversed daily with him about the unfortunate Mary Stuart, as well as her Papal guaranteed rights to the English throne. He thus kindled, by degrees, in the heart of Babington, who was, be it said, of a very exalted nature, a most fervent sympathy for the imprisoned Queen, and as he now proceeded to show him her likeness (Mary was notoriously remarkable for her charming beauty) this sympathy grew to be a most maddening and enthusiastic admiration. If his love for the prisoner was great, his hate for the oppressor was, of course, still deeper, and the young man at once swore never to rest or remain quiet until the tyrannical Queen Elizabeth had lost her life at his hands. Yes, indeed, he swore a solemn vow to murder the said Queen, as then he would snatch the charming Mary out of prison, in order that she might adorn, at once, the thrones of England and Scotland.

With such thoughts in his heart, Babington returned to his home; but here his passion appears to have cooled down somewhat. He did not make any preparation to give effect to his intention, and delayed, indeed, long enough to give news of himself to Ballard. Then the latter became impatient, and, at once, secretly embarked for England, well disguised, in order to visit his young friend at Dothick. He made his appearance there, but not alone, being accompanied by a certain John Savage, a gloomy fanatic, who was a great enthusiast for the Papacy, and, in this society Babington's zeal revived. The project to murder Queen Elizabeth was again determined upon, and, in order to carry out the murder all the more surely, the three conspirators joined nine others, all of whom took a solemn oath to the Jesuit Father that they would sooner perish than relinquish this great affair. How could they, indeed, do otherwise, when the Father represented to them, in the most

glowing words, the uncommonly great service they would perform and urged that not a moment longer should be allowed to pass before carrying it out. "If you take the life of the tyrant Elizabeth," he daily cried to them, "it will appear as if you had killed a heathenish idol slave, or one accursed of God, and you commit no sin against either God or man. On the other hand, you may be assured of a crown of heavenly immortality, and may also, if you succeed, reckon upon a brilliant earthly reward."

Impelled by this and such-like discourses, the conspirators selected the 24th of August, the anniversary of the night of St. Bartholomew, for the perpetration of the crime. But what a fatality was this! By some accident the Government became acquainted with their frightful intention, and managed to seize upon them all, without exception, including the Jesuit Ballard. They were, of course, instantly brought to trial, and, on the 1st October, executed in the same barbarous way in which Parry had been deprived of life two years before. Their own execution, however, was not the least of it; the chief thing was, that as it came out in the examination of Mary Stuart, that she knew of the circumstance and had an understanding in the matter with them, she, too, was brought to trial, and beheaded, on the 8th February 1587, by order of the Parliament.

One would now have thought that the sons of Loyola would have ceased to have made any further attempt on the throne and life of Queen Elizabeth, after so many efforts had resulted in merely bringing their instruments to the scaffold; but it was exactly the reverse, for now, after the execution of Mary Stuart, they became perfectly furious, and, on that account, set every lever in action in order to attain their end. Instigated by them, therefore, King Philip II. prepared that grand Armada with which he contemplated the easy conquest of England; the waters of the ocean, indeed, had never before seen such a fleet! At the same time Pope Sixtus V. thundered forth a new Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth, in which he not only declared her to be unworthy of the throne as a heretic and bastard, but empowered anyone to lay hands on her, and to deliver her over, either as a prisoner or dead, to King Philip as the head of the Catholics. But the Armada—"the Invincible," as it was arrogantly denominated—was wrecked in a storm on the chalk cliffs of England, and the Papal lightning was consumed by the affection of the

English for their Queen, without the slightest harm being produced thereby. The Jesuits again proceeded to prosecute their old attempts at murder, and Father Holte succeeded, in the year 1592, in working upon a Dutchman of the name of Patrick Cullen in such a way that he swore upon the Host he would take the life of the usurper Elizabeth. His project, also, failed; for hardly had he set foot on English ground than he was arrested and executed. Nor did it go better with the conspirators Williams and Yorke, whom the same Jesuit Fathers won over, in 1594, for such murderous undertakings, and in dying they cursed those who had hounded them on to the bloody enterprise. The last one to make any attempt was Edward Squiere, to whom Father Richard Walpode, a Jesuit, himself delivered over the poison which was to remove the English Queen from the world. He, equally with his predecessors, ended his existence on the scaffold, whilst his seducer, the worthy Father, scoffed at his folly in allowing himself to be seized, he himself having made his escape to Spain.

At length Elizabeth died, on the 24th March 1603, having, on the 15th November 1602, shortly before her death, issued a severe edict against the Jesuits, as the authors of all the murderous attempts against her, declaring them, and all of their way of thinking, to be outlaws for ever throughout her dominions.

The rejoicing among the sons of Loyola was, of course, great when the news of her death reached them, as in Elizabeth their mortal enemy had departed this life. Besides, they might dare to hope that the new King, James I., the son of Mary Stuart, would afford protection to the Catholics, and especially to the members of the Society of Jesus, who had done so much for his unfortunate mother, and that he would treat them, indeed, as his dearest friends. It was true, indeed, that he acknowledged the Protestant religion, the same as that to which his Scottish subjects belonged, and distinguished himself as well read in the Holy Scriptures; but the Jesuits conceived that this was only a mask not to forfeit the throne of Scotland and England, and they hoped that he would throw off the guise as soon as the two crowns had been placed on his head. They trusted this the more as James I. was remarkable for a certain indolence of character which frequently made him, to a considerable extent.

the mere sport of his Court, and they therefore awaited with anxiety the first governmental transactions of the new monarch These did not turn out, by any means, as they had anticipated, for although by a published decree the law promised at once complete toleration to the Catholics, and accorded a pardon to the conspirators condemned, under Elizabeth, to strict imprisonment, James declared at the same time, on the advice of his influential minister, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, that England should remain now, as before, closed against the Jesuits, and that no change would be made in regard to the ordinances of Elizabeth against them. From this the monarch would not allow himself to be afterwards diverted, and, indeed, principally on the ground that, from his quiet temperament, he was, above everything, a lover of peace, while he was firmly convinced that he might ward off insurrections and disturbances from his kingdom by keeping the Jesuits at a distance. That was, indeed, a severe blow to the calculations of the Jesuits, and, even on this account, their rage knew no bounds. They therefore resolved to revenge themselves in such a way as had never been heard of before in the history of the world. They determined to annihilate the King, with his whole family, together with the entire heads of Protestantism in England, at one blow.

Before everything, on this account, it became a question to form a party in England who might take advantage of the confusion caused by the first great scene of murder, in order, with arms in their hands, to overthrow the Protestants. Consequently, a pretender to the throne must first of all be found, who, in addition to his devotion to Catholicism, might have the appearance of having right on his side. Lastly, the men had to be discovered who were fit to bring to a conclusion so formidable an undertaking as that which was in contemplation, and such men were, indeed, not to be picked up in the streets.

A great and difficult task thus lay before them; yes, indeed, a very great and very difficult one, and, on that account, it was resolved that the Chief, or Director, of Anglo-Jesuit affairs, the Provincial Henry Garnet, should proceed himself in person to the scene of operations, accompanied by several members selected with the greatest care, as it was desired to avoid, at all hazards, the chance of any misadventure taking place. Garnet himself.

therefore, choosing his people, among whom were especially remarkable Fathers Oswald Tesmond, John Gerard, and P. Oldecorn, took his departure for the British Islands. They did not, however, travel in company, but singly, in order not to arouse observation. Neither did they journey in Jesuit attire, or even under their own names, but one gave himself out as a merchant, another as a mechanic, and a third and fourth as old soldiers, or whatever else they chose. And as regards their names: Oldecorn called himself Hall; Gerard, to-day Brook and to-morrow Lee; Tesmond, Greenwell, as well as Greenwood; Garnet, too, was at one time Wally, at another Darcey, at another Roberts, at another Farmer, at another Henry, at another Philipps.

Having arrived in England, they betook themselves to those Catholics who had been previously pointed out by their spies as being the most zealous, and received from them in turn the addresses of other families who might be trusted as regards political matters. They thus, by degrees, visited the whole of those persons in England who still adhered to the Catholic persuasion. Before Protestants, however, they acted as the most zealous Puritans; but everywhere they taught that a King devoted to heresy could never be a proper monarch, nor could he demand the obedience of his subjects. To this, however, they added that King James I. was not of legitimate birth, or, at all events, there was great doubt about it, and, consequently, that it would be a most serviceable work in every respect to get rid of him as a heretic and usurper. The sons of Loyola, however, did not remain satisfied merely with this, but pointed out the individual who alone had a right to the English throne, in the person of Arabella Stuart, a daughter of the Earl of Lennox, who was a direct descendant of King Henry VII. The beautiful Arabella, too, was prepared to accept the crown at the hands of the Jesuits, and it was only, therefore, requisite that the throne should become vacant, in order that the Jesuit candidate should be enabled to ascend it. In other words, it now only remained for them to find the proper men in order to remove from the world King James, with his whole family and the heads of the Protestant party; but this the most difficult portion of this most difficult problem still remained to be solved. It was solved, however, up to a certain point, and certainly in

such a way as to entitle the sons of Loyola to all credit. Provincial Garnet had previously made the acquaintance, on the Continent, of Robert Catesby, a good English Catholic, and, at the same time, a nobleman of a family of consideration; and this Catesby, not having at that time attained a sufficiently high position in the State, was, from ambition, not disinclined to disturb the order of things in England. It was to him, therefore, that Garnet applied on his arrival in the British Islands, and their secret conversations soon brought it about that the nobleman declared himself ready to carry out the frightfully daring deed required of him. He was not, however, by himself equal to the task, so it was requisite that he should obtain several accomplices, whose iron will, as well as whose strength and courage, could be depended upon no less than their absolute secrecy and their enthusiasm for the matter in hand.

Consequently, it was necessary to be most circumspect in the selection, and, as Catesby always took counsel with Garnet and the other above-named Jesuits before he made the first communications to a new conspirator, or even, indeed, took steps to secure one, it was well into the year 1604 before the requisite number was complete. The names of these were as follows: Thomas Percy, a young profligate and spendthrift, but bold even to rashness, from the celebrated family of the Earls of Northumberland; Thomas and Robert Winter, two brothers, who had suffered much from persecution under the government of Elizabeth on account of their Catholic faith; Guy Fawkes, a wild soldier, formerly an officer in the Spanish service, whose well-scarred face bore evidence of his former deeds; Francis Tresham and Ambrose Rookwood, both of noble blood, and intimate friends of Catesby; Eberhard Digby, a man of considerable means and great talents, who, however, felt himself aggrieved, as a Catholic, at the neglect of the faith; Robert Keyes, Christopher Wright, and John Grant, all affected with similar ambition; lastly, Tom Bates, only, indeed, a servant of Catesby, but a remarkably sagacious and daring comrade, just the man for such a purpose, as he had been initiated into his master's secret from the beginning. Still, Catesby considered it well, before the formal commencement of the conspiracy, that this latter, on account of his vacillating scruples of conscience, should be especially schooled by Father Oswald Tesmond, out of whose hands he actually

emerged as one of the most useful and active members of the plot.

Such were the men whom Catesby, by degrees, procured for his murderous plan, without, at the commencement, communicating to them "the hour and the when," withholding this for a later period. At last, however, towards the end of the year 1604, he considered the matter ripe for action, and thereupon called them together, on a dark November night, to his dwelling, where, besides himself, Fathers Garnet and Gerard were already waiting. The first thing was that they all confessed to Father Gerard, and, during the administration of the Sacrament, repeated the following solemn oath:—

"I swear, in the name of the Holy Trinity, and of the Sacrament of which I have the intention to partake, that I will never reveal, either directly or indirectly, either by word or in any other way, anything of what has already been confided to me, or will be confided; I swear that I will never draw back from the accomplishment of our undertaking without the consent of my fellow-accomplices; I swear, lastly, that I am ready to sacrifice my life and limbs for the only saving religion, or for what may be ordered for me by the priest."

After the whole twelve had now taken the oath, Catesby, as leader, proceeded to divulge his plan before the assemblage, and he did so, notwithstanding its enormity, with such coolness and precision as pass the bounds of astonishment.

"We can," said he, "get rid of the King in a hundred different ways. But how would that help us were the Prince of Wales, his first-born, the Duke of York, his second son, as well as his wife and daughter, to be allowed to survive? Besides, were all these dead, there would still remain a Parliament which would proceed against us with the most decided determination; there would also remain all the powerful lords and barons whom, should they place themselves at the head of the Protestants, we could not for any length of time withstand. We can, therefore, only promise for ourselves a sure and certain result when we remove out of the world the whole of the above-mentioned people at one blow, and in order to carry out such a great undertaking it is, indeed, imperatively necessary for us to treat all as one man. You look at me with astonish-

ment, and ask how can it be possible to carry out such a great stroke? I reply, however, that it is quite feasible, in this way: we must form a large mine under the Houses of Parliament and fill it up with gunpowder; when, then, the Parliament is opened by the King, who always appears accompanied by the whole of his family, we will set fire to the mine, and then His Majesty with the Royal Family, as well as all the members of Parliament, will be buried under the ruins of the palace."

Such was Catesby's plan, and, assuredly, never before had an idea of murder so fearful entered into the human brain. From the hideousness of the thought, the deepest silence at first reigned among the eleven invited guests, and when Catesby ended, their deep breathing could alone be heard.

Guy Fawkes then rose, advanced towards Catesby with flaming eyes, and, in silence, firmly shook the right hand of the latter. Several now did likewise, as proof of their entire approval of the tremendous project, notwithstanding its enormity. Some, however, hesitated, as if scruples of conscience had seized them, and one of them, Thomas Winter, ventured to give expression to those scruples in words. "Among the lords and other members of Parliament," said he, "there are several who belong to our own, the only saving faith, and the same is also the case with regard to the thousands of spectators which the spectacle of the opening of Parliament usually collects together, and many of those must, as a matter of course, also lose their lives on the blowing up of the palace. Dare we, then, perpetrate the great sin of slaying our own fellow-believers, and, without warning, hurl them to destruction, without their having had any opportunity for confession and absolution?"

Upon such a suggestion Catesby seemed irresolute, and had nothing to say in reply; but the Father Provincial, that is, Henry Garnet, whose utterances were looked upon as oracular by all English Catholics, instantly took up the discussion, and declared without hesitation that the scruples of Thomas Winter were without the smallest justification. "There are always in a besieged fortress friends of the besiegers," thus his explanation proceeded, "who suffer from the cannon; but do people leave off firing on that account? and much less do they refrain from storming. Catesby's plan, then, ought certainly to be accepted, as it would be, without doubt, most advantageous to the Catholic

party, and by the blowing up of the Houses of Parliament a much larger number of heretics than of true believers would be destroyed; all, therefore, in common, must be consigned to destruction."

By this speech on the part of Garnet, wavering thoughts were removed, and all present at once gave their hands to Catesby in indication of their thorough agreement with him; he, thereupon, disclosed the further details of his plan, and also gave information regarding the place whence the mine might be constructed. In short, during that night all was arranged in regard to the carrying out of this fearful project of murder which goes in history by the name of the Gunpowder Plot; and before morning the conspirators separated, the Provincial conjuring them in a fervent exhortation to remain true and steadfast to the duties they had undertaken. He concluded by praying with them and blessing them; he cursed, however, their enemies, consigning them to the lowest depths of hell; and, in order that words might be replaced by deeds, raising his hands towards heaven, he exclaimed, "O God! annihilate a faithless nation, annihilate her from the land of the living, in order that with full joy we may be enabled to offer up becoming praise to Jesus Christ."

The first thing that now took place was that Thomas Percy, by Catesby's direction, hired a certain house, which the owner thereof had for some time past tried to let, without being able to find a tenant, owing to its rather dilapidated condition. It was serviceable, however, not for its accommodation so much as for its situation, as at the back of it there was a small garden surrounded by a high wall, which prevented all curious people from observing what was going on inside, while it abutted on the court of the Palace of Westminster, in which the Parliament assembled. Scarcely had Percy taken possession of the said house, when the other conspirators assembled there; this they did, however, not openly before all the world, but secretly, so that no one should remark it, and even the next neighbour might have been able to swear that it was inhabited alone by Percy and his servant, which latter part was played by Thomas Bates. With equal secrecy were the necessary means of living brought into the house, as, of course, for so many men what would be sufficient for Percy and his servant was not enough.

and a daily supply must needs be provided. The procuring of picks, shovels, handspikes and similar implements by which the excavation of the mine might be effected, was set about with the greatest circumspection, and several weeks passed before all the preparations were concluded.

At length, on the night between the 10th and 11th of December, the work was begun, and the twelve men did their utmost, night and day, from this period, being relieved from time to time. They had, however, a difficult task before them, as the Parliament was to open on the 7th of February 1605, and if the mine happened not to be ready by that time, their whole undertaking would be a failure.

Fortunately for them, the earth of the garden was, for the most part, of a light nature, and offered no great resistance to their picks and shovels; and another fortunate circumstance for them was that they were seldom disturbed in their operations by possible listeners from outside. In spite of this they were in sheer despair, on the thought of having to abandon the whole thing, when they came to the uncommonly hard foundation-walls of the palace, the boring through of which was far more difficult than they previously had conceived. They now learned, however, to their unspeakable joy that the opening of Parliament had been indefinitely postponed, and that it would not take place for several months. Therefore they worked with renewed vigour, and about March the nine-feet-thick wall was broken through, and reduced to a thin partition. But how should they then proceed to remove this latter? When, heaven and earth! what did they now hear? Loud voices on the other side; so that there was no doubt of their secret having been discovered! They instantly quitted the mine, and betook themselves to their house to provide themselves with arms, as they were resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

Alone Guy Fawkes, the most audacious and cold-blooded, remained behind, and had the boldness to put his head through a hole which had already been made in the wall in order to see what was going on on the other side. And what did he now see and hear? Certainly nothing to occasion anxiety, but, on the contrary, something rather to make him rejoice. On the other side of the wall there was a large cellar, which extended immediately under the great hall of the House of Lords. This cellar

had been rented by a dealer in coals and wood, but, as the latter had just died, his heir was removing the goods in order not to be obliged to pay the rent any longer. Fawkes, of course, did not delay a moment in relieving his fellow-conspirators of their unnecessary anxiety, and they at once saw the great advantage from the fact now communicated to them. In truth, the benefit was immense.

Percy was forthwith commissioned to hire the cellar, and also to purchase the whole supply of wood and coal from the heir. Percy soon brought this commission to a fortunate conclusion, and the conspirators then possessed a large vault under the Chamber of Peers, into which they might convey as much gunpowder, by means of their mine, as they required, without being remarked by anyone. This, in fact, they accomplished, and by degrees introduced into the cellar not less than thirty-six casks filled with gunpowder—explosive material more than sufficient to blow the Palace of Westminster and all its surroundings into the air. They covered over these casks, too, so artfully with wood, coal, and bundles of brushwood, that no one would entertain any suspicion whatever, even if he had succeeded in inspecting the cellar without their knowledge. Besides, they constructed quite a wall of light brushwood before the entrance to their mine, in order to conceal this from the observation of the uninitiated; and so, consequently, it resulted that the frightful secret was well preserved.

In the meantime the Opening of Parliament was definitely fixed for the 5th November 1605—a Tuesday—while the conspirators had completed their last preparations in October. Among these was the mission of Sir Edward Baynham, a newly-acquired conspirator, whom Provincial Garnet had seduced, to Aquaviva, the General of the Order in Rome, in order to convey despatches to him; Fathers Stanley and Owen, two Englishmen, whom the same zealous Father had recently ordered from Douay, were also directed to betake themselves immediately to Madrid, in order to move Philip II. to send over a Spanish army in support of the Catholic cause in England as soon as the blow had been struck in London. Besides, Catesby had ordered Sir Everard Digby to the county of Warwick, in order to overpower the Princess Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the English King, who was then on a visit

there to Lord Harrington; not a single member of the family of James I., indeed, was to be spared. Thus everything had been done for the best, and the authors of the plot were congratulating themselves on the near success of their undertaking.

It now happened, on the evening of the 28th October, that a member of Parliament, Lord Monteagle, received an anonymous letter, written in a disguised hand, which was delivered to his servant by a stranger who did not wait for an answer. This letter was couched in these words:

"The friendship which I entertain for yourself and some of your associates, induces me to watch over your preservation. If you set any value on your life, manage to find an excuse from appearing in the next Parliament, as God and man have determined that the godlessness of this age will meet with punishment. Do not neglect this advice which I give you, but immediately go as fast as possible to your estate. A frightful blow will overtake Parliament, and the hand from which it comes will not be seen. Indeed, the danger will be over in as short a time as is required to burn this letter. I hope that God, to whom I pray, may take you under his protection, and that you will make a good use of what I now disclose to you."

Lord Monteagle did not know what to make of this letter, while, Catholic as he was, fearing that he might later on get into trouble were he to keep it secret, he hastened with it to Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, the Secretary of State. The latter, also, could not come to any clear conclusion, but, smiling, gave it as his opinion that it was a foolish joke, in order to work upon the fears of Lord Monteagle. He still considered it his duty to show the letter to the King, in order to receive his orders concerning it; and upon him the writing had a very different effect. James I. did not belong to the most courageous among men, and, consequently, he was not a little frightened about the threatening words used by the unknown warner. "A frightful blow," said he to himself, "which will fall without anyone knowing whence it comes—a danger which passes over in as short a time as is required to burn this letter—before God! the writer can only refer to the effect produced by the explosion of gunpowder." A frightful suspicion took hold of his mind, and, after a conference with the Secretary of State, he commissioned the Earl of Suffolk, then Lord Chamberlain, to examine care-

fully all the vaults underneath the Palace of Westminster, particularly as regards the Parliament Hall, besides the whole of the cellars of the adjoining neighbourhood. It was necessary, however, in order not to give any previous warning to the authors of the conspiracy, should such, indeed, exist, as well as not to alarm unnecessarily the English people in case the whole affair turned out to be nothing after all, that the search should take place on the night previous to the appointed sitting of Parliament. It was, therefore, effected in the night between the 4th and 5th of November. The Earl of Suffolk accompanied by a company of Guards, and led by Winhyard, the keeper of the Palace, descended into the vaults at Westminster. He found, however, nothing at all suspicious in the cellar hired by Percy that could in any way give rise to any fear, save that a fellow was discovered, of the name of Johnson, who gave himself out as a servant of Percy, the hirer of the cellar, and was apparently occupied in arranging the firing material, of which, as he said, a large supply had just been purchased.

To this effect ran the report submitted by Suffolk to the King, surrounded by his Ministers. The Ministerial Council, however, considered it to be most extraordinary that a private individual like Percy should possess such a large supply of coals, and not less remarkable that Percy's servant should be found prowling about the cellar at such a late hour of night. On that account a man of more sagacity than the Lord Chamberlain was hastily summoned, in the person of Thomas Knevet, Justice of the Peace, who was ordered not only to make a more accurate survey of the Parliament cellar, but also to direct his attention to the house adjoining hired by Percy. Sir Thomas Knevet at once set about this with the necessary guard, and an hour after midnight, also conducted by Winhyard, entered Percy's large cellar. What was there? Again no one but the man representing himself to be Percy's servant, of the name of Johnson, standing behind the door with a dark-lantern. Sir Thomas ordered a constable to apprehend the man and this was immediately effected, in spite of his desperate resistance. Upon him was found a piece of tinder, three matches, a dagger, and a pistol. It was also noticed that he was booted and spurred, like a man who was prepared to take a journey on horseback. This was in the highest degree remarkable, and Sir Thomas perceiving that

there was here some foul play, ordered further that the whole of the firing material should be thoroughly examined. This was done accordingly, and then the true nature of the alleged coal-cellar was revealed, and, to the intense horror of those present, the thirty-six barrels of gunpowder were discovered, with which, a few hours later, the Palace of Westminster would have been blown into the air.

The rest is soon told. The alleged Johnson was that very night—it was now 4 o'clock in the morning—conducted to the royal palace, where a ministerial council, under the presidency of James I., was sitting, and a strict examination of the prisoner was instituted. He acknowledged Guy Fawkes to be his name, as also that it was the intention to blow up the Palace of Westminster at the opening of Parliament. He exhibited no regret, but was furious, on the other hand, that his plan had not been successful. He also obstinately refused to give up the names of the conspirators, and wished to make it out that he was alone concerned without any assistance. Two days later, however, after he thought there had been sufficient time for them to effect their escape, he made a full confession, on being submitted to torture, and, thereupon, it was attempted to seize all the conspirators. These had been warned by a messenger from Father Tesmond, who had been made aware of the arrest of Guy Fawkes, and they had taken flight to Warwickshire, whither Digby had already proceeded in order to seize the Princess Elizabeth, and had collected a small following about him. As, however, the sheriff of the county, Richard Walsh, at the head of several thousand soldiers at once marched against them, they escaped, with several of their friends who still adhered to them, into the county of Stafford to the castle of Holbeach, the possessor of which, Stephen Littleton, as a good Catholic, did not refuse to receive them. They here wished to defend themselves to the last, as they thought it better to die with arms in their hands than to end their lives miserably on the scaffold. As, however, by accident, their supply of gunpowder (which, in consequence of becoming wet, had been laid upon a stone to dry) took fire and burnt some of them—they numbered in all some eighty—it resulted that they were no longer able to defend themselves. Thus the royal troops succeeded with ease in penetrating into the castle, and, in the first fight, Robert Keyes, Christopher

Wright, and about a dozen more were slain, while Grant, Digby, Rookwood, and Bates, with ten of their companions, had to give themselves up as prisoners. Robert Winter, Francis Tresham, Stephen Littleton, and some others, succeeded in escaping, but were likewise arrested in a few days afterwards, and all three swore they would sooner die than give themselves up, and in the case of two this oath was fulfilled; subsequently Catesby and Percy were killed by musket-shots after a long and brave resistance. Robert Winter was caught alive by his enemies, although severely wounded.

The whole of the prisoners were at once brought into the Tower of London, in which also Guy Fawkes lay. They were all examined, one after the other, and confessed their guilt, without its being necessary to put them to torture. The crime of high treason was thus proven, and on that account the sentence could be no other than death "at the hands of the executioner"; and this sentence was, indeed, carried out on all the above-named, in the public place before the Palace of Westminster, on the 30th January 1606, and those implicated in a smaller degree, who had first given support to the chief conspirators in the county of Warwick, got off by punishment of imprisonment and banishment for life from Great Britain.

Justice was, however, not satisfied with these victims as long as the authors of the plot were at liberty, and that these were to be sought for among the Jesuits the English Government entertained not the slightest doubt. This was sufficiently proved from certain letters which had been seized, and if the conspirators during their examinations had not, as a rule, expressed very much implicating the highly-esteemed Fathers there were, at least, certain statements made which incontestably proved the sympathy of Fathers Garnet, Gerard, Tesmond, and Oldecorn in the frightful undertaking. The Government, consequently, made it known by an especial edict, on the 15th January 1606, which was attached to the church doors all over the kingdom, that no one, under the most severe penalty, should shelter the four above-named Jesuits, or render them the least protection, but, on the other hand, should make prisoners of them wherever they might be found, and deliver them into the hands of justice; and to secure this a large reward was held out. Much importance was apparently attached by the King and his

counsellors to the arrest of the Loyolites mentioned, not so much that they might be punished, but rather in order to show the world what a nefarious aim the Society of Jesus pursued, and with what infamous means it went to work. But, in spite of everything, Fathers Gerard and Tesmond succeeded in making their escape to the continent to France, and the two others, Garnet and Oldecorn, were likewise very nearly saved. These latter had fled, along with an equally true and faithful servant of Garnet, to Kenlip, into the castle belonging to a good Catholic of the name of Abington, and were concealed for some length of time in a chimney that remained undiscovered in some out-of-the-way corner, although it was known that they were in the castle. At last, however, all the domestics of Abington, without one single exception, were removed, and the lord of the castle was carefully watched night and day, when the three fugitives, impelled by hunger, issued from their retreat, and were at once brought to the Tower of London, where they arrived at the beginning of February. The joy at this capture was very great; it was, still, somewhat lessened by the circumstance that the servant of Garnet, on the very first night, ripped up his abdomen with a knife that he had contrived to conceal, in order that he might die—which, indeed, occurred—before being put to torture, through the pain of which he might be compelled to make a confession.

Still more vexatious was it for the investigating judges that Garnet and Oldecorn obstinately denied all complicity in the conspiracy, or even any knowledge of it, and for a long time resisted all remonstrance in overcoming their deliberate lying. At last resort was had to artifice, and this was successful in eliciting the truth. One of the prison attendants represented himself to be a zealous but secret Catholic, and played the part so well that after a little time Garnet gave him his entire confidence. The consequence was that he entrusted to his care letters to his fellow prisoner Oldecorn as well as to several well-to-do Catholics living in London. These documents now clearly revealed the truth of what the two Fathers had denied with such pertinacious obstinacy, and, after being made to confess, they were condemned to death for high treason. This sentence was also carried out on the 3rd of May 1606 with all the barbarity formerly attaching to such executions, and the two

miscreants died the death they had deserved two or three times over at least.

Such was the end of that Jesuit Catholic scheme which, under the name of the Gunpowder Plot, attained such celebrity, and one may well understand how it is that the English nation henceforward has entertained such an intense hatred, such an invincible disgust, towards everything connected with Jesuitism.

As to this hatred, James I. showed all his subjects a good example, for whenever afterwards any member of the Society of Jesus dared to touch, far less to pass, the frontier of his kingdom, even were the man's intentions perfectly friendly, he was most certain to be executed, could he only be caught. From this, then, a peculiar panic came over the aforesaid Society, and they henceforth ceased to disobey the command of the King. On the other hand, they revenged themselves by calumniating the latter in the most shameful manner, translating, at the same time, the conspirator Garnet, as a martyr and hero of the faith, directly into heaven. After the death of James I. the sons of Loyola believed that they might again dare to raise their head with boldness, as his successor, Charles I., had for his spouse a Catholic princess of the French royal family, he himself being only too pleased to do exactly what his spouse desired. The Queen, moreover, was of a very religious turn of mind, and her spiritual adviser especially favoured the Order of Jesus. What wonder was it, then, that the Jesuits now completely altered their tactics, and, forsaking blood and iron, strove to attain their end by flattering words. They had, indeed, ground for hope that they might in time gain over the King to their side, and, through his favour, be enabled to make a glorious entrance into England. They had reason to anticipate this, inasmuch as King Charles promised at the time of his marriage that, on ascending the throne, he would make the Catholic religion the national faith, and, in fact, he commenced his reign by filling up all the most important State appointments with Catholics only. Still the accomplishment of the Jesuit hopes was never realized, but, on the other hand, King Charles expiated on the scaffold the errors in his mode of Government; and with his death Catholicism lost for a long time all influence in the British Isles.

It was otherwise under Charles II., who, as is well known, was restored to the throne of his father after the death of Cromwell.

This monarch was almost entirely in the hands of his mistress, while he was looked after by Father La Chaise, the celebrated Confessor of Louis XIV.; hence it is apparent what means the Jesuits employed, and it may be well imagined that the interests of the Society of Jesus were not lost sight of. At the same time the Queen, who, as a Portuguese princess, acknowledged, of course, the strictest Catholicism, brought with her to London a Jesuit of the name of Antony Fernandez as Father Confessor, and this spiritual adviser ruled her so completely that she made all his wishes her own.

Thirdly, the Duke of York, the brother and probable successor of the King, who had no legitimate children, ruling as he did the whole Council of State, very soon went over secretly to the only saving faith, and through the persuasion of his Confessor, the Jesuit Father Simons, took this difficult step so publicly that the English could no longer entertain any doubt about his way of thinking. It is thus seen that King Charles lived in an almost thoroughly Catholic atmosphere, that is, in one impregnated with the purest Jesuitism, and, such being the case, who could take it amiss when the sons of Loyola gave it as their opinion that the King must, for good or evil, sooner or later equally openly embrace Catholicism. They nourished the hope, indeed, that he would not only revoke the strict laws which were still in force against the Jesuits, but even introduce the latter into England. Still, it happened that Charles II., not forgetting the sad fate of his father, lest the same might befal himself, was neither an open public apostate from the Episcopalian Church, nor did he alter the laws against the Jesuits, so that the latter were merely tolerated, but not by any means regularly installed at Court.

The wind now, however, suddenly changed its direction, as Charles II. at length died, in the year 1685, and the Duke of York, under the title of James II., ascended the English throne. Now, indeed, had the sons of Loyola true cause for rejoicing, as the new King allowed himself to be entirely governed by Father Peters, the successor of Father Simons, and the whole machine of the State moved according to the principles and orders of the Society of Jesus. It was a pity for them, however, that the English people were not overcome by such lethargy as to allow the nation to be long oppressed by despotism; it was, indeed, a

pity that the Protestants were not afraid to raise a revolution when their freedom of conscience and their religion was in question; it was, indeed, a pity that after three years the King was left with no followers except the couple of Jesuit Fathers and the Jesuit friends into whose arms he had thrown himself, and that he was obliged to take flight to France on the landing of his Protestant brother-in-law, William III., Prince of Orange. The encouragement given to Jesuitism cost the foolish James II. his throne, and all the trouble taken by himself and his descendants failed to regain it. With him, also, the sons of Loyola had to take their departure out of Britain, and their return was debarred for ever by the strictest laws.

CHAPTER III.

THE ATTEMPTS ON THE LIVES OF PRINCES WILLIAM AND MORICE OF ORANGE.

As the inhabitants of the Netherlands and of Zeeland were driven into despair by the despotic cruelty of Philip II., who wished to rob them at once of their religious and their political liberty, the standard of rebellion was at length raised, towards the end of the second half of the 16th century; and in their fury, shrinking from no danger, although they were by far weaker and less powerful, they totally threw off the Spanish yoke, but only after a period of strife extending over nearly forty years, respecting which the reader has no doubt already made himself acquainted from the history of the world. It would, therefore, only be waste of time to describe the particulars of this stupendous war. I must not, however, omit to add that the Jesuits, from its very commencement, took a most zealous part in it; while King Philip, the despot and tyrant, found no more strenuous friends, and the Dutch, who were contending for their freedom and faith, no more bitter and implacable enemies, than the sons of Loyola.

All means were right for them, if they only tended towards injury to the Dutch or advantage to the King of Spain, and they refrained as little from violence as from deceit and cunning. Thus it is an acknowledged fact that they kept supplies of weapons and powder for the Spaniards in their different colleges at Antwerp, Doornick, Bruges, Maestrick, Gröningen, Nym-

wegen, Herzogenbush, Breda, and elsewhere, and in Utrecht they did not avoid playing the part of traitors when they desired to deliver the town into the hands of the enemy. On that account the Rector of the College there, Father John Baptist Bodden, as well as the Procurator, Gerard Posman, and the Coadjutor, Philip Nottin, were brought to trial, and these three were beheaded in the public market-place, by demand of the Court of Justice, on their treachery being proved. Many others of them equally deserved the same fate, as they secretly practised, everywhere, treachery against the Dutch people, and on that account the latter were often so furious against the fraternity that the whole attention of the magistrates and officials was required to protect them and prevent their being torn in pieces. Above everything, hatred against them was aroused by the shameful way of proceeding of which they were guilty against the House of Orange, and if at that time when they were carrying on their fiendish proceedings they could have been got hold of, not a single one of them would have escaped with their lives. It is known from history that William I., Prince of Orange and Duke of Nassau, who went by the name of the "Silent One," not only played an important part in the Dutch war of emancipation from the Spanish yoke, but that he may likewise be regarded as the founder of Dutch freedom. It was he who, in 1570, placed himself at the head of the great movement, and the States General had him alone to thank, on account of his sagacity, bravery, and talent, that they were not entirely subdued at the commencement by the overpowering might of Spain. Under these circumstances, it need not be wondered at that the "Silent One" especially incurred the hatred of King Philip and his friends the Jesuits. Can there be any wonder, then, that the latter determined to proceed by any means, even the most extreme, to rid themselves of such a powerful antagonist? Verily, indeed, if anywhere, it was here, in connection with the Prince of Orange, that there was occasion for practically carrying out their doctrine of allowable regicide, as there lived no man on earth at that time who put more hindrance in the way of the Jesuit plans than he, and, especially there was no one who might be substituted for him. Then down with him, the intensely hated enemy; then down with him by means of powder and lead, by poison or dagger, in order

that over his corpse the Dutch nation might again be fettered in the old yoke of tyranny and superstition.

The first to attempt murder the Prince of Orange was made by John Jauregay, a youth not five-and-twenty years old, and the circumstances were as follows:—

At the beginning of the year 1582 a Spaniard, of the name of Caspar Anastro, established at Antwerp, was on the point of making himself bankrupt; and, lamenting, he told his sad tale to his confidential friend, who, under the name of Juan de Ysunka, lived with him, but who, in truth, was no other than a secret Jesuit, as at that time no member of the Order dare show himself publicly in Antwerp. Sometime after this, his friend Ysunka, who in the interim had executed a short journey in order, no doubt, to consult his superiors, made him a proposition, under the seal of perfect secrecy, by means of which he might extricate himself from his fatal position, and it was truly a very meritorious means of doing so. Anastro now, of course, desired to know at once the particulars, and was informed that they related to the murder of the Prince of Orange, for which deed the sum of 80,000 ducats would be granted. This offer excited him in an extraordinary degree, and, as Ysunka understood how to work upon his friend in connection with religious fanaticism, he promised the latter that, should he succeed in freeing the world of this hideous heretic, he should obtain a place in Paradise, exactly in the middle between Jesus Christ and Mary! The man engaged, at length, to undertake the murder. But between talking and accomplishment there is an immense difference, and one who is vile enough to wish to commit a shameful deed, does not on that account always at the same time possess the power of accomplishing it. This at once showed itself in Anastro, who was much too great a coward to attempt the contemplated murder. On the contrary, he applied to a cashier of his, of the name of Venero, who had already been many years in his employment, and was acquainted with all his secrets, although, perhaps, not this one, desiring to know whether he in person would be willing to enter into the scheme, of course in consideration of sharing the reward, or, at least, would name some individual who would carry out the deed. Venero decidedly declined for himself, although not from abhorrence but from fright. However, he knew a fanatical young man of the name of John Jauregay, and at once

proposed to secure him for the affair. Ysunka as well as Anastro consented, and all three now worked upon the young fanatic, with whom they at once entered into communication, in such a way that he was seized with the most zealous enthusiasm. He swore, therefore, to remove out of the world the Prince of Orange, the arch enemy of Catholic views, in order to do a service to Heaven, and fixed upon the 18th May for the accomplishment of the deed. He thereupon took the Sacrament from his ordinary Father Confessor, Antony Timerman, a Dominican monk, who encouraged him in his praiseworthy enterprise, undertaken purely for the honour of God; indeed, the conspirator longed for the hour in which he had arranged to commit the deed. The author of the shameful act, however, the said Juan de Ysunka, did not display much courage, but suddenly disappeared from Antwerp, with his friend Caspar Anastro, and the two put themselves in safety with the Prince of Parma in the town of Tourney. They thought that the youth, were he to be taken prisoner and subjected to torture, might give up their names, in which case their days on earth would, of course, be numbered as soon as they were caught; but in Tourney their friends the Spaniards were in the ascendant, and thence they might bid defiance to the Judgment Court of Orange.

At length came the long-expected day on which Jauregay was to accomplish his blood-thirsty intention. It was a Sunday, and the Prince of Orange betook himself to the church, as he was accustomed to do every Sabbath, in order to be present at public worship. Jauregay followed on foot, dressed in his holiday attire, but he was unable to get near the Prince on account of the large number of his attendants. From the church, Orange returned to the Citadel in which he resided, and placed himself there at the open door, so that everyone was able to see him with his family and some friends at table. Dinner being ended, it was intimated to him that a supplicant wished to speak with him, and he at once rose in order to go from the dining-room into an adjoining apartment. Just as he entered a shot was heard, and he felt himself hit by a ball which penetrated below his right ear, passing through the artery and the left cheek, whence it issued. He fell down as if he had tumbled from the heavens, as the shot had been fired so near him that even his hair was set on fire by the explosion of the powder, and

he, at first, thought that the Citadel was about to come down on the top of him. The fainting-fit did not, however, last very long, and when he came to his senses he was informed that a murderer had fired at him. "Save his life," he exclaimed, "and as soon as I am bound up bring him before me, as I wish to examine him myself." A most courageous order, certainly, which placed the excellence of his character in a most charming light. Moreover, a most sagacious direction, because, in this way only might it be possible to discover, with certainty, who were the true authors of the affair, it being most important to ascertain this fact. Unfortunately this order was given a quarter of an hour too late, as the guests of Orange, on the shot being first fired, threw themselves on the assassin, and literally hewed him to pieces with their swords.

As no one knew who he was, it at first seemed that no information would be obtained, but on searching the pockets of his clothes a Jesuit catechism was found, as also a memorandum-book in which everything was noted that it was desired to know. It was hence ascertained not only who he was himself, but also who were his guilty accomplices, and at once all available means were set in motion in order to catch hold of the ill-doers. But, from the circumstances already stated above, they were only successful in the case of Venero, the former cashier of Anastro, as well as of Timerman, the Dominican monk, and, on the two being subjected to torture, a full confession was obtained; they were, therefore, of course, according to the custom of those days, sentenced to a death of martyrdom. This sentence was, however, only partially carried into execution, that is to say, the magnanimous William remitted the torture, and consigned them to death by strangulation, after which their bodies were cut into four pieces, and attached to high stakes in order to give a terrible example. There they remained during four years, until, in 1586, the Spaniards entered into Antwerp, when the Jesuits, who everywhere accompanied the Spaniards in captured places, took them down, and accorded to them a solemn burial, treating them, moreover, as martyrs, who had met with the death of heroes in a good cause.

William of Orange recovered completely from the severe wound which the fanatical Jesuit emissary had inflicted on him, but he recovered only to succumb, some years later, to a new

attack made by the Jesuits, notwithstanding that the sons of Loyola had, immediately after the attempted murder above described, been banished out of all the provinces of Holland, and a regular hunt made for everyone who might be considered as associated with them secretly, or regarded as true members in disguise.

Now for this affair. It was in the first days of May 1583, that the Silent One received at his house a Burgundian, who was presented to him not only as a zealous reformer, as well as the son of a martyr for the new religion, but who, also, produced the highest letters of recommendation. This creature, called by his true name, was Balthasar Geraerts, or Gerhard, but he termed himself Balthasar Guyon, and his credentials stated that he was the son of a certain Guyon who had been executed a few years before in Besançon on account of his Huguenot faith. As with his name, so also with his professions. He carried on a false game, as he affected great zeal for the Protestant religion, attended the Protestant Church regularly, and was never to be seen without having a Bible in his hand, while he was as fanatical a Catholic as there could be. But all this only came to light subsequently, as, on his first appearance at the Court of Orange, he contrived to conduct himself so well that no one had the slightest doubt regarding the truth of his assertions.

The Silent One, therefore, took him into his service, and employed him in all kinds of missions which required thought and adroitness, and, on account of his knowledge of languages, selected him to act as spy in the camp of the enemy. From one of these missions Gerhard returned to Delft, in the beginning of July 1584, where William of Orange then stayed, and was at once admitted, without difficulty, to the Prince, who was still in bed. He rendered to him so accurate a report concerning everything he had learned, and the Silent One expressed himself so satisfied with his skilful emissary that he issued an order to pay Gerhard a considerable sum of money as a reward for his services. Besides, his master observed to him personally that he would shortly entrust him with a new weighty mission, and that he must, therefore, come to him again in a few days to the castle. They separated, as it seemed, very much pleased with each other; and the suite of Orange looked upon Guyon as a most favourite and useful servant of their lord, in whom, from his coming and going, the greatest confidence might be placed.

Gerhard appeared again at the palace on the morning of the 10th July, and caused himself to be announced to the Prince; but he, being engaged otherwise, did not receive him, but put him off until the afternoon. Gerhard now went into the court below, and lingered about until nearly 1 o'clock after mid-day. Just about this time William had to proceed to the Senate, and passed through the court, accompanied by only a few attendants.

Gerhard now, advancing quickly towards him as if he had something to say, and coming up quite close, fired a pistol at him loaded with three bullets. With the exclamation "God have mercy on thee, my soul, and my people!" William of Orange fell down, feeling himself to be mortally wounded. He was raised and carried into his apartments, and the doctors were quickly summoned, but before they arrived he had already expired in the arms of his wife, without his being able to utter another word. In the meantime the murderer, as soon as he had fired the shot, took to flight, and, under the general confusion into which everyone was thrown, succeeded in reaching the walls of Delft unharmed. But here, just as he was about clearing the ditch, the Prince's guard, who had at length been emboldened to pursue him, threw themselves upon him with cries of rage, and easily overpowered him. The Council of State then immediately assembled in order to proceed with the examination of the murderer, and he at once made quite a candid confession.

"His name," he said, "was Balthasar Gerhard. He was born at Bille in Franche-Comté, and he was twenty-six years of age." He went on to say, further, that he had procured his false papers through his having entered the service, several years before, of Count Mansfeld, as secretary, under the name of Jean Dupré, when he procured a blank paper provided with the signature of the Count, which he filled up. The desire, however, to murder the Prince of Orange had seized upon him most powerfully, having arisen from the ineffectual attempt of Jauregay becoming known. His scruples of conscience, however, had for some time held him back from the accomplishment of the crime, and he would probably never have been equal to it had he not, in the course of the preceding month of March, gone to Treves, where his business had taken him, and where he had made the acquaintance of a Jesuit Father, with whom he took counsel, and by whom he was not only strengthened in his intention, but taught that such a murder

would be a work of immense advantage; indeed, that if he ever contrived to cause the death he would be certain to obtain a place in Paradise, and be received among the number of the holy martyrs. Still, not being perfectly satisfied by the counsel of this individual Father, he at once applied to three other Fathers one after the other, all being members of the said Order, and, having confessed to them, he obtained from all the same assurance of eternal bliss. This determination had thus come to maturity, and he had accomplished the deed without experiencing the slightest compunction. Gerhard confessed all this with the greatest freedom in his first examination; he would not, however, divulge the names of the four Jesuits, and declared that he was unacquainted with them. On the following day, the 11th of July, he was subjected to torture in order to elicit the whole truth, but he added nothing more than that, some weeks previous, while travelling from Treves to Tourney, he had disclosed his design to the Prince of Parma, Lieutenant of the King of Spain and Governor of Holland, and that he had been zealously strengthened in it by him, as well as by Christopher d'Assomville, President of the Council of Regency, who had been summoned purposely on that account, by whom he was deluged with promises and brilliant hopes. In a later examination, conducted on July 12th, he repeated these statements, and as there was not the least ground for entertaining any doubt about the matter, he was thereupon sentenced to suffer death on the 14th of that month, not merely an ordinary kind of death, but one sharpened by the most frightful tortures. First of all, the hand with which he had fired the shot was burnt with a red-hot iron, then the fleshy parts of his body were torn out with red-hot tongs, he was then hacked, while still living, into four pieces, and the fourth, the breast, was opened by the executioner with a rapid blow, and his still beating heart thrown in his face, while they cried out, "Murderer, remember our murdered father!"

The horrible scene of torture lasted for upwards of two hours, and then, even as the last quiver of the divided members ceased, the matter was still not yet ended, as the four quarters were fastened by chains on the four chief bastions of the town, and the head, detached from the trunk of the criminal, was placed on the highest summit of the tower.

Such was the end of Balthasar Gerhard, the murderer of

William of Orange, the Silent Prince; and cruel as the punishment had been, the Dutch judged it to be much too mild. Philip II., on the other hand, raised the family of the murderer among the nobility, and the sons of Loyola proclaimed, from all the pulpits of which they had command, the sound of his praises and heroic courage. Indeed, they instituted solemn processions in his honour, in which his likeness was borne aloft, as that of a martyr, as they believed that after the death of the great Orange the Dutch rebellion would be with ease subdued, and, with it, heresy extirpated. Thereupon, they hoped not only to come again into possession of all their fat pastures, but trusted that their dominion should be still further extended, so that soon the whole of Holland would be under their subjection.

These hopes, however, did not meet with accomplishment; no, indeed, for they completely failed. The Silent One had a son, the Prince Morice of Orange, whom the States-General at once, notwithstanding his youth, elected to be their Stadtholder, as also their chief and commander, and he excelled even his father in military talent and courage. The Spaniards lost much more territory than ever before in Holland, and in a period of ten years there was, indeed, much danger that they would be obliged to evacuate it entirely. Under these circumstances, was there any wonder, then, that the fury of the sons of Loyola yearly increased, and that their old thirst for murder was awakened? "Down with Morice of Orange!" exclaimed they aloud in their Colleges, though outside their walls they did not do so quite so freely; they looked about, however, all the more assiduously for a suitable tool. For a long time they failed to find one, as the people all feared the fate of Balthasar Gerhard, and the certainty of an earthly life was dearer to them than the hope of bliss in Paradise.

At length, in the year 1592, the Jesuits were informed of an individual who seemed suited to the undertaking, and they at once determined, in the absence of a better subject, to take him into their pay and allegiance. He was a cooper in Douay, of the name of Peter Panne; such a poor fellow, and so miserable, that he often hardly knew how to keep his wife and child from starvation. His Father Confessor, a member of the Order of Jesus, first of all questioned him. At that time the Jesuits

were all-powerful in Douay, as well as at a later date, when this town belonged to Belgium, which, up to the end of the foregoing century, continued to form a Hapsburg-Spanish province, that is, a Hapsburg-Austrian dependency. This Father spoke to him so much concerning the merit of murdering a heretic, that he at length became quite anxious to take part therein. When he got him so far, the Father then brought him into his College to the Rector, who took him to the Provincial for Franco-Belgium, which latter had his residence there at that time. The two then initiated him in all that he had to do in order to remove from the world the great heretic and patron of heretics, Morice of Orange, and promised him, besides heavenly bliss, a yearly pension and a lucrative appointment. Besides which, as a foretaste of the delightful life he expected, they gave him no inconsiderable sum as earnest money, and administered to him after the requisite absolution the holy Sacrament. After all these preliminaries, the man prosecuted his journey to Leyden, in which city Morice of Orange then resided, and he had hardly arrived there when two Jesuits in disguise received him, and earnestly impressed upon his mind to go to work with the greatest foresight, in order that his attempt should not prove a failure. Peter Paune promised this, and made sure that he would with perfect certainty hit the Prince. But lo and behold, within a few days, on the 27th May, he already found himself in the hands of justice, before he had time to make use of the sharp dagger given to him by the pious Fathers for the purpose, and which he carried about with him. He was taken prisoner on account of his frequent anxious inquiries about Morice of Orange attracting attention, and besides, in answer to questions as to who he was and what he had to do in Leyden, he gave the most contradictory statements. In his confusion he conducted himself as if he were legally cross-examined, and most certainly the poor man was not at all adapted for a murderer, and the Jesuits had been completely mistaken in him, for in the first half hour he freely confessed everything that was on his mind without there being any necessity for employing torture. Search was then at once made for the two secret Jesuits, but these had disappeared, and still less could they be found also in Douay. The poor cooper was accordingly fastened upon and deprived of his life, through the employment of various tortures, of which

nothing was omitted; the whole trial, with the necessary documents, being made public through the press.

From this time forth the States-General of Holland took still stricter measures against the Jesuits, and not only proclaimed them as men whom anyone might kill as soon as they had crossed the boundaries of the realm, but also most strictly forbade all citizens of the State from allowing their sons to be educated in any of the foreign Jesuit schools even temporarily.

The Order of Jesus in this way lost the territory of Holland completely, and even abroad it began to be looked upon as a Society which was dangerous alike to the peace of States as to the life of princes.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GREAT COMMOTION AT PARAGUAY; OR, DON SEBASTIAN JOSEPH CARVALHO E MELLO, COUNT OF OEYRAS AND MARQUIS DE POMBAL.

I HAVE already related in the Second Book of this work how uncommonly firm the sons of Loyola had established themselves in Portugal, immediately on the planting of their Order, and it must appear, on that account, almost superfluous for me to add that they themselves had the almost absolute conviction that their influential position could never in future be in any way altered. To them was at once entrusted the education of the princes, as well as of all the Royal Family, and no man could offer any opposition to there being implanted in the youthful minds of these children the deepest devotion and the most intense love for the Order of Jesus. The pious Fathers lived at Court as the all-powerful spiritual advisers of the kings for the time being, as well as of the entire royal House; and the example of the reigning family was, of course, followed by all the ministers of State as well as the grandees of the kingdom, in a word, by everyone who had either anything to hope for or anything to fear. Who, then, could dare to go at all contrary to their wishes, or to thwart in any way their will in any matter of importance? Who could presume to snatch out of their hands the reins of the government of Portugal? and who could venture to hurl them from the throne of arrogance which they had set up for themselves to the more modest position of servants of the Lord, to whom is assigned nothing but to attend to the

salvation of the confessing children entrusted to their care? In spite of all this, the pitcher, as is well known, continues to go to the well until it breaks, and the harbingers of this coming rupture began already to show themselves under King John, who reigned from 1706 up to 1750. The said John, although in his early years brought up by the Jesuits and guided by the Jesuit confessors, chose for himself, as soon as he became King, a Father Confessor from amongst the ordinary clergy, and refrained during the whole period of his reign from selecting a Jesuit to hold that post. Why, then, was this? Doubtless it arose as much from the conviction he had formed that the Order of Jesus, from its inordinate love of power and pretension, *as well as by its immoral principles*, was most pernicious, as from the fact that the personal inclination of every Court Jesuit was that the sons of Loyola should be allowed rather to preserve in their keeping the consciences of the family, or, more correctly, of the whole of the princes and princesses of the House, without let or hindrance. The sons of Loyola conducted themselves as if no harm could at all accrue to them from the change in the appointment of royal confessors; in fact, it was desired by them, because they were considered to be morally responsible for several furious deeds of their often unmanageable lord, who was, not infrequently, in such a state as to treat even the higher officials with blows and kicks! Be this concerning him, however, as it may, the Jesuits had occasion to be disquieted.

John V. instituted, in 1714, after the pattern of the French Academy, an "Academia Portugueza." This was not only an openly directed blow against the monopoly in educational matters which the Jesuits had up to this time held, but it was this very Academy, also, which formed a rallying point for the best heads of Portugal at that time, its sayings and writings penetrating like warming rays of light through the hitherto cold darkness of native literature. Besides, the Academy demanded, without further ado, that new schools should be started, at least, in the larger towns of Portugal, in which a different system of teaching should be adopted to that hitherto followed by the Jesuits—in a word, the symptoms increased so much that a storm was at hand, directed against the members of the Society of Jesus.

Such was the state of things when the King, from increasing years, fell more and more into a condition of mental weakness, and became more overbearing than ever; and when, subsequently, in the year 1750, his son Joseph I., who had for his confessor Father Moreyre, one of their most distinguished brethren, came to the Government, no one of them, or, indeed, nobody in the world, would have dreamed that within less than the period of a decade their existence, not only in Portugal, but in all the Portuguese colonies, would have been completely destroyed. Still there is an old proverb, "Man thinks but God guides," and this was applicable on the present occasion, for that frightful blow, which shook the Order of Jesus to its very foundation, came from a direction which was least expected. The reader may, no doubt, recollect what I have related in regard to the possessions of the sons of Loyola in South America, and I would especially beg him to recall to mind what has been stated as to the great Jesuit kingdom of Paraguay.

Over that rich and extensive country, which Spain possessed in all her glory, the sons of Loyola, on behalf of their General in Rome, ruled with such an unlimited monarchical sway, that, while the King of Spain was the nominal lord, a Spanish governor could not, at any time, dare to pass over the frontiers, and the whole so-called lordship of the Spanish Crown consisted in a head-money that the population of Paraguay paid, a head-money, it may be remarked, the extent of which was determined by the Jesuits themselves, and which came to something very trifling indeed. Thus it was with the great monarchy of Paraguay, of whose existence but little was known in Europe up to the year 1750, as has been already stated in the First Book. Nor was any information extant as regards its commerce, its productions, its inhabitants, its boundaries, and everything else relative thereto; all, indeed, was concealed as a profound mystery, to which the sons of Loyola alone had the key. Therefore, when at any time a traveller succeeded, by craft or other modes, in penetrating the great continent, in spite of its being almost hermetically sealed by its rulers, and when he then promulgated abroad a trustworthy report of the little he saw, as he was soon again turned out of the country, if nothing worse befell him, astonished mankind would think they were listening to some fable, and give no further credence to the same. In the

year 1750, however, light was at length thrown upon the subject. A far-off territory, which was known by the name of Brazil, belonged to the Crown of Portugal, while the property of the Crown of Spain, on the other hand, consisted of all that large extent of territory which stretched from Brazil to the Pacific Ocean, that is to say, the present States of Bolivia, Peru, Chili, the Argentine Republic, Montevideo, Uruguay, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, &c. Some of this territory was certainly of no great value, as it was not known, as yet, how it could be made profitable. Much of it was only known by name, that is, these lands were merely indicated on the map, which had been prepared as well as could be done under the circumstances. Notwithstanding this, however, each of the two Crowns watched over it with jealousy, in order that the one might not take a portion from the other, and on this account many frequent and vexatious contentions arose; so it happened that, commencing in the year 1748, the two Governments mentioned negotiated with each other respecting a more accurate definition of their boundaries. At length, in the year 1750 (on the 13th January), a State treaty was concluded, just prior to the death of John V. In this document it was distinctly laid down, among other things, that, for the more perfect separation of the two territories, Portugal should relinquish to Spain the large colony of San Sacramento, while, on the other hand, Spain should make over to Portugal the considerable portion of Paraguay forming the circle or reductions of St. Angelo, St. Giovanne, St. Michele, St. Lorenzo, St. Luigi, St. Mido, and St. Borgia. This passage of the treaty caused the greatest commotion in the camp of the Jesuits, as, should it be carried into effect, their present monarchy of Paraguay, by its division into a Spanish and Portuguese portion, would be in danger of being broken up; it was to be feared, indeed, that the Portuguese portion, about a fourth of the Jesuit monarchy, would be completely taken away, because the Portuguese Government, in accordance with their usual custom in their other colonies, sent governors who took all secular and administrative power with energy into their own hands. So, too, there was cause for anxiety in regard to similar regulations on the side of Spain, as soon as the latter should become acquainted with the hitherto unknown size of the remaining portion of territory. In

a word, the loss of the whole charming kingdom seemed to be imminent as a consequence of the stipulations of the treaty. The division, therefore, whether in this way or that, must be at any price prevented, as every ruler defends himself to the utmost when external enemies attack his kingdom or threaten him with dethronement.

At first the Jesuits tried amicable ways, and, as soon as they obtained accurate information respecting the treaty which had been concluded, they sent a representation to the Court of Madrid, in which, with the fullest detail, they called attention to the difficulties, dangers, and disadvantages of the projected exchange. "The newly-baptised original inhabitants of Paraguay," said they therein, "owing to the great oppression to which their brethren in the adjoining Brazil had been subjected, had conceived such an aversion to the Portuguese that they would sooner take flight into the wilderness in the interior of America than submit to the Crown of Portugal. Added to this, were the exchange to be effected, Spain would lose more than 40,000 active subjects, without being indemnified sufficiently for this loss by the colony of San Sacramento. Portugal would thus be enriched at the expense of Spain; and, also, it might be feared that the splendid great forests which were known to exist in the seven reductions, would afford opportunity to the Portuguese, as well as to their friends the English, of procuring wood for the building of ships with which to attack the Spanish possessions by force."

The sons of Loyola sought, by these and similar representations, to work upon the Spanish Government in order to annul the treaty which had been concluded, and in such endeavours they were zealously supported by their fellow brother Father Ravago, Father Confessor of Philip V. It is remarkable, however, that, at the same time that they sent these representations to Madrid, they delivered to the Portuguese Government at Lisbon a document worked up for the same purpose from San Sacramento, in which the matter was represented that the treaty of exchange was an absolute injury to Portugal, and that the Portuguese Government would be the defrauded party if the treaty came to be carried out. Thus, after their usual custom, they played a double game, and whilst in Madrid Father Ravago, so in Lisbon Father Moreyre, supported these endea-

vours by their confessorial influence, and they very nearly succeeded in gaining their object. At least, King Joseph sent a special minister, Anton Lobo di Gama, in the year 1751, to Madrid, in order, if possible, to retract the contract of exchange now concluded. But his endeavours failed, owing to the firm conduct of Queen Elizabeth, spouse of Philip V., who exercised a great influence over her lord and master; and thus there remained nothing for it than for both sides to appoint commissioners who should examine into the boundaries.

The Crown of Spain nominated on its behalf the Marquis of Baldilirios; the Crown of Portugal General Gomez Freire d'Andrada, both men of tried sagacity and energy, and at the same time, also, of strict moderate views, so that they cherished neither any special friendship nor yet any enmity against the Jesuits; thus it was to be hoped that they might be enabled to bring to a satisfactory conclusion, without difficulty, the matter as to the determination of the boundaries. The two Plenipotentiaries consequently proceeded on their mission in a happy mood, and their suites, besides a few armed servants, consisting almost entirely of mathematicians and surveyors, were none the less animated by the same feelings.

The Jesuits in Paraguay received intelligence respecting all these preliminaries early enough to be able to make provision relative to obtaining, from their General in Rome, the requisite orders as to remonstrance, and to come to a definite conclusion as to what should now take place. The amicable plan of proceeding having failed, should they now, without any further ado, humbly submit and allow the long-accustomed sway, with all the riches attached thereto, to cease? or should they offer an energetic opposition to the invasion, and, with weapons in their hands, prevent the entrance of the enemy, Spaniards as well as Portuguese, into the country?

"We have," said the sons of Loyola to themselves, "half a million of subjects, and among them at least fifty thousand capable of bearing arms, who are for the most part already well experienced; we have, further, in our arsenals, weapons as well as cannon in abundance, the number of which we could soon double. We are thus capable of making resistance even against a strong army, while the enemy, on account of the long distance of Paraguay from Portugal and Spain, as well as on account of

the uncommon difficulties which always attend the transport of troops by sea, would be in a position to oppose but a small force against us. Why, therefore, should we not defend ourselves?"

Thus argued the Jesuits, and on this calculation they formed their resolutions. At the same time their sagacity told them that, in order not to bring the whole of Europe against them, they should not openly place themselves at the head of the rebellion, but rather, in this respect, throw dust in the eyes of the world; and, consequently, as the further instructions from Rome went, "there should, indeed, be a resistance offered by the Fathers, but only a secret one, and in the background."

The reader can doubtless now divine what was to take place, and I shall thereupon be as brief as possible. As the plenipotentiaries of the two Crowns arrived, with their people, at the place where their boundary proceedings should begin, namely in the reduction of St. Nicolo, the Indians had collected in force, and, through a deputation, intimated to the gentlemen that, as they were likely to meet with a strong opposition, they had better leave the matter alone. The plenipotentiaries naturally remonstrated, and requested that they might speak with the two Fathers who had hitherto usually conducted a reduction, but these latter had disappeared, and neither of them was forthcoming. Compelled by necessity, the plenipotentiaries now retired, but only to make a second and third attempt in another community. The result, however, was the same everywhere, and they were nowhere able to commence their business.

On this account they betook themselves to Monte Video, at the mouth of the La Plata river, and began there, as later on in the town of Colonia, to enlist troops, in order to bring, by force, the rebellious Indians to reason. But with this they did not make such rapid progress as they had hoped, and it was only in the spring of the year 1754 that they were in a position to take the field. They at once united their two small armies, embarked them on the La Plata to the Parana, and advanced against the Indians, who were entrenched near the entrance of the small river Pardo. They succeeded in defeating the latter, and in taking somewhere about fifty prisoners. But through this they did not gain much, as the Indians again collected together at a short distance, and formed afresh a fortified camp.

On the other hand the two Government Commissioners gained information from their prisoners respecting the instigators of the rebellion; and, behold, these leaders and commanders turned out to be no other than, as the plenipotentiaries had suspected, the Jesuit Fathers in person.

After a short rest, the united Portuguese and Spanish troops, as before, won a small victory for the second time. The further, however, that they advanced into the country, the greater the masses were whom they had to encounter, and, as these people showed themselves uncommonly skilful in war, it seemed sufficiently plain that they had experienced men as leaders; so at length there was nothing for it but to conclude a truce with the Indians, in order to avoid the shame of a defeat. This agreement was concluded on the 16th November 1754, being signed on the side of the Indians by Don Franz Anton, head of the community of St. Angelo, Don Franz Guacu, Overseer of St. Nicolo, and the two heads of St. Luigi, Don Christoph Acuatu and Don Bartholomew Candiu, and the two plenipotentiaries returned to their Governments at Madrid and Lisbon in order to beg for new instructions, and especially for weapons, ammunition, and troops. These were immediately obtained, and by the end of the year 1755 several thousand men, as auxiliaries, proceeded from Spain and Portugal, and the most stringent orders were issued by the rulers of these countries to the chiefs and provincials of the Jesuits to submit themselves at the peril of their lives, "as their Majesties had been fully and accurately informed that the Fathers of the Order of Jesus were solely and entirely to blame for the rebellion of the Indians, and, if the latter were not, on the spot, brought to submission, it would be necessary for their Majesties to proceed at once, according to citizen and canonical law, against the chiefs as well as other Jesuits which were within their realms, and to punish them, as criminal offenders, for high treason."

All this had not the slightest effect on the sons of Loyola, and there was no question of submission. The Spanish and Portuguese potentates now again united, and determined, in January 1756, to penetrate for a second time through the pass of St. Thecla into the interior of Paraguay. They succeeded in this, and the first battle took place on the 10th February, when the Indians left no fewer than 1,200 dead on the field. A second and third

battle came off on the 22nd March and 10th May respectively, in both of which the natives got the worst of it. But the Europeans also suffered great losses, and their commanders became the more convinced that there could be no question of any termination to the war without considerable reinforcements being sent from Europe. The Indians still possessed—according to information obtained from some Jesuit Fathers who had been taken prisoners, in Father Gribouville a general of infantry, in Father Charles d'Anières a cavalry officer, and in Father Glatz, called the "terrible brother," a commandant of artillery—leaders such as were not easily found in the most experienced armies!

The reinforcements were this time fully prepared, as it was incumbent for the two Governments of Spain and Portugal to make an end of the Jesuit State of Paraguay and the rebellion therein established, and Generals Baldilirios and d'Andrada obtained such a superiority, although not certainly until after the lapse of three years—that is, in 1759—that the resistance was regarded as completely broken. During that time, also, the two Generals had sent over to Europe, and by this means had taken the spirit out of the rebellion, not a few well-guarded Jesuits who had played an important part in the war, and who had been unable to save themselves by flight; but it was only towards the end of the year 1768 that peace was fully established, when all the Jesuit missions in South America were given over to the civil powers.

Whilst these things were taking place in Paraguay, not less important transactions were going on in the mother country of Portugal, and as these latter were intimately connected with the subject under consideration, it is now time for us to direct our attention to the Court of Lisbon. At that capital, on the accession of Joseph I. to the throne in 1750, the Jesuits to all appearance had become quite as powerful as ever, as the King and Queen had, as I have already mentioned, Father Joseph Moreyre as Father Confessor, the Queen mother Father Joseph Ritter, the royal princesses Father Timotheo Oleveira, the King's brother Don Pedro, Father Hyacinth da Costa, the Princes Don Antonio and Don Emanuel, cousins of the King, Fathers Samuel de Campos and Joseph Araugio; besides which, Father Rochus Hundertpfund was greatly esteemed by the Queen, while Father Gabriel Malagrida was held in the greatest consideration by the King. In short, it was be-

lieved by all that the Jesuit harvest never before had been in such luxuriance as at this time, and the sons of Loyola themselves held that their power in this country was founded on an immovable rock. But were they justified in so thinking? One single man alone overthrew the fabric of their power, and that individual was Don Sebastian Joseph Carvalho e Mello, afterwards Count of Oeyras and Marquis de Pombal. Born in the year 1699, at the Castle of Soure, near Coimbra, and in tolerably humble conditions—his father being only a captain—did not belong to the first rank of nobility; when grown up, no brilliant career seemed to be marked out for him, and he, therefore, had recourse to the usual expedient of poor nobility, that is to say, he entered the army at a very early period. As, nevertheless, owing to brawls, he was exiled from Lisbon, he thereupon entered the University of Coimbra in order to study law, and there displayed such great talent that he soon surpassed all his fellow students. A rapid career was prophesied for him in the service of the State, should he devote himself to the judicial branch, and he had this, indeed, on his mind, when a lady brought about a complete alteration in his future life. He made the acquaintance of a beautiful, as well as rich, widow of rank, Donna Theresa de Noronha-Almada, and so contrived to secure her affections that she married him in spite of the disapprobation of her proud relatives. This, however, now roused his own pride, and, in order to be able to encounter the said relatives with equal pretensions, his whole aim and object was to raise himself as quickly as possible. He, therefore, now took up his abode at once in Lisbon, and, after being presented at the Court, strove to ingratiate himself in the favour of John V. This, indeed, was no easy matter, as the high relatives of his wife intrigued in every way against him, and so far succeeded that the whole nobility of Portugal persecuted him with implacable hatred as an intruder into their unapproachable circle. At last, however, in the year 1739, he succeeded in obtaining the appointment of Ambassador in England; and this was great good fortune for him, as he was enabled to employ his spare time in carefully studying the English commercial system, so detrimental to that of Portugal. At the end of six years, in 1745, he was recalled from London, as a new minister of John V., Peter de Motta, could not endure him; so Don Sebastian now lived for several months unemployed at the Portu-

guese Court. During this time his wife died, a victim to the revenge of her relations; and he now laboured most persistently at Court, never resting until he obtained another embassy, that, namely, of Vienna, and this brought him more luck than he expected.

He married again there, for a second time, the Countess Daun, who, as a former First Court Lady to the Queen Mother of Portugal, possessed great influence over the latter, and he, besides, became acquainted with some Jesuits, who at that time were all-powerful at the Imperial Court, and they promised to support him, to the best of their ability, in his ambitious designs. The mission of Pombal in Vienna was not, however, of long duration, as after two years his enemies in Lisbon again brought about his recall, and consequently he found himself, for a second time, without office and preferment. But, disagreeable as was this time of involuntary idleness to him in some respects, he contrived to employ it, nevertheless, not unprofitably, as he took pains to gain the favour of Father Moreyre, and, through him, the heart of the Crown Prince Joseph. The first matter was not very difficult, as Pombal was highly recommended by the Vienna Jesuits; in regard to the latter, however, that is, the influence and support of the future monarch of Portugal, the well-trained man developed such uncommon skill from his previous diplomatic career, that Joseph, as soon as he attained to the Government in 1750, instantly made him Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and shortly afterwards promoted him to be his all-powerful Prime Minister.

Now, at length, Pombal had attained the goal of his long endeavours of many years; now, at length, he saw himself in a position to accomplish the plans which he had so long cogitated; now, at length, he was enabled to extricate his Fatherland, once so beautiful and blooming, out of the condition of impotence into which it had, for many years—indeed, too many years—sunk. This is not the place to speak of all the reforms which the new minister effected. I must not, however, refrain from remarking that he perceived a chief reason for the profound decadence of the State, in the complete ruin of commerce, which formerly had been the source of such great riches to the Portuguese, and that he asked himself at once as to how this ruin had come about. The

answer was simply this, that the English, and still more the Jesuits, had appropriated to themselves the commerce of the East and West Indies, as well, especially, as that of South America, seeing that private merchants, no longer able to compete with the sons of Loyola, who had command over enormous funds and formed a compact society, had by degrees expended all that they possessed, capital as well as credit. With the view of remedying this evil, Pombal resolved to found an especial commercial society, the object of which was to carry on freely commerce with the American colonies of Portugal, and at the same time enjoined that all connected with the clergy should, according to the Pope's command, abstain and hold themselves aloof from commerce. As a man of action, however, he did allow himself to be content with the mere determination, but he never rested until the contemplated society had been launched into existence, and the above-mentioned Papal command renewed, although he could not conceal from himself that he was thereby mortally wounding his former friends the Jesuits. Such was, indeed, the case, and the sons of Loyola at once entered the lists openly as his enemies. Thus, for instance, Father Emanuel Balester hurled a fulminating sermon against him in the cathedral church of Lisbon, in which all those who contributed money to the funds of the new commercial company were threatened with God's anger and with everlasting punishment; and another Jesuit, of the name of Benedict Fonseca, was commissioned by his superior to issue a pamphlet, in which the King was made aware of the disadvantages of the recent ministerial regulations. But Pombal made short work of these two pious Fathers, and banished them from Lisbon without further ceremony, whilst he threatened with a similar fate all those who did not take warning by the example of Balester and Fonseca. In consequence of this the sons of Loyola conducted themselves with greater circumspection, especially as they became convinced that it was by no means possible to shake the confidence of King Joseph in his favourite. In their inmost thought, however, the resolution remained all the stronger, to leave no means unemployed to overthrow this dangerous man, who, instead of proving himself thankful to them, had struck such a severe blow against their self-interests, and had, indeed, estranged the heart of the King from them. They had not long to wait for an opportunity.

In the year 1755 a frightful earthquake shook the whole of Portugal, and especially reduced the capital, Lisbon, to a heap of ruins. The misery was boundless, particularly as a description of plague-like disease, accompanied by famine, raged among the ranks of the people. "Behold the Destroying Angel of God," cried the Jesuits, who at that time were almost everywhere present; "He punishes us all for the godlessness of that man whom the King has the weakness to place at the head of the Government, and the anger of Jehovah will never be again appeased until this wicked parvenu, who has especially attacked the clergy, has been removed, and until he has met with his righteous punishment." These and similar words they every day proclaimed loudly in all the public places, reiterating them as well from the pulpits; and the superstitious people, who allowed themselves, indeed, to be persuaded that all the blame of the destruction of the capital, as well as the terrible misery of many thousands, was due to the opposition offered to the Church by the First Minister, loudly demanded the deposition and death of the Marquis of Pombal. Already the King began to waver, and when, yielding to the entreaties of the high nobility, who, as was well known, also entertained intense hatred to the minister, he turned his back on the ruined city, in which Pombal's presence was necessary, it seemed, indeed, that the demand was about to be complied with. But here again the influence of the minister triumphed, and never were his mental power and energy so conspicuously displayed as now. He called to the King, "The place of the ruler is in the middle, amidst his people"; and the King remained. "Let us bury the dead, and think about the living"; and the people began to bless him, because he restored order, rebuilt their dwellings, and gave food to the poor. He obtained the mastery over the aristocracy, as he induced the monarch to issue an edict which threatened the most severe punishment to the calumniators of the Government, and brought this same edict into immediate operation against such men as Don Juan of Braganza, Don Joseph Galva de la Cerda, and others. Lastly, he forbade the preaching of the Jesuits, as well as interdicted them the use of any pulpit throughout the whole of Portugal, and at the same time decreed from that hour the withdrawal from them of all secular jurisdiction in their American missions of Portugal. This was Pombal's

reply to the calumnious and foolish attacks of his enemies, and he silenced them all, the sons of Loyola excepted, whose fangs became swollen with venom even to bursting; and they determined, after they had secretly collected a number of complaints and false accusations against the minister, to take the heart of the monarch by storm on the 21st September 1757, the very capable Father Confessor Moreyre being selected to effect the first breach. To their misfortune, however, their fiendish plan was betrayed to Pombal on the evening of the 20th September, and he contrived to be beforehand with his implacable enemies. With this object he begged the King to require the assemblage of a Council of State, under the presidency of his Majesty, during the night of the 20th and 21st; and at this sitting, after the vile game of intrigue on the part of the Father Confessors, as officiating Jesuits at Court, had been thoroughly laid bare, it was unanimously resolved that these pious individuals should be removed in a body from their appointments, and confined to their profess-houses, and that monks of other Orders should be called in as spiritual advisers. Scarcely, however, had this resolution been determined, when the Royal Chamberlain, Don Pedro Jozé de Silveira e Bottella, at once received orders to carry out the same in the night; and, as this Chamberlain was of a very energetic nature, at 4 o'clock the next morning not a single Jesuit was to be found in the palace.

One may well imagine what an enormous commotion this bold conduct of Pombal's caused, not only in Lisbon and Portugal, but, indeed, throughout the whole world, and the minister himself must have been aware that should anything of what he had undertaken fail, it might cost him his honour and life. But however great was this venture, and notwithstanding the enormous difficulties with which he had to contend, he remained undaunted, and did not desist one moment from the great consequences of his act. So, of course, the banishment of the sons of Loyola was only the beginning, and the end must be their complete expulsion from Portugal, or, if possible, out of the entire globe. Before everything, Pombal proceeded to expose to the world the true nature of the Jesuits; and with this object he caused a document to be prepared from the public archives, as well as the Reports of the Generals, who, as above explained, had been instructed to carry into effect the

treaty regarding the boundary regulations, in which the whole behaviour of the sons of Loyola in the Republic of Paraguay was thoroughly exposed in its true aspect.* He, also, did not neglect to make it publicly known everywhere that the King of Portugal had been induced to remove from about his person and court the sons of Loyola, principally on account of the grave misconduct of which they had been guilty in Paraguay; while a word of warning, that men with minds so disposed to high treason were most dangerous for any government, was likewise not wanting. In short, Pombal did his utmost to show to the world the true character of the Society of Jesus; so that the members of the same, who were at all times uncommonly clever with their tongues, were brought to silence, and struck down by fear, owing to all these statements, without daring to say a word in reply, or a syllable in refutation. Everyone would, therefore, be of opinion that it was impossible for the pious Fathers to clear themselves of the imputations brought forward against them. On that account the Portuguese minister easily secured public opinion for himself, and all now rejoiced that at length a man had been found who had the boldness to place the knife to the throat of a Society so universally diffused all over the world, and which up to the present time had been looked upon as invincible. Pombal himself still felt strongly that what he had done was far short of what should be effected, and it was especially clear to him that a Catholic Order in such a bigoted Catholic country as Portugal had been and still was, could not possibly be permanently humiliated if the supreme head of Catholic Christianity did not come over to his—the minister's—side, and sanction his regulations. He, therefore, at once, in an extremely urgent despatch, dated 8th October 1757, commissioned de Almada, the Portuguese Ambassador in Rome, to inform the then reigning Pope, Benedict XIV., most accurately of all the proceedings that were being carried on by the sons of Loyola, and thus supported, claimed the assistance of the highest ecclesiastical authority in taming their audacious roguery.

"The Holy Chair," thus proceeds this document, among other matters, "will perceive the urgent necessity for bringing these

* The complete title of the little work translated into all living European languages was, *Short Report of the Republic formed by the Jesuits in the Spanish and Portuguese Territories and Lordships beyond the Sea, and which endeavoured to prevail against the Arms of both Nations; extracted from State Archives of both Crowns, and other Authentic Papers.*

ecclesiastics back to the observance of the chief rules of their Order, and of prohibiting them from all intermeddling in political matters, in temporal interests, and commerce, in order that, being free from all injurious desire of ruling courts and of enriching themselves by trade, usury, and banking transactions, they might be useful in serving God and their neighbours. The Knights of the Temple had been severely punished on account of the offence that they had given, yet it had never been heard that they had committed such great crimes as the Jesuits. They had never established their own republics in the states of other sovereigns, and hounded on subjects against their rightful rulers. It is also not known of them that they ever usurped entire states and kingdoms. All this the Jesuits had done, as their colonies already extended from Maramnon (Amazon river) up to Uruguay. In a short time their realm had so grown in America, and had been so constituted, that no European Power was possessed of sufficient strength to drive them out of such enormous territories, especially as they were supported by a mass of natives whose language and customs were only understood by the Jesuits."

Pombal gave utterance to such sentiments in Rome in order to bring the Pope to a speedy determination; when, however, Benedict hesitated, the minister repeated his demand in a still more sharply-worded despatch of 10th February, 1758, and the ambassador was instructed to threaten a rupture of relations between Portugal and the Holy Chair if no regard were paid to the righteous charges of the Portuguese Government. The Pope could now no longer defer answering the demands placed before him, and caused the Marquis of Pombal to be informed that he wished to nominate Cardinal Saldanha to be reformer and general supervisor of the Order of Jesus in all the Portuguese States, if this should meet with the approval of the minister. Pombal at once declared himself to be agreeable to this, and, in fact, the said Cardinal received, in a Brief dated 1st April 1758, full and unlimited power to investigate thoroughly in Portugal the state of the Order of Jesus, and, according to the exigence of circumstances, to reform it fundamentally. At the same time, he was entrusted with private instructions from the Holy Father, wherein the greatest foresight, sagacity, moderation, and circumspection were recom-

mended to him, and particularly he was enjoined to bear clearly in mind that he was to avoid, as much as possible, occasioning any rumours, irritation, or publicity, in order that too much injury might not be occasioned to the Society of Jesus from the investigation.

One thus sees that the Pope was playing a double part, being anxious, in any case, to shield the sons of Loyola as much as possible. They, on the contrary, as soon as the Brief of Saldanha became known in Portugal, raised a frightful clamour, declared that the same had been surreptitiously obtained and was invalid, bespattered the Pope himself, as well as his plenipotentiary, with mud of the dirtiest calumniation, and injured themselves much more by their blind rage than by the whole of their former secret sins. Cardinal Saldanha felt himself now unable to institute a true matter-of-fact investigation, and while he found, as he himself expressed it, "with full certainty," that the Jesuits had turned their Colleges, Noviciates, and Residences into warehouses, counting-houses, and exchanges, he signed a decree on the 15th May, on the strength of which he interdicted them from all commerce, under the penalty of excommunication from the Church. Besides which, he caused, on the demand of Pombal, all their account-books to be put under a sealed cover, took away their magazines from them, and confiscated all their goods for the benefit of the Royal Exchequer.

Lastly, he came to an understanding with the Patriarch of Lisbon, the Archbishop Joseph Manuel Atalara, and the result of their mutual consultation was that the Patriarch, by a decree of the 7th June 1758, based on well-considered grounds which he did not wish to mention publicly, not only forbade the Jesuits to preach and confess throughout the whole of the Portuguese States, but also closed their Colleges and completely deprived them of the instruction of youth.

Once more, then, had Pombal carried off the victory, and once again had he made another step nearer to his goal, "Freedom of Portugal from the yoke of the Society of Jesus." There was still, however, much to overcome. On the other hand, the sons of Loyola did not allow their courage to yield, as an event now took place which, if properly made use of, would be of great advantage to them. On the 3rd of May 1758 Benedict XIV. died, and if they succeeded in placing upon the vacant Papal throne

one favourable to the Society of Jesus, the matter would then end favourably for them. The sons of Loyola now spared no exertions; they even spared no money, that they had hitherto loved so much, and they verily succeeded in influencing the votes of the greater part of the Cardinals, in order that Clement XIII. should carry the election. He was a weak, credulous, canting man, without much knowledge or intelligence, and not at all suited for such a high position, especially in those times of difficulty; but he was a most devoted friend to the Jesuits, and on that account he was elected. The latter now promised for themselves, under his régime, a new golden era, and it seemed that it would actually turn out to be so, as the first governmental act of the new Pope was the appointment of Cardinal Torregiani, a cousin of the Jesuit General Ricci, to be Secretary of State or Prime Minister of the Roman Curie. Immediately thereupon, on the 31st July, General Ricci presented to the Holy Chair a long defence of his Order, which was for no other purpose than to influence the Pope to annul the dispositions of his predecessor Benedict; and His Holiness, acting upon it, appointed a commission of Cardinals in order to submit to a new accurate investigation the whole of the Portuguese Jesuit affairs. The Commission, nevertheless, counselled against the desired revocation, as being adverse to the infallibility of the Pope, and, consequently, Ricci sustained defeat. The General now caused his defence to be printed and distributed everywhere, as he believed it would have the effect of triumphantly refuting and putting to silence all the complaints which had been raised against the Order in Portugal. The result, however, turned out quite differently from what he expected, as an answer was at once forthcoming which pointed out the gravest errors as to the truth of the alleged defence, and brought to light, still more than ever, the evil deeds of the Jesuits.

In the meantime, Pombal proceeded to expose the handiwork of the Jesuits in Portugal, and especially in the American colonies, and hardly did any ship arrive thence without bringing a couple of the Fathers who had been taken prisoners for high treason. This exasperated the rage of the Jesuits, and they at once seized every means of effecting the overthrow of the then Government of Portugal. They whispered into the ears of the high nobility

as to whether they would tolerate any longer the yoke of this parvenu, who had removed from their appointments the whole of the chief officials of the kingdom. They persuaded the clergy that Pombal was no more favourable to them than to the Society of Jesus, and every pulpit and confessional was made use of in order secretly to hound on the people against the minister as an enemy to religion. They promulgated the most prejudicial reports against the King himself, and they even did not refrain from charging him before the Judgment Seat of God; and, in order to complete the matter, they prophesied that the monarch would have but a very short term of life, fixing the end of his days definitively to be in the month of September 1758.*

In this manner an artificial ferment was created in the minds of the Portuguese, which shortly so obtained the upper hand that, according to the judgment of the clear-sighted, a great catastrophe would not be long before taking place; and it actually so occurred—in a way, nevertheless, which had not been expected. In the night, between the 2nd and 3rd of September, as the King, Joseph I. of Braganza, was driving back to his Palace of Belem from that of the young Countess of Tavora, whom he frequently had been in the habit of visiting, three musket-shots were fired from an ambush, one of which wounded him severely in the arm; but no greater misfortune happened to him, as the coachman, as soon as he heard the crack, put his horses to the gallop, and drove to the neighbouring country-house of the Marquis of Angeya. The King there alighted, and after his wound had been dressed by the hastily-summoned body-surgeon, Antony Soarez, accompanied by the latter he proceeded to Belem to undergo there a three months' cure, during which time no one was allowed access to him except Soarez and his Prime Minister, the Marquis of Pombal, and occasionally his spouse the Queen, with his daughters the Princesses.

The report of this attempted murder of the ruler, of course, spread like wildfire, and at first it was the general opinion that the wound was dangerous to life. Consequently a number of

* When the Jesuit Turoni was questioned in Rome, in August 1758, regarding the condition of the Order in Portugal, he answered, verbally, "All goes well, and, during the coming September, the affair will be arranged and a termination will be put to our trouble." It is also incontestably proved, that Father Malagrida wrote similar prophetical words to several persons of distinction.

the high nobility, as well as ecclesiastics, hastened to pay nomage to the Crown Prince, Don Pedro, younger brother of the King, who, having only one daughter by his wife and no son, had therefore no successor; and more especially the heads of the Jesuits did this, as it was well known that the said Don Pedro, the proper successor of his brother, was a great friend and patron of the Society of Jesus, while he also mortally hated the Marquis of Pombal, their great antagonist. Already the destruction of the all-powerful favourite was predicted, and not a few dreamed of his removal by the hand of the executioner. Pombal now made it public that the King's physicians, although the wound was of a very serious nature, assured the safety of his life; but it was affirmed that this intimation was only a feint in order to deceive inquisitive people, and some continued to speculate on the downfall of the minister, and even to conspire against him. In the meantime the latter stood, as people soon found out, on a higher step of the ladder of power, as, of course, he did not omit to keep his royal master informed of everything that the party of Don Pedro did, and at once obtained from Joseph I., who had previously never thoroughly trusted his ambitious brother, whom he could not now view otherwise than as a plotter against the throne, the fullest powers to take the best measures for the security of the Crown.

What did the Prime Minister do now?

Before everything it was necessary for him to act so as to bring out who it was that had occasioned the attempt at murder, and, with this view, he had left no stone unturned to get at the truth. Still, all that had taken place on his part had been carried on in the deepest silence and in the greatest secrecy, those who were conscious of guilt being lulled into security, while for obvious reasons he did not suffer that any suspicion should be expressed, either on one side or the other, among those around him. In the beginning, the result of the investigation was but very insignificant and defective, as no other evidence was forthcoming than that of the royal coachman and a nobleman who lived in the neighbourhood of the place where the attempt at murder occurred. The latter, Don John de Lobo, had heard the shot, but, besides the sound of the royal carriage as it drove away, nothing further. The former, Custodio da Casta, had certainly seen distinctly three well-mounted men armed

with muskets, but, as they were provided with masks, and as it was at the time tolerably dark, it was impossible for him to give any other particulars. That was all that could with certainty be made out, and that this was but very little everyone may well admit. Still, if the actual facts that could be taken hold of failed, the field for conjecture and supposition was all the richer; and there were two views, in particular, which obtained favour. Some said that the attempt was nothing else than an act of private revenge. In other words, they thought that Don Luiz Bernard de Tavora was jealous that the King paid such frequent visits to his wife at night—she was called Donna Johanna Theresia, and was born Countess of Albor—that he was beside himself, and had laid in wait for the great personage, with some relations or servants, in order to murder him. Others, on the contrary—and they were supported by the half of Europe—held that the attack could only have been arranged by the Jesuits, or, at least, must have been concocted by them, as respecting the perpetration of such a wicked deed a good jurist asks at once, "*Cui prodest?*" *i.e.* "Who benefits?" and this question seldom fails to indicate the true authors of crime. Now, from the murder of the King, had it succeeded, the sons of Loyola would have gained great advantage, as, in that case, Don Pedro would have ascended the throne, in consequence of which a new era of good fortune would have dawned upon them. Anyone can draw a conclusion for himself, and I need not further here indicate it. The Marquis of Pombal was unable to decide for himself which of these two views might be the correct one, though he was still inclined, from various indications, to hold to the latter opinion, without, however, being able to arrive at any certainty. After the investigation had gone on for more than two months, he, at length, resorted to stratagem, which led him to the attainment of his end. He imagined that if the attempt had really been concocted by the Jesuits, they would certainly, by the first opportunity, cause their brethren in Brazil to become acquainted with the result of the scheme. On this account, at his request, a merchant fitted out a ship for Brazil; of course, however, without its being previously made known to anyone. This being effected, the merchant now announced that he was prepared to receive goods as well as passengers. As soon as the ship had

taken in its full cargo of wares, and passengers, and was in a position to set sail, the captain received a royal mandate, with instructions to open it only after he got to a certain distance from land. The captain did not, of course, know at the time what he was ordered to do. As soon, however, as in due course he read the document, he searched all letters and effects that were on board, and took possession of everything that was suspicious. He, besides, caused the whole of the passengers to be minutely inspected, and arrested every one regarding whom there was the slightest suspicion, in order to send him back at once to Lisbon, with the confiscated letters and effects. In this way important disclosures were obtained, and it may now be easily imagined how the necessary arrests were carried into execution. In order, however, to be able to effect this with perfect safety, Pombal collected several regiments of soldiers from outlying garrisons in Lisbon, on the pretence that this was done in order that they might be employed in rebuilding the houses which had been thrown down by the earthquake. On the 12th of December 1758 all measures were at length completed, and on the day following the capital of Portugal was to learn who it was that had, three months previously, attempted the life of King Joseph. The panic, however, was great on this being made known, as, although the names of several of those arrested had been whispered about as probably guilty, no one dreamed of the existence of such an extensive conspiracy.

But to proceed. On the 13th December 1758, at 4 o'clock in the morning, all the houses and palaces of both the noble families of Aveiro and Tavora were unexpectedly visited by a strong detachment of military, and the following persons were at once removed to the prisons assigned for their reception. To begin with: the Duke of Aveiro, high steward of the King, with his son, the Marquis of Sovora; then the old Marquis of Tavora, general of cavalry, and formerly Viceroy of India, and the young Marquis Luiz Bernard, with his younger brother, Joseph Maria; further, the two brothers of the old Marquis Emanuel, and Joseph Maria de Tavora, as well as Count de Atouguia and the Marquis d'Alorno, sons-in-law of the old Marquis; besides, Colonel Don Juan de Tavora, at Chaves, and Colonel Muno de Tavora, at Alentejo, with the Archbishop of Evora and the Bishop of Port-a-Port, two cousins of

the family; lastly, the whole of the household and domestics, except those who had succeeded in making their escape by flight, as, for instance, the confidential chamberlain of the Duke of Aveiro, Joseph Polycarpio de Azevedo. All of them were chained, hands and feet, and brought into the former Zoological Garden at Belem, on the Tagus. Besides the male prisoners, for these alone were not considered sufficient, several females were seized, namely, the old Marchioness of Tavora, with her daughters, who were confined in the cloister "Do Grillo"; then the Duchess of Aveiro, with her daughters, who were brought into the cloister "Della Madra de Deos"; and, lastly, the young Marchioness of Tavora, the above-named Donna Johanna Theresia, whom the King used to be so much pleased to see. The latter was treated with the greatest politeness, and was accorded the noble female cloister of Dos Santos as a residence, where she was at liberty to go out and in as she pleased, as well as to receive visits. Those were the persons who were apprehended on the morning of the 13th, and conducted to prison; all, as may be observed, belonging to the highest rank of nobility.

While this important matter was being accomplished, the seven houses which the Jesuits possessed in Lisbon were each surrounded by a guard of fifteen soldiers, besides officers and corporals, and no one was allowed to enter without having permission from the Council of State; besides which, an order was issued by Cardinal Saldanha that no member of the Order of Jesus should, until further orders, cross the threshold of his house; and thus from this time forward the whole of the Jesuits then present in Lisbon were nothing better than prisoners, only with the difference that they were not fettered but allowed to go free about the interior of their homes. The examination of the prisoners proceeded on the 20th December 1758, and before the so-called tribunal "Da Inconfidencia," which is the highest secular court of justice in Portugal. Moreover, many sittings were not required in order to arrive at a result, as the Duke of Aveiro at once confessed everything, and consequently the denial of the others was of no avail. Equally open confessions were made by Beaz Joseph Romeiro, the confidential servant of the Marquis Luiz Bernard de Tavora, and Antonio Alvarez Fereira, as, also, by his brother Manuel, both chamber servants of the Duke of Aveiro, and, lastly, by his body page,

Juan Miguel. From these confessions it became quite clear that the intention was the murder of the reigning King. It was especially rendered clear that the old Marchioness Eleonora de Tavora was the person who hounded on her husband, sons, and relations, day by day, and that she had made her hotel a veritable den of conspiracy. She, again, had been influenced by the Jesuits, especially by the Fathers Malagrida, Mattos, and Alexander de Souza, the Father Confessors of the family of Tavora, so that, morally, the chief originators were in reality the sons of Loyola. In consequence of this, the tribunal determined that the most guilty of them should be put in confinement, and caused this order to be carried out in the night of the 11th and 12th January 1759, by some senators with picquets of cavalry. Those arrested were as follows: Joseph Moreire, former Father Confessor of the King; Hyacinth da Costa, former Father Confessor of the Queen; Timothy d'Oliveira, Father Confessor of the Princesses; Joseph Pardigao, Procurator-General of the Order in Portugal; Joseph Soarez, Procurator of Brazil; J. Henriquez, Provincial of Portugal; Gabriel Malagrida, John de Mattos, John Alexander de Souza, Stephan Lopez, and Joseph Oliveira, hitherto Father Confessors of the families of Tavora and Aveiro. They were brought before the same Court of Justice, "Da Inconfidencia," which had conducted the investigation into the families of Tavora and Aveiro, and their examination commenced early on the 12th. The said tribunal did not, of course, abstain on account of this newly-instituted inquiry from promulgating their sentence on those already arrested, whose trial had come to a termination, and of ordering the same to be at once carried into execution. It sentenced ten of the same to death, confiscation of their estates and destitution of their children, while the remainder got off with imprisonment. The punishment of the Jesuits came off later. On the other hand, the tribunal at once declared distinctly that they were to be regarded, from the confessions of the conspirators, as the chief authors of the attempted murder. After the proclamation of this sentence, which was at once printed in order that it should be sent abroad throughout the world,* the carrying out

* The document was translated into all the European languages, and also appeared, in the year 1759, in German, at Frankfurt, under the title of *The Portuguese High Treason, and the Trial of the Condemned and Executed Persons, as it was publicly made known to the Court itself.*

of it was immediately proceeded with; and with this object a scaffold eighteen feet in height was erected in the market-place of Lisbon, during the night of the 13th, round which was drawn up a cordon of military. Precisely at 7 o'clock in the morning, the old Marchioness of Tavora, as the most guilty, was brought upon the scene, her hands bound, and a rope round her neck. She was placed on a chair, and her eyes being bound, the executioner struck her head off without the previous utterance by her of any complaint. After her came the twenty-one-year-old son, Joseph Maria de Tavora. They bound him on a cross raised aloft, broke his arms and legs with iron clubs, and then strangled him with a rope. The same fate befell Jeronimo de Ataide, Count of Atouguia, the young Marquis Luiz Bernard de Tavora, colonel of cavalry, his servant Blasius Joseph Romeiro, Corporal Emanuel Alvarez Fereira, valet of the Duke of Aveira, and the body-page, John Michael. Their corpses were all flattened upon wheels, which were placed on poles, and this proceeding took up so much time that fully half an hour elapsed before another execution could be proceeded with. After the page Miguel or Michael, the executioner took the old Francis d'Assis de Tavora, bound him on a St. Andrew's cross, gave him three blows on the chest with an iron rod that resounded to a distance, shattered his arms and legs, and then gave him his *coup de grace* through the heart. The executioner's men then, amidst wild shrieks, shattered the arms, legs, and thighs of the ninth victim, the old Duke of Aveiro, while still alive, then killed him by a blow on the chest, and threw him into a blazing fire. Finally, the tenth delinquent, the valet Anton Alvarez Fereira, brother of the above-mentioned Emanuel, was conducted before the corpses of the nine who had been previously executed, each one being shown to him; he was then bound to a stake, round which was placed a heap of wood, and this being set fire to, was raked together until he was completely consumed. In this manner were punished ten of those who, it was known for certain, had taken an immediate part in the attempt to murder. When the execution was over, the scaffold, together with all the dead bodies, was set on fire and burnt to ashes, which were thrown into the Tagus. Lastly, the palaces of the high nobility who had been executed were pulled to pieces and levelled to the ground, and salt strewed on the

places where they had stood, as a sign that they should never be built up again.

We now return to the Jesuits, eleven of the most guilty of whom had been in prison, well guarded, since the 12th January 1759; the remainder were shut in their houses and watched by soldiers. But with this Pombal could not be satisfied, as half measures were of no use. Consequently a Royal Edict appeared six days after the 12th January, which commanded that all the movable and immovable property of the sons of Loyola, together with all their rents, incomes, and pensions, should be confiscated, and all intercourse between them and the inhabitants of Portugal should cease. This edict was carried out with the greatest strictness, and was productive of a large sum of money to the State. In the Mission Treasury of the Hospitium to the Holy Borgia, was found so much ready-money that its removal required fifteen days to effect, and if in the remaining Jesuit houses the stores of money were less considerable than it was hoped, such a mass of sugar, cocoa, vanille, and similar articles was found, that the selling by auction of the same took up whole weeks. At the same time as the Confiscation Edict appeared, Pombal caused a pamphlet to be distributed far and wide among the people, which revealed the godless and rebellious ideas which the Jesuits had instilled into the evil-doers who had been executed, and called for support on his behalf from the high ecclesiastics of Portugal against the conduct of the Society of Jesus. The whole of the bishops of the country promised to comply; and as many of them issued pastoral Briefs in which the injurious and shameful actions of the sons of Loyola were enumerated in strong words, the common people began by degrees to give up holding the estimation they always attached to the Society of Jesus. Lastly, while this end was attained, the Portuguese Government applied to the Pope in Rome, in order that his Holiness, as supreme judge and ruler over the whole Catholic clergy, should give his approval to all that had already been done, as well as to further measures to be carried out. The document referring to this was despatched to Rome on the 20th April 1759, and Pombal gave his Holiness to understand therein that his King and master had the intention of removing from his States the whole of the Jesuits, as there was no longer any hope of protecting himself from their intrigues

and snares by any milder measures. Pombal, however, did not do this without exhibiting to the Roman Curie, in a very comprehensive memorandum, complete proof of these machinations and intrigues; nor did he omit to explain what injurious and treasonable plans the sons of Loyola had carried on in Paraguay, and how they had advanced audacious calumnies against facts hitherto proved; he did not fail, too, to transmit proofs that these Fathers, after their dismissal from the Court as Father Confessors, and after having been interdicted by an edict of the Patriarch of Lisbon, from the duties of confession and preaching, contrived a shameful conspiracy against the life of the monarch, through which they wished to bring about a change in the government of Portugal by force, for their profit. Supported by the latter documents, Pombal then, lastly, demanded a Papal Brief which should empower him to deliver over to secular tribunals ecclesiastics who had been proved to be guilty of high treason against the King and State; as the sons of Loyola possessed, according to their statutes, the so-called *Immunitas Ecclesiastica*, that is exemption or freedom from ordinary law ordinances in the fullest sense of the word, and should they, therefore, be brought to trial without the Papal authorization previously obtained, opposition might cause the verdict to be afterwards cancelled. Immediately on receipt of the above-mentioned despatches, Francis de Almada de Mendoza, Portuguese Ambassador accredited to the Court of Rome, delivered them to the Papal Curie, and everyone was in the highest degree anxious to know what answer would be given to the same. Those who were best instructed in the matter might easily imagine, beforehand, what must be the consequence, because they well knew what a weak man Pope Clement XIII. was, and how he allowed himself to be governed in all things by Cardinal Torregiani, the Secretary of State, who was nearly related to Ricci, the General of the Jesuits. In fact, Clement XIII. answered in a purely Jesuitical manner. The Papal Brief, dated the 11th August, addressed direct to the King of Portugal, was extremely evasive, and after extolling the Jesuits generally, with the most superabundant praise, only begged the monarch to exercise moderation towards the sons of Loyola implicated in the trial for attempted murder, and especially to spare their lives; but a Brief of a very different kind was despatched, at

the same time, from Rome to the Papal Ambassador in Lisbon, the Nuncius Acciajuoli, as in this document the latter was instructed not to give in one foot's breadth regarding the Jesuit matters to the secular Government of Portugal. Indeed, it was too clearly evident from the same—Pombal contrived to obtain for himself a copy of it—how the Jesuit party, at that time all-powerful in Rome, audaciously laboured to bring about a breach between the Pope and the Crown of Portugal, under the firm conviction that the King, from fear of a revolution, would dismiss Pombal from the Government, as he was so hated by the well-disposed Catholic Portuguese people.

With the same object, also, the Nuncius Acciajuoli placed himself secretly in intimate communication with the highest nobility of Portugal, and influenced even those immediately belonging to the Court, *i.e.* those of royal blood who were still devoted inwardly heart and soul to the Jesuits. In short, a great stroke was in contemplation, which should raise the sons of Loyola again to their supremacy in Portugal; but Pombal was alive to their machinations. He categorically demanded, through the Ambassador Almada, a distinct declaration from the Papal Curie whether or not they would agreeably accede to his just demands, and as such declaration was not given, but, on the other hand, as the audience demanded of the Pope by the Ambassador was declined, the energetic minister resolved to take the matter into his own hands. In other words, he determined to put into prison, of his own accord, all the most guilty among the Jesuits who lived either in Portugal or its colonies, without any further regard to the Roman Court, and to banish for ever and ever out of the State the remainder who were less implicated, interdicting their return at any time, either secretly or openly, under threats of most severe punishment.

The necessary decree was drawn up and signed by the King on the 3rd September 1759. Pombal, however, still delayed for fourteen days before publishing and bringing it into operation, doubtless in the expectation of the receipt of more favourable news from Rome. As, however, such did not arrive, and as the danger by which he was surrounded increased continually more and more, he no longer hesitated over the matter, and without trembling passed the Rubicon. Indeed, he burnt the bridge after him, in order that he should

not be able to return, and the sons of Loyola now, for the first time, became convinced of the gigantic power of their enemy. The language, indeed, which Pombal employed in the decree against them was one of annihilation. After minutely enumerating all the disgraceful acts and crimes of which the Jesuits had been guilty in Portugal against the King and State, and bringing forward the necessary proof of everything stated, he caused the monarch to ordain, "in order to protect my royal honour, which is equally the life and soul of the whole monarchy; in order to maintain uninjured my independence as sovereign and ruler; in order to remove from the midst of my dominions such extraordinary and great vexation, and to shield my subjects from similar frightful occurrences with their sad results, I declare the so-called ecclesiastics—the Jesuits, namely —to be thoroughly corrupt, and to have receded from the rules of their Holy Order, and from deeply-rooted depravity to have become completely incapable of ever again learning to observe them; I declare them to be notorious rebels, traitors, enemies, and disturbers of the peace, who have opposed, and will again oppose, my royal person and Government, the public peace of my kingdom, and the general welfare of my subjects, and, therefore order that each and every one of them may be looked upon as rebels and traitors, and treated as such. On the strength of this I declare them to be denaturalised, exiled, outlawed, and banished, and decree that they shall be expelled from all my kingdoms and lordships, without ever again, at any time, being allowed to return. I charge, lastly, all my subjects, of whatever condition and calling they may be, under irrevocable punishment of death and confiscation of goods for the benefit of my Treasury, that they give no shelter to any, not even a single one, of these said expelled ecclesiastics, and do not hold any communication with them or entertain any intercourse whatever with them, either verbally or by letter, or through a third person. I command Doctor Emanuel Gomez de Carvalho, as Senator of the Palace and High Chancellor of my kingdom, to make known this law now enacted, and to transmit the same in writing to all tribunals, capitals of provinces, and other towns in my dominions, in order that it be therein recorded."

Thus ran the decree which banished all the Jesuits out of the Portuguese states, and it must be admitted that it

could not have been conceived in more energetic language. The carrying out of the decree must needs, therefore, be proceeded with no less energetically, and on the 17th September the first ship, freighted with 320 Jesuits, sailed out of the Tagus, bound for Civita-Vecchia in the States of the Church. Thither had Pombal determined to send the sons of Loyola, in order that they might all of them be able to gather round their old friend and protector the Pope. The second transport took its departure on the 7th October with 170 Jesuits, and there followed in succession, at stated periods of time, five other transports, which carried in all about twelve hundred sons of Loyola to the States of the Church.

In vain did the good Fathers hope that the people over whose minds they had so long ruled would rise, and by a revolution neutralise Pombal's act of violence. Not one single hand was lifted in their behalf, and in several places their memory was even execrated.

The expulsion of the Jesuits out of the whole of Portugal was thus quietly effected, and after the lapse of a year this kingdom saw itself completely freed from the black cohort. Yet, no; I am wrong in saying this, as Pombal retained part of them, the most dangerous and most guilty ones. There were, besides the eleven whom I have named above, still 113 others, for the most part provincials, procurators, rectors, and personages of mark, who had been kept in the fortress of St. Julian, situated upon a rock in the sea, about three hours sail from Lisbon.* Thirty-nine of these died there between 1759 and 1777, most of them at a great age; thirty-six were transferred to Italy in the year 1767, among their brethren who had preceded them; and the rest, with the exception of one in particular, who was brought to trial, were allowed to go free without further punishment after the death of King Joseph. The particular individual in question was Father Gabriel Malagrida, of whom mention has frequently been made, one of the most influential of the

* Among them were found Jesuits of all nations, and especially the following Germans:—Rutger Hundt, from the Lower Rhine; Francis Wolf, from Bohemia; Ignatius Szentmartonyi, an Austrian; Martin Schwarz, from Upper Germany; Joseph Kuyling, Austrian; Moriz Thoma, from Augsburg; Jacob Müller, from the Lower Rhine; Jacob Delsart, from Alsace; Lorenzo Kaulen, from the Lower Rhine; Antony Münsterburg and Anselm Eckart, both from the Upper Rhine; John Koffler, from Prague; Jacob Graf, from the Lower Rhine; John Brauer, from Westphalia; and Matthias Piller, Austrian.

sons of Loyola in Lisbon, to whom was attributed the chief guilt respecting the attempt on the King's life of the 3rd September 1758. But as the Pope of Rome did not authorise the Marquis of Pombal "to place ecclesiastics before secular tribunals on account of secular crimes," the old man of seventy-two was handed over to the despotic tribunal of the Holy Inquisition, which sentenced him to death by fire on account of heresy and other misdeeds. He underwent this punishment on the 20th September 1761, as the King did not feel himself at liberty to pardon him; but as he alone of all his associates had expiated his offence with his life, it was not to be wondered at that the fraternity gave him out to be a holy martyr and honoured him as such.

Such was the fate of the Jesuits in Portugal, and it must be remarked as extraordinary that such an expulsion should take place from a Court which had so slavishly obeyed them for centuries. But the possibility of such being brought about was alone owing to the circumstance that a Marquis de Pombal conducted the government, as it was only a man of his energy, genius, and iron will, that could dare to bid defiance to an Order which, up to that time, had the credit of being the oracle of the kings and the idol of the people. Naturally enough, now, the consequence of such a bold step could be no other than a shriek of rage on the part of the whole Society of Jesus, and their General from this time forth continually kept dinning into the ears of the Pope, Clement XIII., that an interdict should at once be imposed upon the kingdom of Portugal. This, however, the Holy Father did not dare to do, as the more sensible of the Cardinals gave him to understand that the times of a Hildebrand were now gone by, and that the nations would no longer trouble themselves much about a Bull of Excommunication. On the other hand, a still greater evil might easily arise out of such behaviour, as it might occur to the Marquis of Pombal to make Portugal quite independent of Rome, with its own proper Church government under a Lusitanian Patriarch. The contemplated excommunication, therefore, remained in abeyance, but, none the less, a breach of the peace between Rome and Portugal occurred on that account.

On the 5th July 1760, the Portuguese ambassador accompanied by all his countrymen, quitted Rome, as he was no longer

able to bear the insults of the Jesuits; and some weeks previous, owing to a want of courtesy towards the royal house, Pombal, on the 15th June, gave the Papal Nuncius his passports, with an intimation that he must quit the country within four days. With the departure of the two ambassadors, the connection of Portugal and the States of the Church was completely severed, and the Jesuits took care to prevent any reconciliation as long as Clement XIII. lived. The fools thought that no Catholic State would be able to exist without a Pope, and that sooner or later the King of Portugal must cringe to the Cross; but the State of Portugal continued to exist, and Don Joseph I. did not bow to the Holy See, notwithstanding that, for eight years, the Pope, so to speak, did not exist in Portugal.

CHAPTER V.

DON PEDRO PABLO ABARACA DE BOLEA, COUNT OF ARANDA; OR, THE ABOLITION OF JESUIT NESTS IN SPAIN.

We have already shown in the Second Book how the Jesuits in Spain became quite an extraordinary power under King Philip II., and if later on they somewhat lost ground, because the Dominicans, with their Inquisition, opposed them, there still remained to them their great riches which they had accumulated, as well as frequently their extraordinary influence over the retainers of the Court, and even over the rulers themselves. It is true, indeed, that in the middle of the 18th century there still ruled in Spain kings, from Philip II. onwards, whose minds were darkened completely by bigotry, and if, perhaps, Philip V. formed somewhat an exception, on account of the influence of his jovial and sprightly, although otherwise very pious, and as regards the Church well-disposed wife, Queen Elizabeth, born a princess of the House of Parma, this ray of light was again extinguished with the accession to the throne of Ferdinand VI., the son of Philip and Elizabeth. The latter, a man afflicted with melancholy, possessed so little mental power, that he was not in a position to overcome the suggestions of his Father Confessor, a Dominican, whose influence, however, was paralysed here and there by the power which his mother exercised over him. What about this Queen-mother, however? Owing to her piety, which towards the end of her life developed into regular bigotry, she had fallen more and more into the hands of the Jesuits, and, consequently,

all measures of government were dictated either by the Dominicans, that is, by the King's Father Confessor, or by the Order of Jesus, that is by the Father Confessor of the Queen-mother. On this account it arose that the highly treasonable conduct of the sons of Loyola in Paraguay, from which country the Crown of Spain derived as much advantage as that of Portugal, did not produce by any means such bad blood at the former as at the latter Court, an inclination being displayed to substitute grace for justice. Indeed, the half-demented King allowed himself to be persuaded to give credit to the suggestions of the Fathers, that "the Marquis of Baldilirios, who acted, as we have before seen, as Spanish Commissary and General, in regard to the well-known Paraguay boundary regulation question, was an enemy of the Order of Jesus, and wished to bring ruin on this so thoroughly innocent Society by lies and calumnies."

So the monarch, in the year 1757, sent Don Pedro Cavaglios, a man devoted through and through to the Jesuits, to his South American colonies, in order to subject the Jesuitical doings there to another trial. How he conducted himself can be well imagined, and the result was that, although the King's minister, the Duke of Alba, perceived that the memorandum of Cavaglios was but a romance written in favour of the Jesuits, the Spanish ruler could never be brought to allow of a thorough investigation being instituted in regard to the Jesuitical disturbance in Paraguay. On this account, also, as long as Ferdinand VI. lived, the sons of Loyola in Spain were never brought to punishment for the crimes committed by them beyond the sea, solemnising, in fact, a regular triumph, while, in the neighbouring Portugal, they were subjected to strict imprisonment or transported out of the country.

Still more gloriously did they unfurl their standard, as, after the death of Ferdinand, the Queen Elizabeth long retained the reins of government, until her second son, the future King Charles III., who had hitherto ruled over Naples and Sicily, arrived in Madrid; the marriage of her first-born with the Portuguese Princess Anna Barbara had been without issue, while the latter also died before her husband, so Elizabeth did everything that her beloved Fathers required of her. Indeed, she went so far as to cause the pamphlets written in Portugal by direction of Pombal, in which the sons of Loyola were proved to have instigated

the rebellion against the Spanish as well as the Portuguese Crown in South America, to be burnt publicly in Madrid by the executioner, and, moreover, by her express command, the Holy Inquisition had to prepare a regular decree of commendation as regards the Society of Jesus. To the great misfortune of the said Order, however, the government of their exalted protectress did not last even one whole year, as Charles III. took possession of his newly-inherited throne at the beginning of 1760, and this Prince, unfortunately—that is, for the Jesuits—allowed it to be seen at once, from the commencement, that he was by no means disposed to follow in the footsteps of his brother Ferdinand, nor yet, indeed, of his mother Elizabeth. His friend was the enlightened Marquis of Montallegre, with whom he had read already, with uplifted eyes—oh, frightful crime!—the nefarious *Monita ad Principes*, of which mention has been made in the Fifth Book. Besides, did he not possess for Father Confessor, in the Franciscan Joseph Elela, Bishop of Osma, a confirmed enemy of the Jesuits? Yes. Did he not decide, too, at the commencement of his reign, against the fraternity in the great strife between the Chapter of the Metropolitan Church of Mexico and Puebla de los Angelos, on one side, and the Order of Jesus on the other? Certainly from such a ruler it was impossible for the sons of Loyola to promise anything good for themselves, and they contemplated, also, the future with timid countenances. It is certainly true that open measures were not taken against them at the first, and they were allowed, as heretofore, to remain at peace; they dared also to preach, teach, and hear confessions at Court, exactly as during the time of the Queen-mother. On the other hand, it did not escape their observation that all their proceedings were everywhere watched with keen eyes, and this manifest supervision distressed them much more, indeed, than even if an open storm had overtaken them. Was it, perhaps, that proofs were quietly sought for against them, in order that they might be sharply attacked, as had already occurred in Portugal? It almost appeared to be so, as in the surrounding of the King not a single Jesuit was to be found, not even a friend of theirs, with the single exception of Father Bramieri, the Father Confessor of the Queen-mother. Many, too, were the enemies of the Society, if one, indeed, might consider as such all those who were enlightened. Thus the

King did not hesitate to confide the important office of Fiscal of the High Council of Castille, in the year 1762, to Pedro Rodriguez, Count of Campomanes, who had a great reputation for heresy, while the minister Gregory, Marquis of Squillens, with many other high officials, did not certainly belong to the strong believers. In short, it began to appear every moment more serious for the sons of Loyola at the Court of Madrid, and when they at length learned, beyond doubt, that the Bishop Roxas, another confidant of Charles III., had in a select company approved, in candidly expressed terms, the conduct of Pombal in regard to the Jesuits, there remained no longer any doubt among the latter what was in store for them. But what remedy was there for it? For, in regard to this, how could it be cleared up, all the more as they had given no reason to the King to warrant such boldness and craft. Towards the end of Lent 1766, a peculiar kind of commotion was observed among the lower orders in Madrid, and not infrequently slight disturbances took place in the evening. Not the less did it turn out that the sons of Loyola gave themselves particular trouble to entice into the so-called congregations instituted by them, of which mention has been previously made, working men and servants of all kinds, and, indeed, even people of suspicious calling, as, for instance, thieves and the like, and they were observed, too, to visit the gaols, in order to undertake spiritual exercises with the prisoners there. What could have been the object? It could be nothing else than to acquire a right good influence over the lower classes of the population of Madrid, and, as a matter of fact, this power increased considerably day by day. Marvellously, however, in the same proportion that the influence of the Jesuits increased, the crowds of common people also swelled in like degree, and the Government, so far as the police were concerned, frequently had trouble in dispersing the populace, in spite of the assistance of the military. At length, in the night of the 23rd of March, an insurrection broke out, and great crowds collected together in all quarters of the city, which, whilst penetrating into private houses amidst wild cries, in order to plunder, rolled towards the royal palace. They carried with them stones and clubs, and not a few of them had provided themselves also with weapons, and when they arrived before the closed gates of the palace, they began to

bombard them, madly shouting at the same time, "Down with Gregory! Long live Enzenada! Out with the scoundrel of a Father Confessor! Long live the holy Fathers of the Order of Jesus!" The rebels evidently had a political aim, which was, indeed, no other than to effect a change of Government in favour of the sons of Loyola, as Enzenada was a minister who had been discharged on account of his friendship for the Jesuits, whereas the King's Father Confessor and the minister Gregory were well known as enemies of the Jesuits. Of course, the whole of the available royal troops were at once called into requisition in order to disperse the ringleaders; but in vain. The troops were too weak, the crowds of people too strong, and it was feared that the whole of Madrid would be set on fire if serious resistance were offered. Charles III. proceeded to fly to Aranjuez, and thither the whole Court followed him, with all who had reason to believe that the vengeance of the people might extend also to them. Thereupon the King was urged to remove the most hated among his present counsellors, in order to appease the revolted city, and Charles III. at once saw that he would be obliged to give in about this. He, therefore, dismissed the minister of the day, Gregory, together with Bishop Roxas, and, on the other hand, sent for the Count of Aranda, the Governor-General of Valentia, in order to form a new ministry. He did not do this, however, in any way because Aranda happened to be a friend of the Jesuits, but because he knew him to be a shrewd man of culture, of whom one might be convinced beforehand that he would steer the rudder of the State with extraordinary power. The first thing, then, that the new minister proposed to do, was to surround himself at once with men only of the same character, as, for instance, the Count Pilo, Don Pablo Olavides; and secondly, by the proclamation of a general amnesty, he brought the capital, which was highly jubilant at the dismission of Gregory and Roxas, to a state of complete quietude. The amnesty, however, was not intended to be thoroughly general, as the heads and originators of the revolt were excluded therefrom, and an especial court of investigation, of which Aranda himself was president, was appointed to search into the matter. A number of witnesses were now examined, partly indeed from amongst mere spectators, and partly also from those who had taken a share in the disturbance. He, also, did not avail him-

self of torture in order to get at the truth, but contented himself with voluntary admissions and answers. What now came out, however? Behold, it was this, that the chief leaders of the uproar, besides the Marquis of Baldeflores, a man inflamed with a wild feeling of revenge, were no other than the three Jesuit Fathers, Isidor Lopez, Michael Benavente, and Ignatius Gonzalez. This was proved by the most positive assurance of highly respectable men, such as, for instance, Don Sylvester Palamarez, Benedetto Navarro, Juan Barracan, and others, and it was likewise known that different Jesuits, although well disguised, were engaged in the thickest of the crowd during the revolt, inciting and encouraging the people. This was an uncomfortable discovery for the good Fathers; it was, indeed, more than uncomfortable, and it came more and more to be suspected that this revolt was got up, not merely for the removal of a particularly obnoxious minister, but for something else, indeed, of much greater importance, the deposition, namely, of the King himself. That the Order of Jesus might be firmly established, what had taken place was not alone sufficient; their aim could only be effected by getting rid of the Monarch, who had been from the first opposed to the Order. In other words, he must be compelled to abdicate in favour of his younger brother, the Infant Don Louis, a prince who was most enthusiastic for the Jesuits. Plans such as these which the sons of Loyola had in their heads, came out more and more distinctly during the course of the investigation; and was it now a wonder, under such circumstances, when some members of the Council of State itself, in relation to this Jesuitical high treason, gave it as their opinion, in the presence of the King, that peace and security for the State could only be obtained by expelling the Jesuits from Spain? A formal proposition was, certainly, not brought forward, and still less was any resolution come to on the matter; but the thing was so thoroughly discussed that the King himself became penetrated with the conviction "that the expulsion of the sons of Loyola was the sole radical means that could be of any avail." On the other hand, his mother Elizabeth, as soon as she heard a whisper of the matter, stepped energetically into the lists for the Society of Jesus, with the object of making her son waver, through her extraordinary power of eloquence. Indeed, she was so far successful as to infuse some distrust into him of the men to whom

he had for the present given his confidence, such as Aranda, Campomanes, Olavides, d'Ossun, Alba, Florida-Blanca, and whatever they might be called; and it almost appeared as if the light which had now begun to dawn over Spain would be again extinguished. But, behold! while the investigation as to the revolt was proceeding, the old Queen-mother died, so that there was nothing more to fear from her influence, and, at the same time, a discovery was made by which the impossibility of allowing the sons of Loyola to exist any longer became perfectly clear to Charles III. Through the vigilance of Count Aranda he succeeded in arresting a messenger who had with him a letter from the General of the Order, Ricci, directed to the Provincial of Toledo, which contained a plan to drive from the throne the reigning King, under the pretence of his being a bastard, and to put in his place the Infant Louis. It was further found, on a domiciliary search being made at the residence of the Procurator-General of the Jesuits in Madrid, that there was a printed paper in which the same theme was treated of, and in which it was attempted to be proved that Charles III. was no son of his reputed father, Philip V., but the fruit of a love affair which the late Queen Elizabeth had cherished with Cardinal Alberoni. Finally, two Jesuits were arrested, close on the French frontier, whose intention it was to proceed from Madrid to Rome, and, on search being made in their travelling bags, a packet was found addressed to the General of the Order, Ricci, which contained two copies of the above-mentioned highly treasonable document.

There was now more than sufficient proof of what had been intended by the sons of Loyola, and it is obvious that, in the present position of the matter, no other course remained open to King Charles than to wage war against the Society of Jesus. His Crown, his honour, as well as that of his deceased mother, were at stake—the same lady who had shown such infinite kindness to the Jesuits, and who now, in the grave, reaped such a reward. The affair must be proceeded with, and they must be punished, and, indeed, in an exemplary manner! But how was the work to be set about? Somewhat in the same way as Pombal had done in Portugal—by a public trial? It would have been easy to institute this, and to have proved the crimes of the sons of Loyola over and over again; but then it would have been

necessary to go into the bastard question, and, although it was all a Jesuitical invention, it would have given rise to a monstrous scandal. Campomanes and Mognino, the two Crown Fiscals, and at the same time the greatest juridical notabilities of Spain, on this account, advised another course of procedure; and of this the whole Council of State approved, as well as the juridical faculty of Alcala, who were privately consulted on the subject. In other words, a resolution was come to, on the 28th February 1767, to banish, then and for ever, the Society of Jesus, as being generally injurious and highly treasonable, out of all the possessions of the Spanish monarchy, and to recommend to Count Aranda to carry out this resolution forthwith. Moreover, the whole of the members of the Council of State took an oath to the King not to breathe a word or give the slightest hint of what was in contemplation, but, on the contrary, to preserve towards the Jesuits a perfectly easy demeanour, in order that the blow against them might be all the more certain of being successful. As soon as all this was clearly determined, Count Aranda set himself about carrying into effect the proposition resolved upon, and he did so in such a way, indeed, that no one could withhold admiration. All the superior Spanish officials in the whole of the Spanish monarchy, as well as all the military commandants in the towns in which there existed Jesuitical colleges, residencies, or houses of other description, at once received packets, the contents of which were precisely the same, and provided with the King's seal; the contents thereof were extremely mysterious, as, upon the packet being opened, another was found provided with three seals, together with an open note, in which the following words were to be read:

"On pain of death you shall not open the document provided with three seals, previous to the 2nd of April, at the hour of sunset, and the same punishment will await you, if anyone, be he whom he may, discloses his having received a secret writing."

Precisely similar instructions were forwarded to all the prefects, governors, and commandants, in the different colonies of Asia and America, only, of course, in this case, owing to the far distance of the localities, the date of the opening was necessarily deferred. One may well imagine the anxiety that existed among those officials and commandants on their receiving

this remarkable document, and, not the less may it be supposed, how difficult it was for them to restrain their anxiety; but they all did so, without a single exception, and the secret remained inviolate up till the 2nd April. As soon, however, as the sun went down on that day, all these secret packets were opened at the same time, and what was now their astonishment when the matter in question became known to them! Among other things, the document ran as follows:

"I convey to you herewith all my authority and Royal power; as soon as you have opened this document you will at once summon all the troops, and, accompanied by them, you will immediately betake yourself to the house or college of the Jesuits. Having arrived there, you shall place a sentinel at the door; you shall awaken all the members of the Society, one with another, out of their sleep, and arrest them. Thereupon you shall seal, with the Royal seal, the archives and magazines, take the whole books and papers which may be found there into safe keeping, and intimate to the Jesuits that they must follow you without daring to take anything away with them except their prayer-books, mantles, and hats, and whatever linen may be required for a long journey. As soon as you have requisitioned a sufficient number of carriages, you shall place the Jesuits therein and convey them to the seaport I here point out to you. There, ships shall be already in waiting to transport the Fathers to their destination, and as soon as you have delivered over your prisoners to the captains, your responsibility shall be at an end. But this, however, I must tell you, that after the embarkation of the Fathers, if a single one of the Society—the sick not even excepted—be found in your department or province, you shall atone for this by death. Yo el Rey, that is, I, the King."

Thus ran the order which the governors and superior officials received from the Government, and that they strictly carried out the same may be well understood. In this manner were the whole of the sons of Loyola, throughout all Spain, numbering about six thousand, arrested at the same hour, that is, about midnight on the 2nd April 1767, and a few days afterwards they all found themselves, without exception, on the ships already prepared for them. It was a master-stroke, the like of which had never before been seen, and the whole of Christendom were

so astonished thereat that it could not for a long time recover itself. The King, on this account, now found it necessary to make public the reasons for which he had perpetrated this great deed, and thus at once that celebrated decree called "The Pragmatic Sanction" made its appearance, in which the expulsion of the sons of Loyola, and the confiscation of their whole property, was authorised. Besides, the Pope was immediately informed, by special courier, of what had taken place, and it was declared to him that it was only from the direst necessity that this had been done. But what did all these representations signify?

The laity perceived that the ruler of Spain could not have acted differently; that he had, indeed, proceeded even very leniently against a Society which had tried to rob him of his honour, and, at the same time, of his throne, when he merely expelled them from the country and confiscated their possessions. The Pope, on the other hand, with his congenial clergy, became quite beside himself from terror and confusion, and many even, as, for instance, the General Ricci, fainted. So soon, however, as the first impression was got over, rage and fury took its place, and they would gladly have ushered the King of Spain into eternity. As, however, this could not be done, his Holiness at once addressed a letter to the said Monarch, on the 16th April, in which the latter, by the welfare of his soul which stood in great danger, was conjured to withdraw the measures which had been taken against the Jesuits, as there did not exist a more guiltless, more useful, more pious, and more holy society than theirs. But King Charles, after he had previously deliberated with his counsellors, replied shortly and concisely that he abided by the expulsion of the Jesuits and that he would not depart from his resolution; and, as the Papal Court threatened that the expelled Jesuits would not be received into the Roman States, but would be sent back again to Spain, he, on that account, assigned to each of the 6,000 exiles a yearly income of 100 piasters for life, to be paid to them in ready-money until the last of the Spanish Jesuits had died out. None of them, however, dared to return again to Spain as long as Charles III. and his son, Charles IV., governed.

CHAPTER VI.

REGICIDES IN FRANCE.

In no country in the world did the sons of Loyola bring their theory of regicide more into practice than in France, as in no other land were their interests so often and so greatly at stake as in Gaul. The reader knows, from what has gone before, that the Jesuits, towards the end of the 16th century, formed the plan of uniting the whole of European Christendom into one universal monarchy under the sceptre of the House of Hapsburg, which was totally dependent on them, and which already in those days had possession of a great part of the world, namely, Spain, Portugal, Lower Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, and Hungary. To carry this plan into operation in France, they instituted the "Guise party," which might just as well have been called the "Spanish party," as it was principally supported through the money and troops of Philip II., the monarch designated to be the universal sovereign.

Publicly, however, the Jesuits were prudently silent about their project of placing the crown of France in the hands of Philip II., and only their most ardent adherents were very secretly initiated into this secret. They sought, however, to bring the great masses, and more especially the reigning Royal House, into the belief that the "Guise party" was the "party of good Catholics," that is, the party of those at whose heart lay the defence and extension of Roman Catholicism, and every Frenchman who did not adhere to the heretical Huguenots must necessarily be brought to join the same.

At that time Henry III. swayed the destinies of France (1574–89), a bad man and ruler, like the whole brood of Queen Catherine de Medici, called by an author of those days "the Florentine she-wolf," at the same time a very good Catholic, and, especially, a bigoted adherent of the Roman priesthood. The Jesuits, on that account, brought him with ease to enter the League of the Guises, and later on, at Blois, on the 19th July 1588, he confirmed by oath on the Host his adherence thereto. But immediately afterwards a renegade confided to him the secret of the League, and, as he became sufficiently convinced, on accurate investigation, that in deed and in truth it was really a question of causing a revolution in favour of the Hapsburger, Philip II., he thereupon resolved to be beforehand with this plan by an act of violence. He, therefore, caused the Duke of Guise with his brother the Cardinal of Loraine, to be murdered, on the 23rd of December 1588, and made himself master of the persons of the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Archbishop of Lyons, the Prince de Joinville, and the Duke of Nevers. A severe blow for the League, certainly. It did not, however, lose courage on that account, and at once chose the Duke of Mayenne, brother of the murdered Guises, as its leader. Indeed, the city of Paris called upon him to become the General-Viceregent of the kingdom, and the Sorbonne absolved the French people from all obedience to the King!

In this great necessity there was nothing remaining for the latter to do but to throw himself into the arms of his brother-in-law, Henry of Navarre, the great leader of the Protestant Huguenot party, and, on the 30th April 1589, he determined on an alliance with him for life or death. Thereupon, they augmented their united armies to 40,000 men, and at once advanced on Paris, which was defended by the Duke of Mayenne. The siege began, and made rapid progress, notwithstanding that the Pope came to the assistance of the Parisians with a Bull of Excommunication, which he now launched against Henry III., as well as against Henry of Navarre. Already the dispositions for the storm were made, and there could not be the slightest doubt of a successful result, as the besieged began to suffer severely from hunger. A young fanatical Dominican monk, named Jacques Clement, endeavoured now to give a new turn to the matter by a deed of blood, and he succeeded by most extraordinary bold-

ness. He went, in Paris, where he lived, to the Count of Brienne, whom he knew to be a secret retainer of Henry III., and begged him to give him a pass and letter of recommendation to the King, as he had to disclose to him extraordinarily important facts relative to the League. The Count accorded the petition of the monk without forming the least distrust about the matter, and, provided with the pass and letter, the latter hastened to the royal camp at St. Cloud, two miles to the west of Paris, on the 31st of July 1589.

Early next morning, at 7 o'clock, he was brought by Jacques de Guesle, the General Procurator, in person to the King, who had already got up, and Clement at once delivered to him the letter of the Count of Brienne. "Well," said the King, "the Count writes me that you have very important communications to make; well, I am ready to listen." The monk crossed his arms and threw a significant look on the Procurator-General, as well as on the King's Adjutants, Colonel Montpesat of Lognac, and Jean de Levis, Baron of Mirepoix; thereupon, the King gave a sign to the three to withdraw out of ear-shot, and as soon as this occurred Clement advanced close to the Monarch. Instead of speaking, however, he drew a sharp knife out from his wide sleeves, and buried it deeply in the abdomen of the King. Henry cried aloud, and immediately withdrew the knife out of the wound in order to throw it in the face of the murderer. He then, however, fell back and lost consciousness. "The King is dead!" cried out the two officers and the Procurator-General, and threw themselves on the miserable monk, whom they transfixed twenty times with their swords, and they did not cease thrusting at him until he lay dead at their feet, and then they bethought them to summon doctors, in order, if possible, still to save the King. This, however, was not possible, and he died four-and-twenty hours afterwards, in the early morning of the 2nd of August.

This was the first regicide which took place in France, and, of course, it was sought with great energy to ascertain who it was that had impelled the monk to such a cruel deed. But only very unsatisfactory data were now obtainable, as they had been in such a hurry, after the perpetrated deed, to remove the murderer out of the world, instead of making previous inquiries and investigations, and it is even now impossible to say with

historical certainty whose tool Jacques Clement had been. There were still, however, strong indications that the Jesuits had a hand in the game, as they, at the time, proclaimed loudly from the pulpit that whoever would procure the removal of the present Nero Sardanapalus, that is, King Henry III., into the other world would do a most serviceable work. They also instituted in Toulouse and other places, as soon as the murder had been accomplished, public prayers, processions, and other indications of rejoicing, and everywhere celebrated Clement as a holy martyr for the good cause. Indeed, one of the most conspicuous members of the Mariana, so highly esteemed by them, denominated the miserable murderer as the "eternal honour of France" (*æternum Galliæ decus*), and even pronounced the crime (*De Rege*, lib. i. cap. vi.) "to be a charming and distinguished deed, from which the rest of the rulers might derive a wholesome lesson." Other Jesuit authors expressed themselves in precisely similar terms, and the least song of praise given to him by them was that the cowardly assassin resembled Judith, Eleazer, or Maccabæus.

In short, it was doubly certain—first, that, if it was the hand of a Dominican who had killed the last of the Valois, this Dominican had obtained his murderous design from the teaching of the Jesuits on regicide; and, secondly, that the sons of Loyola, by their foolish songs of praise which in their writings and preaching they paid to the murderer, made themselves accomplices in the deed of infamy. None of them, however, were brought to justice, and the sole accomplice who suffered the punishment of death was the Dominican, Father Edmund Bourgoin, prior of the cloister in which Jacques Clement lived. He was condemned by the Parliament of Tours, in the year 1590, to be torn asunder by four horses, simply and solely from his having confessed to having been aware of Clement's intention, and not having given any hint thereof.

On the death of Henry III., Henry of Navarre, although only after a severe battle with the League, ascended the throne of France under the title of Henry IV. He solemnly abjured his Protestant faith on the 25th July 1593, in order to meet the prejudices of his Catholic subjects, who numbered by far the greater part of the French population. The Catholics of France had thus no longer any reason to contend against this

Prince, about whose right to the throne there could not be the slightest doubt, and the less so, indeed, as Pope Clement VIII. immediately afterwards absolved him from the excommunication which had been launched against him by Sixtus V. Thus was Henry IV., in fact, recognised by almost all his enemies as King of France; and the whole kingdom breathed again more freely, as the civil war which had so frightfully desolated the country began, at length, to reach its termination. One single party alone, however, namely the Jesuits, who, by the succession to the throne of the Bearners, saw their project of a universal Hapsburg monarchy destroyed, never allowed themselves to come to any understanding about it, but, now that there was no longer any prospect of a renewal of an open state of war, sought to attain their end by secret cabals, by conspiracies, by secret intrigues, and by misdeeds. Cost what it would, Henry IV. must be at once removed from the world, as under so fine a statesman and powerful a warrior as him France must necessarily be raised to too great a height to be later on easily conquered by a Hapsburger. He must, therefore, be made away with, and this could best be done, most surely and most quickly, by murder. This deed, however, must not be accomplished by a regular Jesuit, because thereby, possibly, there would arise danger for the existence of the whole Society of Jesus, and, consequently, there remained nothing else for it but to procure from the rest of mankind a suitable instrument. Such an one was, indeed, discovered, or, more properly, three were by degrees found, namely, Peter Barrière, Jean or Johann Chatel, and Francis Ravaillac, but it was only the last who succeeded in accomplishing the King's death.

In the summer of 1593 an agent of the Duke of Florence, a man of about thirty years of age, who in dress and conduct betrayed himself to have been a soldier, addressed the Dominican Father Seraphin Barchi in the streets of Lyons, and requested that he should immediately hear his confession. The Dominican, greatly struck by the shy and, at the same time, fanatical look of the man, took him into his private dwelling, and at once begged him to tell him everything that weighed upon his mind. The man did as he was requested; but his confession must have comprised something very frightful, as, when he had come to an end, Father Seraphin looked fearfully pale, as if he had been

struck with lightning. Still more remarkable was it that the Father did not, as was the usual practice, accord absolution to his new confessant; but, on the contrary, refused it to him, not even allowing him to depart without violent words. In the meantime, a Monsieur de Brancaleone, a nobleman in the service of Queen Louisa, widow of Henry III., entered the room of the Dominican, and thereupon the man of soldierly appearance suddenly dashed out of the apartment. M. de Brancaleone, however, had time to fix his eyes upon the man, and so accurately, indeed, as at once to observe that something very unusual had happened. He did not, however, long remain unenlightened as to what the unusual occurrence had been, as the Dominican, trembling from horror and indignation, communicated everything that the soldier had confided to him under the seal of secrecy as a confessional mystery. He betrayed it to him, as it was a question of life and death, and as the fortune of the whole of France was at stake if he delayed for a moment to keep back the statement. The man who had just dashed out of the apartment was formerly a soldier in the army of the Duc de Guise, called Peter Barrière, and had nothing less on his mind than the intention to murder King Henry IV. He had for a long time entertained this thought, and chiefly from conversation with a Jesuit Father; but as he then confessed his intention to several other ecclesiastics, and, among them, even to the Chief Vicar of the Archbishop of Lyons, he had been most earnestly dissuaded from his enterprise. The same also occurred, as we have seen, with regard to the Dominican, Seraphin Barchi, but without result, as Peter Barrière or La Barr, dashed out of the apartment, exclaiming that he would immediately go to Paris, and obtain there better advice from the sons of Loyola in the Rue Jacob. There was not a minute to lose, then, if King Henry was to be saved, and Brancaleone, after a short discussion with Father Seraphin, threw himself on horseback, in order to hasten to Nevers to the Duke of the same name, to be provided by him with a proper pass. The latter did this at once, and Brancaleone pursued his journey forthwith in search of the King, but he met with so many hindrances on the way, that several weeks elapsed before he reached the city where Henry IV. had his temporary residence at that period.

Barrière had, in the meantime, safely arrived in Paris, and was there at once brought by the Pastor of St. Andrè des Arts, under the name of Christopher Aubry, to the Rector of the Jesuit College, Father Claude de Varade. He, however, took up the matter in a very different way from what Seraphin Barchi had done in Lyons, as he at once declared to Barrière that the circumstance of the King becoming Catholic was nothing but a political comedy, and not the result of any inward conviction whatever; accordingly it was only the death of Henry, that horrible heretic, that could preserve the Catholic religion in security. Precisely the same opinion was enunciated by Father Commolet,* who, by command of the Rector, heard the confession of Barrière, and thus the wretched man, in obtaining complete absolution for his murderous intention, had his last scruples of conscience removed. He was thus now firmly determined, according to the invitation of the Jesuits, to remove King Henry out of the world, and, with this purpose, as soon as he left the house in the Rue Jacob, he bought for himself a strong knife, which he got sharpened on both sides. He now informed himself as to the place of the King's residence, and, as he ascertained that he was in St. Denys, he at once betook himself there. As, however, no favourable opportunity presented itself, he followed his high game from there to Grouay, then to Crecy, thence to Champs-sur-Marne, and, lastly, to the town of Melun, where he in vain sought an opportunity for making use of his knife. In the latter city, at length, there was to be an end to his chase, as, upon the 26th of August, the very day on which Brancaleone arrived, Barrière was arrested by the Grand Provost of the royal house. After a short denial, the miserable wretch confessed everything, without even being put to the torture. He was, consequently, only justly condemned to a cruel death, and this he suffered on the 31st August 1593. His accomplices, on the other hand, escaped all punishment, as the city of Paris had not, up to this time, yielded to King Henry, and

* It appears that this Commolet, after Barrière had confessed to him, was pretty certain of the matter, as he immediately preached in the church of St. Bartholomew, in Paris, upon the murder perpetrated by Ehud of the King of Moab, and loudly exclaimed, "We require likewise an Ehud, let him be monk, soldier, or shepherd matters not, but we require an Ehud." "But console yourselves," he added, at the end of his discourse, "within a few days you shall witness this divine deed, and heaven grant that this miracle may be successfully accomplished." The words openly apply to the assassination intended by Barrière.

they could not therefore be caught. Later on, however, as Paris also declared itself ready to pay homage to its rightful lord, those above named found it best to escape secretly from Paris, in the suite of the Cardinal Legate Plaisance, and to seek for protection and security in the Papal city of Avignon.

This attempt at murder on the part of Peter Barrière had, as we have seen, no hurtful consequences for King Henry IV.; it was otherwise, however, for the sons of Loyola, as they were unhesitatingly blamed throughout the whole of France as the authors of this attempt. Moreover, people busied themselves, immeasurably, to discover the grounds of their hatred to Henry, and it was found out at once that it was a question with them of nothing less than conferring the crown of France on a foreign Prince, and putting it on the head of the Hapsburger, Philip II. In consequence thereof it was judged expedient, by the Government, in the year 1594, to issue a public address to the French people, holding forth against the Spanish machinations, and at the same time, in relation thereto, to demand a new oath of fidelity from its subjects. Every Frenchman, whether belonging to the priesthood or the laity, rendered this oath; the Jesuits alone declined to do so, and, in the event of the people becoming infuriated, as, for instance, when their college was stormed in Lyons, they shut their schools and churches rather than render compliance. In consequence of this, it came to be a subject of debate in many circles whether it would not be expedient that the Society of Jesus should be entirely prohibited in France, and more particularly the University of Paris occupied itself with this question, as the Jesuits had infringed so much and so powerfully on their rights. Indeed, they carried, as we have already noticed in a former Book, their old strife with the Society of Jesus so far as to bring the matter afresh before Parliament, and earnestly urged the King that this tribunal should deliver its judgment thereon.

There was much at stake, then, as far as the Jesuits were concerned—indeed, unusually much; nothing less than their very existence on French soil, and this could never be assured so long as a King sat upon the throne who had only become Catholic from political motives—so long, in fact, as Henry IV. lived, who conceded the Protestants the same rights as the

orthodox believers, and continually allowed himself to be governed, or, at all events, influenced, by his heretical Minister, Sully. "Away with him, then," was once more the cry of the Jesuits; "away with him, under any circumstances, and, indeed, as quickly as possible, as there is danger in every moment's delay." Moreover, the sons of Loyola were not satisfied with words merely, but they also soon caused them to be followed by deeds, and their instrument this time was Jean Chatel, a youth of nineteen, whom they had educated especially to be a regicide.

The matter proceeded as follows: On the 27th December 1594 Henry IV. returned to Paris from Picardy, where he had just recently obtained a victory over his enemies, and at once betook himself, followed by a jubilant number of the people, to the Hotel Bouchage, in which resided Gabrielle d'Estrée, Duchess of Beaufort, his beautiful mistress. Here he received the homage of several Parisian gentlemen, who hastened to greet their Monarch, and there he was in a very happy and free-hearted mood, for no one was denied access to him. Among others who presented themselves to him were Messieurs Ragny and Montigny, and the latter kneeled down to kiss the King's hand, while the Monarch, on his part, bent to raise him up and embrace him. At this moment, a pale thin young man rushed through the crowd standing at the door, and threw himself upon Henry IV. and dealt him a violent blow with a knife that he flourished. The murderer aimed at the heart of the King, but, as the latter had just bent himself forwards, the blow missed its mark and only cut his lip. This was cut through, and even one of his teeth was broken by the blow, but the ruler sustained no further injury, nor did he lose his presence of mind for an instant. Those present, of course, threw themselves at once upon the assassin, who, in the first moment of rage, was nearly torn in pieces. The King, however, ordered him to be delivered over to the Provost Marshal, and this mandate was consequently obeyed.

While the Monarch now hastened to Notre Dame in order to offer up thanks to God for his safety, an investigation into the abortive crime at once began, and even at the first hearing, which lasted until late in the night, the full truth came out. The name of the young man was, as we have said above, Jean

Chatel, and he was the son of a well-to-do and respectable married couple, the cloth-makers Pierre Chatel and Dame Denise, *née* Hazard. In order to give him a good education, his father sent him to the Jesuits, in the so-called College of Clermont, and here he pursued his studies up to his eighteenth year. Good morals, however, he did not learn, as there never existed such a dissolute and disorderly young man as Jean Chatel, who did not even recoil from incest with his youngest sister, of whom there were two, but no brother. Besides, there were occasions when he was seized with the most bitter remorse, and it was in one of these that the thought came into his head for the first time of murdering the King. He had been frequently, of late, taught by his teacher of philosophy, the Father Jean Gueret, that it would be a very meritorious deed to remove out of the world the tyrant Henry IV., because he was the patron of heretics, and he also had the idea that should he execute this meritorious work he might escape the pains of hell, which he so very much feared, or, at all events, in some degree lessen them. The thought soon took root in him, and as the Rector of the College, the Father Jean Guignard, to whom he spoke about the matter, expressly assured him that by an especially meritorious transaction, like the crime which he contemplated, he would not merely moderate, but might even be enabled to avert, eternal damnation altogether, those ideas sank deeper and deeper into his heart, till in the end he formed the firm resolution to perpetrate the murder of the King.

In order that this determination might not prove to be evanescent, the pious Fathers of the Order of Jesus put him through a course of spiritual exercises, and displayed before him frightful pictures of hell and the punishments of hell-fire, producing in him thereby an almost insane kind of ecstasy. In short, from Chatel's confession it became apparent that no one but the Jesuits had instilled the thought into him of taking the King's life, and the people of Paris became so enraged on this account that they proceeded to storm the College of Clermont, with the view of devoting it to flames, with all that it contained. It was found necessary, therefore, to place a strong armed force there, in order to save the hated Loyolites from this fate; the authorities would not have been justified, however, in adopting this measure had not Father Gueret, Chatel's teacher,

been, at the same time, arrested, while it had been made known that the whole College would be thoroughly searched, and the guilty proceeded against with the strictest severity.

The investigation was, in fact, at once carried out, and the consequence was that the Rector of the College, Father Guignard, was also brought into the Conciergerie, wherein were all the other prisoners. In the secret drawer of a writing-table several manuscripts prepared by him were found, in which he quite unblushingly defended the regicide, and said of Jaques Clement, among other things, that he had performed an extremely heroic action when he murdered King Henry III. Further, he laid down, in this document, the proposition that there never would be any peace or good fortune for the Catholic Church until the crown of France should be torn from the House of Bourbon; and, lastly, he endeavoured to prove that it was the duty of every Catholic to remove, either publicly or secretly, the Fox of Bearn, that is, King Henry IV., whom he held to be worse than even a Herod, and yet a regular warfare could not be carried on against him. Frightful teaching, in truth—teaching, indeed, eminently calculated to direct the horror of the world against the entire Society of Jesus; for could the Jesuit College be regarded as anything else than a nursery for assassination and assassins?

After these proofs had been clearly established, not only against Chatel, but also against the aforesaid Jesuits, the Parliament proceeded to pass sentence, and, first of all, condemned the murderer to well-merited punishment. This was carried out on the 29th December, and therefore only two days after the attempted murder; it took place on the evening of that day by torchlight, and a right fearful punishment it, indeed, was. The delinquent was first of all brought to the square in front of Notre Dame, with nothing but his shirt on, and upon his knees made to beg pardon for his contemplated crime. He was then taken on an ash cart to the Place de Grèves, where the executioners were in readiness, in order to pinch his hands and thighs with red-hot tongs. Thereupon the knife with which he had thrust at the King was placed in his hand, and the latter was laid on the block and struck off with an axe. Lastly, four horses were attached to his arms and feet, and in this way he was torn into four pieces, the remains, with the hand and trunk,

were then thrown upon a heap of wood, which was set on fire, and all was burnt to ashes.

Thus died Jean Chatel, the murderous pupil of the Jesuits, and not less severe was the judgment which was awarded to the Jesuits by Parliament. Father Guignard, like Chatel, was brought in his shirt to do penance on his knees at Notre Dame, and suffered the punishment of death at the Place de Grèves. The life of Father Gueret was spared, but he, together with five others belonging to his College, were banished for ever from French soil. The Jesuit body, as a whole, was banished out of France, because it had been proved incontestably that as leaders of youth, as disturbers of the public peace, the pious Fathers were enemies of the King and State; and within three days after the proclamation had been made, they had to leave their colleges, and the country itself within fourteen days. Lastly, the Parliament ordered that the house in which Chatel had lived should be pulled down, and, when this was done, it caused to be erected on the spot a pyramid upon which the shameful deed of the murderer, as well as the vileness of the Jesuits, was engraven in golden capital letters, in order that the latest posterity should not forget what a frightful thing had occurred in Paris towards the end of the year 1594; and especially, that horror of the Society of Jesus should for ever remain ineffaceable.

Thus acted the Parliament of Paris, in which sat none but sagacious and enlightened men; but, unfortunately, things did not long remain thus, as the sons of Loyola contrived to evade completely this edict of expulsion. Strict, indeed, as the order ran, which expelled the Jesuits out of the whole of France, and strictly as it was urged to be carried out in such towns as Paris, Rennes, Dijon, Rouen, and others, a number of the Fathers succeeded in evading the order, and not a few of them remained in the country unmolested, as soon as they arrayed themselves in secular clothing. Besides, a great number of them fled to the provinces of Guienne and Languedor, as well as to Loraine, where the last of the Guises, the Duke of Mayenne, resided under the protection of Spain, and in the towns of Toulouse, Metz, Verdun, &c. The Black Cloaks swarmed openly, therefore, for a long time. In short, the order of their expulsion existed, for the most part, merely on paper, and it was

observed, from the schemes which they ventured to hatch on behalf of their re-establishment, that the more influential among them had remained within the boundaries of France. Recognising the fact that, in order to win the favour of a monarch, it is above all things requisite to bring over to one's side those in his immediate company, they made a dead set at certain Court favourites, as Messieurs Bellievre, La Varennes, and others, who were to Henry IV. what later Lebel, the provider of the ill-famed deer park, was to Louis XV.; nor did they even neglect the apron-string of a chambermaid, if thereby they might hope to penetrate into the bed-chamber of a royal mistress. Most of all, however, they relied upon the efforts of their great patron, the Pope of the day, Clement VIII.; and, in truth, he moved heaven and earth in order to bring about a change in France in favour of the Society of Jesus. It was, however, throughout a period of several years without avail, seeing that Henry IV. yielded nothing, either to the representations of Cardinal Legate Villeroy, who acted as Ambassador in Rome, or to the many autograph letters of the Pope himself.

But it was different from this in the year 1599. At that time Henry IV. had determined upon a separation from his spouse, Margaret of Valois, and, the matter having arrived at that point, he went to the Pope to pronounce the divorce. The latter declared himself ready and willing to meet this request, but only on condition that the edict of banishment against the Jesuits should be revoked. What was, then, Henry IV. to do? He promised to act as the Pope wished, but the latter must give him time, in order that he might be able to prepare his French subjects for what was to happen. A short time afterwards, still in the year 1599, Henry married again, with Marie de Medicis, daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and, as she had been in the hands of the Jesuits from her earliest youth, it was apparent that, from the day of her marriage, she would not omit any favourable opportunity in order to cause her husband to become favourable to them. Besides, she brought with her to the Court Father Lorenzo Magius, in all respects an experienced Jesuit; and at the same time being a fine companion and wit, he soon obtained great influence over the King. The consequence was, that great forbearance was now endeavoured to be shown as to the treatment of the

sons of Loyola, when they began to return *incognito* into the country here and there, as teachers, in secular clothing; the Monarch still hesitated, however, for several years longer, to restore them legally, and the edict of banishment still nominally remained in force during all this time. When, however, in the year 1603, French Loraine, the last province adhering to the Guises, was conquered, Henry IV. at once removed his Court for a time to Metz. He had scarcely, however, arrived there (for, as I have already said, that country was inundated by the Jesuits), when the Jesuit Provincial, Father Ignatius Armand, in company with the most sagacious of his subjects, craved an audience of the Monarch, and obtained it by the intercession of Fouquets de la Varennes, the confidant of the royal peccadilloes. On his knees he prayed the Monarch to fulfil the promise which he had given to the Holy Father in Rome, and assured him, weeping, with a solemn oath, that none should surpass the Order of Jesus in all France in fidelity and devotion. In short, he left no means untried to move King Henry to revoke the edict of banishment, and finally, to his joy, he actually witnessed the acomplishment of his designs, although, it is true, only conditionally.

In the same year, at the beginning of September 1603, the King allowed the sons of Loyola to settle in the towns of Toulouse, Agen, Rhodes, Bordeaux, Perigueux, Limones, Tournon, Le Puy, Aubergaz, Beziers, Lyons, Dijon, and La-Flèche; on the other hand, they were not permitted to do so in the remaining towns of France, except with the special permission of Royalty. This latter even was only obtainable when the Jesuits wished to acquire estates, or when presents were made to them; and, besides, it was requisite that they should all be Frenchmen born. Lastly, each one of them had to take a solemn oath to submit to the laws of the country, and never, on any occasion, to presume upon the exceptional privileges accorded to them from time to time by the Popes. Such were the conditions upon which the sons of Loyola were again allowed to return into France, in spite of the vehement opposition of the Parliament of Paris, and they joyfully all swore whatever was required of them. They would, indeed, right willingly have pledged themselves with an oath to adhere even to much harder conditions, if it had been required of them, for what did

an oath signify to them, which, from the first, they never intended to keep?

At the same time as the Jesuits were permitted again in France, Henry IV. took one of them, Father Cotton, to be his Father Confessor. He did so as he believed he would, in him, provide himself with a scourge which would give security for the good conduct of the Order; but this Cotton was such a cunning and accomplished courtier, that he soon obtained mastery over the heart of the King, and gained as well, through the courtiers and mistresses, an influence which proved to be of great advantage to his Order. The latter soon obtained permission for the erection of colleges, in addition to the towns already mentioned, in Amiens, Poitiers, Vienne, Rouen, Caen, Rheims, Bearn, and, at length, also in Paris, and it may be shortly stated that within the next seven years the Jesuits trebled the number of their houses in France. Above everything, it was a great object of the Fathers to cause the pyramid which was named the Pillar of Disgrace of the Society of Jesus, because it proclaimed their share in the attempted assassination of Chatel, to be pulled down, as so long as it was standing they could not be regarded as having been completely restored, and, consequently, the Father Confessor ceased neither night nor day to urge the King to give his order for its destruction. For a long time Henry IV. refused his consent, and still less was the Parliament of Paris, which, as we know, had ordered the erection of the monument, agreeable thereto. At length, in May 1606, the Council of State being won over to the Order of Jesus, permitted itself to be moved to deliver judgment in favour of the Jesuits; Henry IV. accordingly gave his permission for the removal of the pillar. This, however, was proposed to be effected during the night, because it was feared that the people of Paris might resist the measure by force. But Father Cotton exclaimed "Henry IV. is no king of darkness, but of light!" and by these words induced the King to have the order for its destruction carried out in the broad daylight, with the assistance of a strongly armed force. This took place; and who now had reason to triumph, seeing that the shortly before much despised sons of Loyola received thereby new lustre? Under such circumstances, it might have been believed that it would be absolutely incumbent upon them in future to guard, with Argus eyes, the life of the King who

had proved himself to be so good to them; but the Jesuits acted quite differently to this, and had good reason for their course of action.

After Henry IV. had internally pacified and strengthened his kingdom, he directed his attention to external politics, and at once found that France had much too little to say in the council of nations. Was not, at that time, the power of the Austro-Spanish House all-potent, before which all the rest of Europe had to bow submissively? Consequently, he designed the plan of breaking through this supremacy by force of arms, and thereby re-establishing the European balance of power; to this end he concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with most of the remaining European States, especially with the Protestant principalities of Germany, as also with England and the Netherlands. A large army was consequently got together and armed quite secretly, and the campaign was to be opened in the summer of 1610 with great energy, in two directions, on the occasion of the Julier war of succession. The allies might naturally entertain every hope of obtaining the victory, as neither Spain nor Austria had found time to arm properly, and, consequently, there was great rejoicing on the part of the former, while in Madrid and Vienna the previous proud confidence was beginning to give place to gloomy hopelessness. Only a miracle could this time save the House of Hapsburg, and the day for miracles was passed. Still, however, Philip II. of Spain, and Rudolph II. of Austria had no real reasons for despair, as their great friends the Jesuits still lived, and it was an easy matter for them, when justifiable means were wanting, to assist by a small crime. What was easier in the present instance than to make away with the man who was at the head of the whole undertaking—the King and Commander, who breathed into the whole body the spirit of coalition, and without whom the allied States would fall back into their old insignificance? I allude to King Henry IV. of France, the ingenious deviser of the plan of a universal Christian Republic. And, wonderful to say, since something of this grand scheme had become noised about in the world, Henry IV. almost daily received hints of conspiracies which were in preparation against him, and, on the other hand, a kind of fatal anxiety took possession of his mind that his life would be taken. Indeed, this dread now never left him either night

or day, and he said a hundred times to his confidential minister Sully, "Friend, I shall never be permitted to take the field, as they will murder me here." And these ominous presentiments did not deceive him, as we shall presently see.

On the 14th of May 1610, Henry IV. quitted the Palace of the Louvre at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, in order to pay a visit to Sully, who was sick, and at the same time to take leave of him, as he had the intention of placing himself at the head of his army on the following day. He was in a coach open on all sides, and beside him sat the Duke of Epernon, while the Marquis of Mirabeau and Monsieur Duplessis de Liancourt formed his *vis à vis*. The seats situated upon the coach steps—the state carriages of those days being differently constructed from those of the present time—were taken up, on the right by the Marshals de Lavardin and De Roquelaure, and on the left by the Duc de Montbazon and the Marquis de la Force, and it may be well said that the King was, indeed, very well protected, though the guards which usually escorted the royal equipage had on this occasion been sent back, in order to avoid all appearance of pomp. Having arrived in the rather narrow Rue de la Ferronière, the coach was detained for a little, as some waggons blocked up the road, and the King turned to the Marquis de Lavardin, asking what was the matter. At this instant a man stepped forward from the gaping crowd, amongst whom he had been standing, as if he wished to get a better sight of the King. Chaise (such was his name), as soon as he had approached near enough, swung himself like lightning on the right wheel of the carriage behind, pulled out a sharp knife and made two thrusts at the breast of the King. The first thrust glanced upon a rib, the second, however, hit him right through the heart, and the Monarch immediately sank dead into the arms of the Duc d'Epernon, while the blood poured out in streams. The murderer endeavoured to take to flight, but in vain. He was at once seized, before he had time even to throw away the bloody knife, and he was given over to the Provost Marshal, who conveyed him into the Conciergerie.

On the instant, before even the bloody corpse of the murdered ruler was yet cold, the Parliament was assembled by the Queen, now a widow, the Marie de Medicis above alluded to. The investigation in regard to the murder, as might have been expected, was not commenced at once,

the anxiety was to name the Queen to be Guardian and Regent—the son of the murdered King, afterwards Louis XIII., being at that time only nine years of age. This was all that was on her mind—she and her friends, the Jesuits, as well as her secret favourite and lover, Concini, the tool of the sons of Loyola, whom she afterwards created Marquis and Marshal d'Ancre, had their motives. She actually thus succeeded in carrying out her intentions, and it was only after this had taken place, three days after the perpetrated murder, that the wretch who had done the deed was brought before the bar of Parliament. He declared his name to be Francis Ravaillac, born, in 1578, at Angoulème, where he had for several years occupied the place of a teacher. He had long resolved on the assassination of the King, and, indeed, on this account, that the latter had been an inveterate enemy to Catholicism, and had allowed himself to be drawn into relationship with the enemies of the Church, the heretical Protestants. To murder such a ruler, he had been taught, was not only allowable, but was, indeed, a highly serviceable work, and he had the intention of perpetrating the deed whenever he got an opportunity. Moreover, in the true meaning of the word he had no guilty associate, and was unable on that account to betray anyone. He held to this statement even when brought to torture, and he only admitted that, shortly before doing the deed, he had confessed his intention to Father Aubigny, and had obtained absolution from him in that respect.

Thus he had no accomplice of his guilt, and no one knew anything about it, with the exception of Father Aubigny; but this affirmation was simply a falsehood, as the enemies of Henry IV. had already, for some time before the murder, been accurately informed that it would take place. It was proved, indeed, that the approaching death of Henry was spoken about fourteen days before in Madrid, Milan, Antwerp, Douay, Arras, Brussels, Mechlen, and Prague, in all of which the Jesuits were notoriously powerful, while several persons in Rouen received letters from Brussels, wherein was contained a detailed report of this murder, though at the time the King was still alive. Thus eight days before the murder a courier passed through Aix-la-Chapelle, and said he had brought news to the German Princes that the King of France was dead. A note, too, was found on the altar of the chief church of Montargis, the purport

of which was that an end would soon be made of the King's life by a daring fellow, and Father Lagona of Naples publicly announced the monarch's death from the pulpit. Thus the Prevost, or City Judge, of Poitiers, which town lies two days' journey from Paris, while in a large company playing at skittles, precisely at the time that Henry was being murdered, allowed the following words to escape from him: "The King is either dead or now dying." As he had two sons among the Jesuits, he was afterwards arrested in order to question him, but he at once strangled himself with his trouser-braces. Moreover, a certain Monsieur Target received a letter in Paris from Herzogenbusch, in which, fifteen days before the King's death, it was intimated to him that almost at any hour might be expected intelligence of an approaching great event in that city, as also that in all the Austrian dominions subject to Belgium, prayers had been instituted night and day in order that a mighty undertaking might meet with the desired accomplishment. So also the Spaniards who belonged to the garrison of Cologne on the Rhine declared in a whisper, even in the middle of May, that Henry would soon be removed out of the world, and in Mastricht it was stated that then was the time to place the King of Spain upon the throne of France in the room of a Bourbon.

In short, among good Catholic circles, more especially in towns where Jesuit colleges existed, several weeks before Henry's death, news was spread abroad of his approaching murder. How, then, could it be that Ravaillac had no guilty accomplice, and that there had been no conspiracy relative to the murder? Who, then, I ask further, were these guilty accomplices? Suspicion fell upon the Jesuits, and with great reason, seeing that, as friends of the Spanish Court and of the House of Hapsburg, they had a particular interest in the removal of Henry from the world, as I have already shown above. Particulars regarding the conspiracy, however, never came to light, because, by the influence of the Queen Regent, the great protectress of the Order of Jesus, the investigation respecting Ravaillac had been carried out with a carelessness, superficiality, and party spirit which had been unheard of before in France. It appeared as if people were afraid to discover guilty accomplices, and on that account avoided entirely examining those who might have been able to give some details. Indeed, some, as, for instance, the

former captain of the guard, Du Jardin, and Madame Coman, the late chambermaid of the Marquis de Vermeuil, both of whom, by peculiar circumstances, had been acquainted with Ravaillac, knew exactly by whom the latter had been advised —both of these, besides some others were detained under similar circumstances until the trial had come to a termination, and then hastened over the frontiers of the country. But was Father Aubigny, who was acquainted about the crime, and yet did not give any information regarding it, punished in any way? Oh no! the authorities were satisfied with his declaration that he was unable to recollect that Ravaillac had confided anything to him, as he had been endowed by God with the attribute of forgetting at once confessional secrets entrusted to him!

In short, it was not wished that details should be known, and nothing, therefore, was actually ascertained, while the members of Parliament, by superior direction, refrained from making any minute investigation. That Ravaillac, too, should remain steadfast, Father Cotton, the celebrated Father Confessor, who frequently visited him in prison, took good care. Thus was Francis Ravaillac the sole person who was sentenced to death— the same frightful one that Jean Chatel had suffered—and this sentence was carried out on the 27th of May 1610. The really guilty ones, however—they who had worked the wretch up to the violent resolution—rubbed their hands with satisfaction, as they had attained the end which they wished.

With the commencement of the Regency, Marie, the widowed Queen, immediately altered the whole system of government, that is to say, she absolved herself from the coalition established by her late husband, and changed the enmity hitherto observed towards Spain into an extremely close friendship. Indeed, in order to make the union of the crowns more complete, she betrothed her under-aged son, Louis XIII., with the Infanta Anna, as also her daughter Elizabeth with the Prince of the Asturias. And what, then, could the Jesuits have more desired? Certainly, no sensible man could have the least doubt that such a union was opposed to the interests of France, and equally was it clear, as a consequence of the altered condition of affairs, that the strife would recommence with the Huguenots, who had hitherto, under Henry IV., enjoyed quietly and peacefully the protection of the laws. But all this did not trouble the Queen Regent, as, from the first,

she belonged to the most bigoted ladies of her times, and never ceased, during the whole period of her government, to do exactly what the Jesuits suggested to her. Also, under Louis XIII., the latter obtained the mastery over the Court, at least at the commencement of his reign, as was proved by the fact, that his Father Confessors were the Fathers Cotton, Arnoux, Seguiran, Suffran, and Caussin, all of whom were Jesuits, and, indeed, the consequence of their supremacy was that the long-dreaded war with the Huguenots actually broke out in the year 1621. Still, it was ended in the following year, and in such a way that the Protestants, by the Edict of Nantes, obtained again their guaranteed religious liberty. From this time forward they again ventured to be Protestant in their "belief," to "hear Protestantism preached," and to "confess as Protestants." On the other hand, the Jesuits managed so that no Huguenot obtained any State office, and that none of them who looked to the army for advancement in France need think of doing so. On this account, under Louis XIII., a number of Protestants came over to the camp of the Catholics. Even the Duke Cardinal de Richelieu, who was First Minister of the King in the year 1624, opposed the Huguenots by his measures, on the advice of the Jesuits, although he was otherwise strongly adverse to the latter as regards political questions. For instance, he again adopted the plan of Henry IV. to humiliate the House of Hapsburg at any price, and took the side, therefore, of Sweden and the Protestants during the Thirty Years' war. The course of his politics, also, was followed by the best results, as France at the termination of the war held a much greater and more powerful position than before, while Spain and Austria were completely exhausted and unfit to carry out the leading parts they had hitherto played in Europe. He himself, however, did not live to enjoy this satisfaction, nor even did King Louis XIII. Both had died several years before, the first in the year 1642, the second in the year 1643, and in their room reigned Louis XIV., called by many the Great, although he was undeserving of such a title. Thus, however, he proved himself great, that he made Richelieu's politics his own, and from the commencement of his reign no other course was followed but to weaken, or rather humiliate, Spain and Austria more than ever Therefore, a light broke in upon the Order of Jesus;

the idea of a Universal Christian Monarchy was an impossibility so far as regarded the House of Hapsburg, which had completely retrograded, while the position seemed to pertain much more to France, and, consequently, they forsook suddenly the standards of Spain and Austria in order to throw themselves entirely into the arms of the Most Christian King, Louis XIV. It was their wish henceforth to fight for his interests as their own, summoning all their forces thereto; naturally, however, under the condition that he proved himself entirely favourable to them, and rendered every obedience to their counsels. The treaty came into effect, and was faithfully maintained by both sides, and especially by Louis XIV., when he became older. From that time the Jesuits completely governed him, and mainly, indeed, through the royal Father Confessor, Father La Chaise, as also by his successor, Father Le Tellier, not to omit mention of the royal mistress, Madame de Maintenon, whose heart was entirely Jesuitically inclined.

I could now write a long history about the frightful consequences of this sway of the sons of Loyola, a sway which might fairly be termed, indeed, exclusive; but I refer the reader to general histories of the world, in which is portrayed in prominent characters the mischief which the Government of Louis XIV. brought about in France and over the whole of Europe. One thing I cannot, however, pass over in silence, namely, that the sons of Loyola misused all their power, in order to cause the King, above everything, to revoke the Edict of Nantes, a step whereby the whole of his Protestant subjects would be brought into the lap of the only saving Church.

A frightful panic pervaded the whole of France; indeed, beyond that kingdom even into Savoy, whose Duke did everything that Louis XIV. commanded him, as the sons of Loyola, accompanied by a whole army of executioners and soldiers, chiefly dragoons—whence the expression "Dragonades"—began the extermination of the hated heresy. This extermination was ultimately put an end to, but only after the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands who preferred death to going to Mass, and by the loss of other hundreds of thousands who succeeded, in all kinds of disguises, and by leaving behind them almost all their property, in making their escape across the frontiers. But a truce with all these horrors, which were not even surpassed in

the previous Thirty Years' war; a truce to them, as the Society of Jesus, wherever it had become all-powerful, has everywhere made itself immortal by such atrocities.

Under the Regency, too, of the Duke of Orleans, the Jesuits remained all-powerful in France, as the prime favourite and Minister of the Regent was the ill-famed Father Dubois, for whom they obtained a Cardinal's hat; on that account he was their declared friend, and aided them in their victory over the Jansenists, during the strife which went on in those days between the two parties. It must be remembered that after the death of Louis XIV., in the year 1715, his grandson and successor, Louis XV., was only five years of age, and the Duke of Orleans, therefore, as first prince of the blood, took over the Government during his minority.

The sons of Loyola obtained a still greater supremacy on the termination of the Regency, under the Government of the said Louis XV., at any rate, at the commencement of his rule, and it is well known what great influence the Royal Father Confessor, Father Claude Bertrand Tascherau de Lignieres, exercised over the Monarch. Besides, they possessed the heart of Cardinal Fleury, who, as First Minister of Louis, governed France, almost absolutely, up to the year 1743, and it appeared as though their power would never be shaken in the least degree, as long as Louis XV. sat upon the throne. It happened otherwise, nevertheless, and all through the influence of a woman, the Marquise de Pompadour, who, from the year 1745, had become the reigning mistress of the Monarch. At that time, namely, in the middle of the 18th century, there existed in Paris, as well as throughout the whole of France, two powerful parties contending against each other for life or death—the Jansenists and the Molinists—as I have shown already in a preceding Book. To every candid thinker, this strife appeared truly laughable, as it was a question, on the whole, of but little difference as regards faith; but the Jesuits staked their all upon the issue, so as to hunt the Jansenists to death, and consequently they induced their friend the Archbishop of Paris, Christof de Beaumont, to prohibit all who had not openly declared themselves adverse to Jansenism from administering the Holy Communion and Extreme Unction to the sick and dying. The Pompadour, however, sided in opinion with the Jansenists, and, on that account,

influenced the King, so that he issued a precisely opposite command. Moreover, the Archbishop was also banished to Conflans, as an arbitrary rebel, and everyone of his colleagues who thought fit to adhere to him was threatened with the same punishment. Thereupon the Parliament again mixed itself up in the strife, and the result was such a complete confusion that every moment it was to be feared that an utter dissolution of the existing order of things would take place. But the sons of Loyola showed themselves, above all, the most busy in the matter, and roused up such a great hatred, by word and writing, against those who, according to them, had become recreant to the King, that one cannot sufficiently wonder at their temerity. Suddenly, in the midst of this frightful confusion, the cry was raised that Louis XV. had been assassinated, and boundless consternation seized upon all those who wished well to France.

It was on the 5th of January, the day of the three Kings, towards 7 o'clock in the evening, in the Château of Versailles. The King wanted to proceed to the Trianon, with the Dauphin, to take supper, and a company of the guard received orders to escort the chaise. All was ready, and precisely at 7 o'clock the Monarch was seen to approach the portal, followed by a train of courtiers, among whom was Marshal Richelieu, Chancellor Lamoignon, and Seal-bearer Machault. On the steps of the coach was the Duc d'Ayen, captain on duty, and the guard presented arms as the Monarch stepped into the chaise. It must be remarked, moreover, that in spite of the darkness of the evening, the lighting was extremely bad, as it consisted only of a few lanterns, which were borne by about a dozen servants, and thus it was not noticed that, at the moment at which His Majesty had got to the coach-steps, a man had quite silently insinuated himself through the guard among the crowd of courtiers which surrounded the King. The Monarch suddenly felt a stab on his breast, and, as he immediately put his hand to the place, he observed that it was coloured red with his blood. He quickly turned round, and, so doing, distinctly saw the man who had stabbed him; he thereupon exclaimed, "Seize the murderer!" This took place on the instant, and the wretch, who at once confessed the deed, was hurried into a room on the ground floor, the so-called "Salle des Gardes," where he was strictly searched. Nothing was found on him, however, except thirty

heavy pieces of gold, a prayer-book, and a sharp knife with two blades.

He was at once handed over to the Provost-Marshal, who had been quickly summoned, and who conveyed him immediately into the same prison in which previous regicides had been confined. While this was taking place, a report spread abroad that the King had been either severely wounded or murdered, and this went like lightning through the whole city, causing, as may be imagined, the greatest excitement. Still greater, even, was the consternation at Court, as it was at first believed that the wound of the King, who betook himself immediately to his own apartments after the murderous attempt, was dangerous, and that there might be a change on the throne. The party of the Dauphin, to which the Jesuits gave the tone, already began to rejoice, while the latter went so far as to induce the heir to the throne to issue an order for the immediate removal from Court of Madame de Pompadour. In the meantime it came out that there was no great danger to be apprehended from the King's wound, and after a few days he was entirely convalescent. When, then, Madame de Pompadour learned this, she triumphantly returned again to Court, and, from the manner in which she was received by the King, it became clearly apparent to everyone that her power and influence were not in the least diminished.

But to return now to the murderer. The investigation, which was at once instituted against him, showed that his name was Robert Franz Damiens, twenty-two years of age, and he named Tieulay, near Arras, in the Department of Artois, as his birthplace. His father had been a farmer, but as he had become bankrupt, the education of the youth was not much considered. His parents were glad when he was engaged as a cook's boy in the Jesuit College at Arras, and left him, after this, completely to himself and his good fortune. This latter, however, did not particularly favour him, as it brought him no further than to be a cook, and on quitting Arras he was servant here and there to different gentlemen. He also did not distinguish himself by any means by a moral mode of life, although he had been brought up by the sons of Loyola in bigoted fanaticism, but, on the contrary, he was a slave to the commonest vices, and was well acquainted with the art of thieving. This, however, did not

prevent the Jesuits, when he happened to be without bread, from giving him some support, and two years before the attempt they installed him as cook in the Jesuit college in Paris, in place of his former post in Arras; this time, however, for only a short period, as, on their recommendation, he entered into service again with a gentleman, and remained in his place until a few weeks before the attempt. Nothing more could be ascertained regarding his former life; but did it not seem quite apparent that he was nothing more than a tool in the hands of the Jesuits? He certainly himself denied having any guilty accomplices, and even adhered to this statement on being subjected to torture. He admitted, however, that eight days before the deed he confessed his whole intention to a Jesuit Father, and obtained absolution from him. Besides, he gave still further proof, which but too clearly showed that it had been the sons of Loyola who had driven the fanatical man to venture on the attempt at murder, as well as that they had also full knowledge of his intention. But how? Was not a coachman coming from Versailles at 8 o'clock in the evening of the 5th of January accosted by two gentlemen, who, it was clearly seen, wore the Jesuit costume under their mantles, and asked whether anything new had taken place at Versailles; and on the coachman saying that he knew of nothing fresh, did not the one gentleman whisper to the other, "The act has, then, failed"? Did not a cobbler's wife in Paris, called Margaret Lepin, who had a son in the Jesuit College, write on the 31st December 1756 to a relative at Langest, that she would communicate to him on the 6th of January next a piece of intelligence of which he little dreamt? Did not the Treasurer of England, Monsieur de la Boissière, in a society at Calais, in which the present position of France was vehemently being discussed, hear a Father of the Order of Jesus exclaim, "The King had better take care, as there were always other Ravaillacs to be found"? Did not the Queen's Father Confessor, the Polish Jesuit Father Brigansesky—the Queen Marie Leszinska was a daughter of Stanislaus, King of Poland—make use of the following words to Count Zalutzky, the Grand Refendary of Poland, a few days before the attempt, "The Pompadour will be conquered at length if all goes as it ought to go"? In short, there was proof sufficient of the complicity of the Jesuits, and

the population of Paris, therefore, affirmed afresh that the sons of Loyola were the originators of the attempt. Indeed, they conspired together and assembled round the Jesuit College, in order to set it on fire, with all its contents, and this would most certainly have taken place had not the crowds been dispersed by an armed force. Because, however, no perfectly clear proof was brought forward, the first President of the Court of Justice, named Maupeou, who was well disposed towards the Jesuits, gave it as his opinion that it was unnecessary to enter into minor details respecting the trial, and, as the majority of the judges agreed with him in this opinion, they contented themselves with passing a single sentence, that is, on the assassin, Robert Franz Damiens. Certainly it could not be concealed that this conclusion did not altogether satisfy public opinion; but this circumstance was got over by impressing upon the execution of the criminal a character of extraordinary severity, and making a grand spectacle thereof. And this was, indeed, done, and, truly, to such a degree, that it gave the execution an impress of martyrdom, which had never before been known; indeed, the sentence was carried out with such frightfully cruel severity, that it makes one shudder to read of it. I will, therefore, make but a short allusion to the matter.

On the 28th of March, at half past 4 o'clock, Damiens was brought out of prison and dragged upon the scaffold erected on the Place de Grèves; there he was stripped naked and bound with iron chains to a stake which was raised in the centre of the scaffold. Then the hand by which the deed had been perpetrated was uncovered, bound round with sulphur, and held over a red-hot pot until it was completely consumed and reduced to charcoal. After this, large pieces of flesh were torn from his breast, arms, and legs, with red-hot tongs, and boiling oil and melted lead were poured into the wounds along with burning pitch. Lastly, four horses were yoked on to his arms and legs, and the body was thus torn slowly into four pieces. Fully three hours were employed in executing this horrible butchery, and during these three hours the miserable wretch still lived and continued to breathe. Indeed, it was only after the completion of the quartering that, losing consciousness, he at length expired. By the hideousness of the execution, the Parisians became so satisfied as to begin to forget that the

guilty accomplices had been allowed to escape through their fingers. This was not the case, however, as regards Madame de Pompadour, for she felt internally a wrathful indignation towards those who, when the King was wounded, had brought about her banishment from Versailles, that is, towards the Jesuits, and her great desire was to have her revenge upon them. Well knowing, besides, with what dangerous enemies she had to deal, she determined to proceed to work as carefully as possible, and to consider carefully every step prior to action. Before everything, for this reason, she set about gaining subtle allies over to her side, and with this object she took care to form an intimate relationship with the Duc de Choiseul, whom the King, at her instigation, had made at once his Prime Minister. This new minister was, however, such a keen observer, and clear-headed, as well as powerful and energetic man, that he soon acquired for himself the name of the French Pombal.

The Jesuits, too, had every reason to take precautions, and to collect all their forces to guard against him, and counteract the Pompadour-Choiseul coalition. But the extraordinary height to which the fraternity had risen under Louis XIV. and his grandson, Louis XV., had engendered in them such a spirit of arrogance that they considered it to be impossible that they should ever be disturbed in the enjoyment of their power, and, consequently, they opposed to that coalition merely presumption and defiance. And still further, they even allowed themselves publicly to attack and slander the King in vehement discourses from the pulpit, on account of his intimacy with Pompadour, while they hoped in their haughty giddiness that the Monarch would be so crushed thereby that he would at once dismiss his mistress with disgrace and scorn! However, this did not come about in the least degree, but, on the contrary, the ruler now gradually took a regular hatred to the Order of Jesus, and lent full belief to the assurances of his minister that for all the quarrels and evil confusion that at that time prevailed in France the Society was alone to blame. Having got him thus far, it was no longer difficult for the Pompadour to bring him to the conviction that the best method of putting an end to this would be to drive the whole Society of Jesus completely out of France; and from this time forward he only waited for a suitable opportunity

to free for ever his native land from the great plague of the black cohort.

This opportunity soon came, as just at that time Father La Vallette became notoriously bankrupt, as I have already related in the Fourth Book. The Parliament, to whom the creditors complained, decided, as the reader will remember, against the Jesuits, and condemned them to pay the debts of La Vallette. It further decided, moreover, that a body which had such institutions as those of the Society of Jesus should not have any existence or be tolerated in any well-regulated State; and upon this decision Louis XV., in the year 1762, addressed himself to the General of the Order, Ricci, at Rome, in order to induce him to effect some improvements in the statutes of the Society, at all events so far as France was concerned. Ricci proudly replied, "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint*," that is to say, "The Jesuits must remain as they are, or cease to exist." A precisely similar reply was given also by Pope Clement XIII., to whom the King had also applied respecting the reformation of the Order, and it is beyond a doubt that both of them, the Pope as well as the General, believed that Louis XV. would allow himself to be intimidated by such an arrogant refusal. The cunning Pompadour, however, and the energetic minister took good care that this should not be the case, but, on the contrary, that he should give the Parliament free permission to submit all the statutes of the Order of Jesus to a renewed accurate examination. This took place, and the Parliament at once declared the Society of Ignatius to be one whose teaching was insulting to Christian morality, disturbing at the same time every principle of religion—as one which, in all States and in all places, was the occasion of the greatest disturbances, so that the sacred person of the ruler could no longer enjoy any security. It went on to say further:

"Such a Society could not any longer be endured, and therefore it should be abolished in France. If, however, it would suit those who had been hitherto members of the Society to retire from the Order, severing their connection, in truth and for ever, from the General in Rome, giving over to the State their colleges and other houses, and living henceforth as private individuals, their residence in France might be allowed to them; while, if they swore to be faithful subjects for the future, and to

submit themselves to the laws of the land, they might lay claim to a considerable pension."

Such was the resolution of Parliament; but the Jesuits were not agreeable to do this, and declined to take the oath. Some five or six, indeed, among the five thousand—the number to which the sons of Loyola now amounted in France—individually declared themselves prepared to render obedience to the edict of the High Court of Justice, and were formally expelled from the Order as recreant and perjured transgressors! This was, indeed, too much of a resistance to law, and, consequently, on the 9th of March 1764, the Parliament, in solemn conclave assembled, declared, almost unanimously, that all the members of the Society of Jesus should be compelled to quit France within the period of one month. This resolution was at once laid before the King for confirmation, and the whole world was now intent to know what he would do, as the said resolution was of no effect without the King's signature. The sons of Loyola still entertained hope, as they held it to be impossible that a descendant of Louis XIV. could, in bitter earnest, think of their destruction, and they had the heart of the Dauphin completely in their hands. They therefore besieged the ruler, through him, in all kinds of ways, in order that he might refuse his sanction to the resolution of Parliament. The fact is that the Monarch wavered for some time, but at length he decided against the Society. He decreed that the Society of Jesus should henceforth cease to have any existence in France or in any lands or colonies subject to French rule; further, that the non-French members of the Society should at once quit the country; and that, lastly, those born in France should only be permitted to remain in the country if they relinquished all their ecclesiastical functions, living for the future as private individuals, subject to the laws. Thus enjoined Louis XV.; and that such decree should be strictly carried into effect the Duc de Choiseul, his First Minister and Councillor, took good care.

BOOK VII.

THE APPARENT DEATH OF JESUITISM;

AND

ITS TERRIBLE REVIVIFICATION.

MOTTO:

Auf, ihr Männer, rüstet euch nun mannhaft,
Lasst euch von der Mönchrott' nicht betrügen
Höret auf zu schlafen, wachet emsig.
Jagt das schwarz' Gesindel aus dem Lande!
Auf, ihr Männer, wappnet euch zum Handeln,
Zeiget, welcher Glaube sei der eure!
Duldet nicht, dass man euch spottend schelte,
Lasst euch von den List'gen nicht verschlingen
Wieder bau'n sie ihre Brütenester,
Unsres Zornes haben sie vergessen,
Der sie aus dem Land getrieben hatte;
Wieder schicht sie her zu uns der Teufel!
Wo bist Du, Luthere, mit den Spiessen,
Diese Pfaffen-Igel sauft zu kitzeln?
Ha, rechtzeitig wird er auferstehen
Und mit seiner scharfen Zung' euch fassen;
Einen bittern Schmaus gibts dann, ihr Bursche,
Ihr Berführer, Lügner und Betrüger,
Ihr Berderber jeden guten Werkes.
Ei ja, diese Burche mid der Glatze,
Die sich brüsten mit dem Namen Jesu.
Und doch sind die ärgsten Widersacher
Jesu—ha, mit euch, den Jesuiten,
Wird der Teufel seine Oefen heizen,
Sämmtlich musst ihr in der Hölle braten!

Alte Reimchronik.

CHAPTER I.

THE ABOLITION OF THE JESUIT ORDER BY POPE CLEMENT XIV.

It may easily be supposed that the fury of the Jesuit General, Ricci, in Rome, was beyond all bounds when he became acquainted with the frightful news of the expulsion of the Jesuit Order from Portugal, Spain, and France, and this fury was shortly still more to be increased. In the year 1767, Ferdinand IV., King of Naples and Sicily, who had obtained these Crowns from his father, Charles III. of Spain, on the importunity of the latter, as also by the counsel of his very enlightened minister, Bernard Tanuzzi, determined to do away with the Society of Jesus throughout his dominions, and simply on this account, that the peace, security, and well-being of his subjects had been completely undermined by them. Scarcely had his resolution been formed than, in the night between the 20th and 21st November in the year mentioned, the whole of the Jesuits were arrested, put into carriages which were in readiness, and taken to the nearest seaports, whence they were transported in ships of war to Civita Vecchia, in the States of the Church. This was, again, another frightful blow to the Order, and the General became almost mad on account thereof; and not only he, but also the great patron and friend of his Society, the then reigning Pope Clement XIII.; so his Holiness immediately protested in the strongest manner against such a decree of the Government. But this protest had no effect whatever, as

Ferdinand IV., or, rather, his minister Tanuzzi, strongly adhered to his determination to expel the black cohort; and still less result had a petition of complaint sent by the Pope to the Imperial Court of Vienna. On the contrary, through the strong language in which the memorial was couched, Jesuit matters were still further injured, and the immediate effect was that two other Rulers, namely, Emanuel Pinto, the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John at Malta, and the Ruler of Parma, the young and courageous Duke Ferdinand, a very near relation of the King of Spain, caused the members of the Society of Jesus to be seized over-night, and transported in a body to the States of the Church.

Thus, then, the smaller Catholic potentates imitated the example of their greater brethren—even, as we have seen, the Prince of Parma, ruler of one of the most diminutive States existing in the world, of a State, moreover, over which for centuries the Popes claimed entire control. Matters proceeded, indeed, beyond all conception, and Clement XIII. allowed himself to be completely overcome by rage. Moreover, the Jesuits, as he had always shown himself to be their submissive creature, continually stirred up the fire, and while they whispered to him that it would be the easiest matter in the world to deal with such an insignificant ruler through his apostolical power, they never desisted, until the spirit of Gregory VII. came over him and hurried him on to adopt a most foolish and eccentric method of procedure. Under date the 30th January 1768, he issued a Bull with the title of An Admonition, in which he declared the decrees of Duke Ferdinand, relative to the expulsion of the Jesuits, to be null and void, and also strictly forbade, at the same time, the Bishop of Parma to proceed against them. He also excommunicated from the Church all those connected with the preparation, proclamation, and carrying out of the said decrees, more especially the ruling Duke himself, and his minister, Du Tillot, and declared them to be deprived of all religious consolation until, through humble submission, they had again obtained the Papal favour. This was the utterance which the sons of Loyola caused Pope Clement XIII. to make; and, certainly, even the Bull *Unigenitus*, emitted during the Jansenist strife, of unhappy memory, could not have been more worthily expressed by a Hildebrand or an Innocent III.; but Clement XIII. was soon

to learn that the times of Hildebrand and Innocent had gone by, that is, that the Papal lightning of excommunication no longer terrified, but was rendered harmless by the sovereign power of the secular rulers.

No sooner had Clement XIII. caused his Bull of Condemnation, called *Monitorium*, to be put up in the principal churches of Rome, and to be proclaimed to the whole of Catholic Christendom, than a general outcry of dissatisfaction was raised against the misuse of ecclesiastical power, and, at the same time, formal protestations followed from the French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Neapolitan Governments. Indeed, in Venice, Genoa, Monaco, and other places, it was proclaimed in the streets, by sound of kettledrum and trumpet, that the Pope was not authorised to mix himself up in State affairs; and, in a word, almost all the Catholic States made the case of the Duke of Parma their own. Consequently, Clement XIII. was from all sides assailed to withdraw the so-called *Monitorium*, and to allow the Jesuits, who had certainly been the originators of the same, to fall. The more he was attacked, however, the more obstinate was he, and the louder he bestowed on his dear friends the Jesuits the most extravagant eulogies. "Sooner," declared he, "shall the world fall to pieces, than that he should allow anything to befall them, as they were the only true support of the Papacy, or (as he expressed it) of Christendom, and this itself would be in danger if they were overtaken by calamity." Consequently, not only did he not retract the Bull of Excommunication against Parma, but he required at once all the Governments, who had expelled the Jesuits, to adopt contrary measures, and to dismiss, at all events, those who had originated the decree of banishment. This drove the matter, then, to extremities, and at once verified the adage, "When one enters the wood so, it resounds again." In other words, as nothing was to be gained in the way of friendly representations, the Bourbon Courts resolved upon more serious measures, and the King of the Two Sicilies seized Benevent and Ponte Corvo, while the King of France, took possession of Avignon, together with the county of Venessain. These were Papal lands upon Neapolitan and French territories, to which the kings mentioned had no claim whatever; but they desired to testify to the Pope, that, if he wished for war, he must abide by

the consequences; and they gave him to understand, that even the States of the Church would be snatched from him if he did not yield. It did not come to this, as Clement XIII. died suddenly from apoplexy in the night of the 3rd February 1769, and all further violent measures at once ceased, as it was hoped that it might be possible to cause a much more tolerant Prince of the Church to succeed him. This actually occurred, but not without much trouble, as the Jesuits had on their side a considerable proportion of the Cardinals, with whom the election of Pope rested, and these did everything in their power to obtain a victory. So it happened that immediately on the first scrutiny—the conclave took place on the 15th February 1769—most of the votes, although not a decisive number, fell upon Cardinal Chigi, a declared friend of the Jesuits; and he would certainly have been elected as Pope had not Cardinals Orsini and Bernis, in the name of the Kings of Naples and France, declared that no election could be valid until the foreign Cardinals, residing in Naples, Paris, Lisbon, and elsewhere, had arrived. Still, even after the appearance of these prelates, it remained doubtful whether the Jesuitically-disposed party might not prevail, as this latter formed a firmly-united body, while the remaining Cardinals were more or less divided as to their votes. But why should I dilate further? Finally, besides Chigi, the lot fell successively upon the Cardinals Serbelloni, Stoppani, Fantuzzi, and Sersale, and the majority of the princes of the Church were compelled to come to the opinion, that if the tiara was not placed upon a candidate approved of by the Bourbon Courts—as it was not so much the election of a Pope as of a Bishop of Rome that was in question—then the rulers of France, Spain, Naples, and Portugal would appoint some Patriarch who should be independent of Rome. Thus alarmed, most of the votes, on the 18th May, fell upon Cardinal Ganganelli, who, from the opinions hitherto held by him, gave occasion to hope that, by making concessions, he would be in a position to re-establish peace with the enraged Monarchs.

Giovanni Vicenzo Antonio Ganganelli* belonged to the

* The Jesuits, latterly, gave out that Giovanni Ganganelli was by birth a German heretic of the name of Johann Georg Lange, and had only come to Rome in the later period of his life, whither he had wandered as a journeyman printer, in order to change his religion; of course, however, merely ostensibly, as he remained inwardly a heretic, a fact which the abolition of the

number of those few cardinals who had declared themselves to be against the views of the Pope in the Congregation which Clement XIII. had held regarding the affairs of the Jesuits and those of the Duke of Parma, and he persisted in his anti-Jesuitical notions, as he possessed a strength of character not easily to be shaken, although Clement, on that account, caused him to feel the full weight of the Papal displeasure. It was to be feared, after he had obtained the tiara, that the Jesuits might still be able to bring him over to their side—that he might be treated with the same persistency as his predecessor. But, assuredly, this was not the case with him; and, on this account, the sons of Loyola were filled with unspeakable rage when they became aware of the result of the Conclave. They believed nought else than that it was a question of their existence, as, even though the new Pope took the name of his predecessor, and called himself Clement XIV.—and in this name lay a very good augury for them—he would, doubtless, at once accede to the demands of the Bourbon Powers respecting the complete abolition of the Jesuit Order. Besides, not only did they believe this, but a number of other people also held the same view, particularly those kings and rulers of whom I have already spoken. On this account the whole world was the more astonished when Clement XIV., immediately on his accession to the government, dispensed to the Society of Jesus, for their missions in distant regions of the earth, entirely new and most extensively indulgent privileges, and some weeks later, on the 15th of July 1769, wrote to the King of France that it was quite impossible for him to overthrow, or to be too hard upon, such a praiseworthy institution as the Sons of Loyola, which had been confirmed by nineteen of his predecessors. People now asked themselves, could they be so remarkably deceived in

Jesuit Order distinctly proved. In all this, however, there was not a word of truth, for Giovanni was the son of a good Catholic physician, and was born on the 31st October 1705, at San Arcangelo, near Rimini. Originally destined to the study of medicine, he made no inconsiderable progress in the sciences. On the death of his father, however, he, at the age of eighteen, entered into the Franciscan Minoriten Order, and devoted himself with much zeal to the study of theology. Latterly he attracted the notice of the keenly-observant Pope Benedict XIV., who entrusted him with the important post of a Consultant of the Inquisition. The successor of Benedict, however, Clement XIII., raised him, in the year 1759, to the dignity of a Cardinal, and from this time forth, up to the period of the Jesuit complications, took counsel with him in all important State affairs.

Ganganelli, or had the latter been already tamed and brought over by the cunning Loyolites to favour their cause? No, neither the one nor the other, but the new Pope wished to secure the Society of Jesus, in order that he might not be impeded from carrying out his intentions through cabals, stratagems, and deeds of violence. He did not wish to run counter at the beginning to the College of Cardinals, of which he anticipated nothing good from its friendliness to the Jesuits, in order that he might set to work the less undisturbed with his plans, and be able to succeed in them. On this account he put his trust in none, not even in those by whom he was immediately surrounded, and he did not even nominate a Cardinal secretary of state, that is, a minister of foreign affairs. He rather, on the contrary, preferred to treat directly himself with the foreign Powers, and all the correspondence with the Kings of Portugal, Spain, France, and Naples, as well as with their ministers, such as Pombal, Aranda, Choiseul, Du Tillot, &c., passed through his own hands. So surely did the new Pope understand how to shroud his true views in the cloud of secrecy; and much, in some political circles, as people were puzzled, his transactions were, at least, carried on in such a way that he attempted to place himself on a good footing with the Royal Courts so deeply insulted by the proceedings of his predecessor—endeavouring not only to allow the split which had already occurred between them and Rome to extend no further, but altogether to do away with the disagreement by adopting conciliatory steps. He at once revoked the *Monitorium* issued by Clement XIII. against the Duke of Parma, and formally freed this Prince from excommunication. Thereupon he begged the King of Portugal to keep again, as formely, an ambassador in Rome, and at once sent on his part a Nuncius as his representative at Lisbon. He did precisely the same thing with the Court of Spain, and here, also, had the good fortune to be met half way. The Governments of Naples, Venice, and Tuscany conducted themselves rather differently, as they did away with a number of cloisters, and, of their own accord, instituted numerous reforming innovations; but, instead of resenting this with fire and sword, Clement XIV. remained quiet, even with the danger of being blamed by many for his inaction, by some for secretly favouring these innovations. In short, he clearly wished to re-

establish peace, and displayed by his conciliatory acts a moderation and benevolence which had not for centuries been shown by the See of Rome. One stone of offence he could not, however, remove, with all his complaisance, namely, the Jesuitical scandal, and all the Bourbon Courts intimated to him unanimously, through their ambassadors, that no formal reconciliation could take place, and no restitution of the territories of Benevent, Ponte Corvo, Avignon, and Venessain, be made, no Peter's Pence, and no contributions and other moneys sent to Rome, unless the Society of Jesus were formally expelled from the Roman Curie. In vain did the Holy Father, by Cardinals Bernis and Orsini, and by the Abbé Azparu, who represented the French, Spanish and Neapolitan Courts, beg that he might have time for consideration, "as he could not suppress such a celebrated Order without having reasons which would justify him in the eyes of the world, and particularly in those of God." In vain did he defer the affair for three full years, in the hope of tiring out the Bourbon Courts by temporising; in vain, finally, did he expect these latter to be satisfied with certain reforms which he promised to make in the Jesuitical establishment, and, in fact, the beginning of which was the closure, between the years 1770 and 1772, of several of the seminaries in Rome, Frascati, and Bologna. The Bourbon Courts, in short, which now included that of the piously-bigoted Maria Theresa of Austria, categorically required the complete abolition of the Order,* and, consequently, the Pope was compelled, for good or evil, to accommodate himself to this step. I said for good or evil, and did this on good grounds. Although Clement XIV., as long as he was Cardinal, strenuously opposed Jesuit attacks; although he might have been completely convinced as to the injurious tenor of Jesuit morality and teaching; although the sons of Loyola unreservedly placed obedience to their General far higher than that to the Holy See; although, on these grounds, they often denied their services to the latter, and, indeed, openly opposed it; although, lastly, the whole of the remaining Orders, as well as most of the secular clergy, lived at enmity with the Loyolites, and longed for nothing better than to be released from their

* The first time this occurred was in the beginning of the year 1769; it was repeated in July 1769, again in the summer of 1770, and, lastly, in March 1772.

arrogance; although all this was the case, it must also be admitted, on the other side, that no institution had been of so much use to the Papacy as that of the Loyolites, as it was they alone who, at the time of the reforming commotion against the supremacy of Rome, had saved the greater part of the Catholic dominions, and in later times had constituted themselves the champions for the Papal sublime rights against the pretensions of secular monarchs. Besides, could it be concealed that the Pope who ventured to call the Order of Jesus into question undertook an act of far greater daring than a warrior who placed his cannon against them in the field of battle? while, too, every representative of Christ on earth who had contemplated anything of the kind before—I call to remembrance among the Popes, Sixtus V., Clement VIII., and Innocent XIII. —had been quickly removed from the face of the earth. Only dire necessity could have induced Clement XIV. to fulfil the wishes of the monarchs, and thus he at length issued the Brief that decreed the abolition of the Jesuit Order.

Though bearing date the 21st of July 1773, it was not at that time made public. The Pope, first of all, wished that its contents might be proved to be correct, and on that account nominated a Commission or Congregation, consisting of Cardinals Corsini, Marefoschi, Caraffa, Zelada, and Casoli, of the Prelates Macedonio and Albani, and, lastly, of two celebrated theologians, Brother Mamachi, a Dominican, and Brother Christopher de Monferrate, a Franciscan. These nine assembled daily with His Holiness, and, with him, went over the contents of the Brief word by word; each of them, however, was solemnly pledged not to divulge a single syllable as to their transactions, and thus, in fact, no one knew what was going on. On the 16th of August the consultation was brought to a conclusion, and the Pope then subscribed the document, which, from the words with which it began, received the title *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*. It was an act of great importance, as the Pope thereby signed the death-warrant of an Order which, shortly before, from its power, had been in a position to shake the whole world, and he thereby, too, sealed his own fate. He, also, had a clear presentiment of this, as he exclaimed while signing, "I hereby attest the proximity of my death." But, nevertheless, his hand did not tremble, the appearance of his signature being as firm

and determined as ever, and it was apparent that he had acted with the most complete and well-considered determination.*

* As characteristic of this Brief, I will here extract a few of the most important passages of the same :—

"§ 17. . . . . Nevertheless one perceives, from the contents and expressions of these apostolical enactments, that in this Society, immediately on its institution, various seeds of discord and jealousy germinated, not only in its interior economy, but also in regard to other regular Orders, the secular priesthood, the academies, universities, and public schools, and even against the princes in whose States they had been received, and that contentions soon sprang up in respect to the quality and nature of the vows, the time of admission to the same, the power of expelling members, the admission of these latter to the holy functions without the priestly office, and the solemn vows, according to the rules and regulations of the Council of Trent, and of Pope Pius V.; then, again, also, in respect to the unlimited power with which the General of this Order was endowed, as to dogmas, schools, freedoms, and privileges, which the bishops, and other persons holding ecclesiastical and secular offices, judged to be antagonistic to their jurisdiction and prerogatives. Finally, there were never wanting accusations of the greatest consequence which were made against members of this Society, especially that such, from their audacious, vehement, and persecuting zeal were continually disturbing the peace and quiet of Christendom."

"§ 21. . . . We have remarked, to our deep regret, that our admonitions to them to serve God, and not to mix themselves up with other matters, especially secular and political, as well as many other practical measures, have been almost powerless and of no effect, with the view of dispersing and extinguishing the very many disturbances, accusations, and complaints against this frequently-mentioned Society, and that numbers of our predecessors in vain gave themselves much trouble on this account in re-establishing the desired peace in the Church, namely, Popes Urban VII., Clement IX., Clement X., Clement XI., Clement XII., Alexander VII., Alexander VIII., Innocent X., Innocent XI., Innocent XII., Innocent XIII., and Benedict XIV. Our predecessors had to undergo much vexation on that account; indeed, Pope Innocent XI., driven by necessity, went so far as to forbid the Society to receive and invest novices. Further, Innocent XIII. was compelled to threaten them with the same punishment, and Benedict XIV. closed the visitation of the inspection of the houses and colleges in the dominions of our well-beloved son in Christ, the most faithful King of Portugal and Algarvien. Lastly, the Holy See has received no consolation, no assistance, from the Society, and no advantage to Christendom from the Apostolical Brief, which was rather extorted than obtained from our predecessor Clement XIII., of holy memory—a Brief in which the Society of Jesus was much extolled and freshly constituted."

"§ 23. . . . After so many and violent storms, all well-disposed people hoped to see once more the much wished-for day which should bring peace and quiet. There occurred, however, only still more vehement and dangerous outbreaks as long as this Clement XIII. sat upon the Chair of St. Peter, as stronger complaints and cries were raised, and even here and there the most dangerous revolts, rebellions, and scandals broke out; the more, then, was the bond of Christian love snapped and, indeed, torn, and the hearts of the faithful incited to party spirit, hatred, and enmity; and it lastly went so far that even those who inherited from their forefathers piety and magnanimity towards the generally esteemed Society, and prominently our beloved sons in Christ, the Kings of Spain, France, Portugal, and the Two Sicilies, saw themselves constrained to banish and expel the members of the Order out of their kingdoms, because they looked upon this as a necessary measure in order to prevent Christ being seized and torn out of the lap of the Holy Mother Church."

"§ 25. . . . In consideration that the Society mentioned no longer produces rich fruit, and fails to be of any more use in the way for which it

As soon as the Brief of Abolition was complete, its accomplishment was resolved on, and, indeed, this occurred on the night of the said 16th of August at half-past 1 o'clock. Precisely at that hour the whole of the Corsican Guards advanced and occupied the gates of all the Jesuit colleges and houses in Rome, so that no one could pass in or out. A few minutes after the Papal commissaries, followed by the whole corps of constables or city watchmen, with a prelate and a notary, penetrated into the houses, and immediately assembled all that were present and read to them the act dissolving their Order. They were thereupon allowed three days for consideration whether they would continue to live in the same houses, under the supervision of an ordinary priest, without conducting any religious worship, or whether they would rather completely retire into the world and become, as may be said, secularised. In each case they would receive a suitable sum, in order to live in future; and those who contemplated returning to their relatives and leading a family life, were, in addition, promised a proper travelling allowance. On the other hand, the whole of the Fathers must without delay leave off the costume of their Order, with which view secular clothing, which had been already prepared, was given to them. In this manner were the sons of Loyola present in Rome treated. As regards their General, on the other hand, the often-mentioned Lorenzo Ricci, a slight difference was made. In the case of this individual, who, with his assistants, lived in the charming profess-house Al Jesú, in Rome, an especially strong guard was placed before the door, and then his solemn oath was taken that he would deliver over into the hands of the Papal officials the whole of his possessions, as well as those of the Order. Thereupon, all the rooms, and other places, the profess-houses as well as the remaining Jesuit houses in Rome, were most carefully searched, the archives, chests, and treasuries sealed, and all

was instituted; indeed, as it is scarcely possible, as long as it exists, to re-establish true and durable peace in the Church: from these weighty motives, on mature consideration, we, in the plenitude of Apostolic power, abolish the said Society, suppress it, and dissolve it, and do away with and abolish all and every one of their offices, services, and administrations, their houses, schools, colleges, hospitals, and all their plans for assembling, in whatever kingdom they may be situated, or in whatever province and dominion. We likewise abolish and do away with for ever their statutes, habits and customs, decrees and constitutions, even when sealed by oath or Apostolical confirmation; so that from this day henceforth the Society of Jesus no longer exists."

ingress to them strictly watched by double sentries. His assistants were also removed from the profess-house to other localities, where they were separately confined in order the more effectually to be able to prevent all embezzlements. But it soon appeared that even these measures were not sufficiently stringent, as, on the night of the 18th of August, a thick smoke was suddenly perceived to issue from the chimneys of the German and Hungarian Colleges, and on closer investigation it was found that this was occasioned by papers which the Jesuits had committed in masses to the flames. In consequence of this, Fathers Stefanucci, Favre, Benincosa, and Coltraro, with some other participators, were conducted to the Castle of St. Angelo, and strictly questioned as to what had been the contents of the burnt papers. They, however, confessed nothing; as much, equally, as could be got out of their General and his assistants, from whom it was desired to ascertain where the ready-money and capital, which must certainly have been in the profess-houses, as well as in the colleges, had flown. Indeed, they admitted nothing at all; but at the same time made themselves appear to be as innocent and stupid as if they were unable to count five. The General Ricci had even the foolish assurance to affirm that his Order had never possessed ready-money or bonds; that such a supposition, indeed, was an idle invention of fanciful or evil-disposed persons, and that he could not imagine how people of any sense should not be ashamed even to suggest such a fable.

Precisely the same affirmation was made by his secretary Comoli, as well as by his assistants John de Gusman of Portugal, Ignatius Romberg of Germany, Carl Koryki of France, Francis Montes of Spain, and Antony Gongo of Italy, and, truly, with such a unanimity that it was at once apparent that this little argument had been learnt by heart. This was, indeed, too much of an open bravado for the Judge, named Andreatti, charged with the investigation, and he therefore gave orders, on the 3rd September, that the General, together with his secretary and assistants, should at once be conveyed to the Castle of St. Angelo, in the hope that they would be made more pliable by strict confinement. This removal was immediately effected, and those arrested were closely confined; but there was no question, however, of any of them becoming more compliant, and the

General Ricci, in particular, kept to his false declaration up to the day of his death, on the 24th of November 1775, although it was then pretty well proved that the money of the Jesuits had been for several years, as a precautionary measure, most carefully concealed and taken care of by some of the Order, especially those in high stations, including a couple of Cardinals. One feels overcome by a peculiar sensation when a mighty one of the earth, whose glory had at one time filled the world, comes to a miserable end in reduced circumstances; and this feeling, also, overtakes us when we contemplate the extinction of the Jesuit Order. It had become gigantic during the short period of its existence, more gigantic than any other institution ever hitherto founded by mankind, as it numbered no fewer than 22,792 consecrated members, without taking into account the many associates, novices, and lay brothers. Their possessions, for ten years, extended over the whole world, and its Generals,* who directed the entire arrangements from their profess-house palace in Rome, commanded such riches and dominions † as it

* It may interest the reader to be made acquainted with the names of all the Jesuit Generals, and I therefore append the following list of them:—

	Elected.
1. Ignatius Loyola, Spaniard	1541
2. Jacob Lainez, Spaniard	1558
3. Francisco Borgia, Duke of Gandia, Spaniard	1568
4. Everhard Mercurien, Belgian	1573
5. Claudio Aquaviva, Italian	1581
6. Mucius Vitelleschi, Italian	1615
7. Vincenti Caraffa, Italian	1646
8. Francesco Piccolomini, Italian	1649
9. Alessandro Gothofredi, Italian	1652
10. Godwin Nickel, German	1662
11. Johan Paul Oliva, Italian	1664
12. Carl de Royelle, Belgian	1682
13. Thyrius Gonzalez, Spaniard	1697
14. Maria Angelo Tamburini, Italian	1706
15. Franz Retz, German	1730
16. Ignatius Visconti, Italian	1751
17. Aloys Centurioni, Italian	1755
18. Laurentio Ricci, Italian	1758

† As regards the Dominion, it was divided into five Assistances:—

(1.) The Italian, with the provinces of Rome, Sicily, Naples, Milan, and Venice.

(2.) The Portuguese, with the provinces of Portugal, Goa, Malabar, and Japan (including Siam, Tonquin, and Cochin China), China, Brazil, and Maramnon.

(3.) The Spanish, with the provinces of Toledo, Castille, Arragon, Bestia, Sardinia, Peru, Chili, Terra Firma, Mexico, Philippines, Paraguay, Quito.

(4.) The French, with the provinces of the Isle of France, Aquitania, Lyons, Toulouse, Champagne.

would not be easy to find any ruler able to boast of. But as regards these two things, I mean great riches and great dominions, the Jesuits were proud even to madness, and, at the same time, avaricious to the extent of meanness. Indeed, yet more—while possessing much, they wished to acquire all, and, in order to do this, they did not refrain from the most frightful crimes, even including the murder of reigning sovereigns.

Was it any wonder, then, that by degrees they at length found enemies both in God and men, or that the whole of Christendom longed to be rid of them? Thus it happened that nowhere throughout Europe, and not even in Rome itself, where their head-quarters were, was a hand or foot raised for them on their expulsion and abolition; and they who in their self-inflicted fall fancied to the last moment that they were almost demi-gods, as to power, now blushed to confess that the first begging monk to be met with enjoyed as much consideration as themselves.

Verily, for 100 or 150 years it would have occasioned, at least in Rome, and perhaps elsewhere, a small revolt if force had been exercised, as in this case, against them; but now all had become changed, and the commandant of the Corsican Guard, who had caused his troops to have their weapons carefully loaded before surrounding the Jesuit houses, must have smilingly confessed to himself that he had looked upon the enemy as much more formidable than he proved to be. In spite of all this, however, people would be entirely deceived were they to believe that the sons of Loyola had quietly submitted and resigned themselves to their fate, like fallen pigeons, or that while they had been struck on the right cheek, according to Christian precept, they had offered the left also. That would have been equivalent to conceiving that from wolves they had suddenly become sheep, and such a speedy change of character could not so easily be brought about. And, in fact, such was not the case in the present instance, for the Jesuits did their utmost in order to parry the hard blow that had been dealt them, and tried eventually to repair

(5.) The German, with the provinces of Upper Germany, Lower Germany, Upper Rhine, Austria, Bohemia, Netherlands, Flanders, Poland, Lithuania, and England.

An enormous dominion certainly, especially when it is considered that in each one of the provinces there never existed less than twenty colleges and other Jesuit houses.

it; they played the part of the warrior who, when he is attacked, draws his sword and deals blows right and left of him. But much more had they resort to their old accustomed weapons of cunning and secret mischief, combined with calumniation, lies, and hypocrisy, in order to undermine the position of the enemy gradually, and from behind their backs. Indeed, they did not even disdain the use of other yet more effectual means, whereby they might be able to overcome a powerful enemy more quickly and surely; and what is to be understood by these other means the reader, if he has not already divined, will very shortly be made acquainted with. Before everything they desired to make Clement XIV. suffer for his decree of abolition; as, firstly, they could not hope to be re-established so long as he reigned, and also the world must be convinced that the crime of laying hands upon the Jesuit Order could be expiated by no less a punishment from Heaven than that of instant death. Therefore the Pope was declared, first of all, to be a sacrilegious heretic, a blasphemer, and as having attained the Curie by bribery, and thereupon reports were spread abroad that each of the four monarchs who had demanded the abolition of the Society of Jesus, and more especially Clement XIV., who had in such a nefarious way given his acquiescence to this demand, would in the shortest time be called out of this world by sudden death.

These reports were repeated, from time to time, in various ways, and throughout the whole of Rome it was whispered about that the Pope would not be in a position to open the next year of jubilee. There was once even written over-night, on the gates of the Vatican, the capital letters P. S. S. V., and when, on the following day, there was a question as to the meaning of this secret, the interpretation of it was given thus: "*Præsto sara sede vacante*," "Soon will the Holy See be vacant." But this was still not enough, for, as the letters had been obliterated in all haste, there appeared a second time, in spite of sentinels, the same, though, it is true, with a slight alteration, as I. S. S. S. V., that is: "*In Settembre sara sede vacante.*" The death of the Pope was thus now foretold at a fixed time, and it could be no longer doubted that a malicious intention lay at the bottom of this. Consequently, the strictest investigation was instituted, and it was discovered that a fanatical

female inhabitant of the neighbouring cloister of nuns, of the name of Bernerdina Beruzzi, was more or less implicated in the matter. But, on the other hand, a conviction obtained that this scheme was not a creation of her own brain, but that she had only served as an instrument in the hands of a hidden party, namely, that of the fallen Jesuits. Several of them who had made themselves especially suspected were thereupon arrested; the reports and prophesies of the near death of the Pope were, however, not discontinued on this account, they rather, indeed, the more increased, and permeated throughout the whole of Italy, Germany, and all the Christian States of the world. Thus, at length, there was with many, of necessity, a conviction that an event of great importance was to take place in the approaching September, and even the most enlightened men could not prevent themselves from being haunted from time to time by this belief. Yet still there was really no ground for this idea, as Clement XIV. was in the enjoyment of the most perfect health at the time he signed the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*. Besides, could it be supposed that his powerful frame, as well as his lively and joyous spirits, at all indicated, in the least degree, that he might be suddenly overtaken with a mortal illness? Further, in spite of being possessed of the best of appetites, he lived most moderately, and his whole appearance was still so youthful that he might have passed for a man of some fifty years of age, instead of one of sixty-nine.

It happened that in the Passion Week of 1774, after having partaken of a frugal but heartily-enjoyed dinner, he became aware of an internal commotion, accompanied by a feeling of great cold. From this moment he lost his distinct and clear voice, and was overtaken by a description of catarrh coupled with great hoarseness. His mouth and throat became inflamed, and he experienced a feeling of great burning in the neck. At the same time he was affected with nausea and uneasiness, and in order to be able to breathe he found it necessary to keep his mouth wide open. Thereupon followed vomiting from time to time, with stabbing pains in the abdomen. His stomach also became swollen, and his hair fell out, the nails of his fingers, even, no longer cleaved to the flesh, and began to drop off; and at the same time he experienced such a weakness in his feet that he was constantly compelled to sit down after the shortest walk.

In a word, it seemed to him as if his whole interior was becoming dissolved, and, in consequence, such an absolute prostration set in that in the course of a few weeks he looked more like a shadow than a man.

What kind of exceptional illness was this, then, that had so suddenly overtaken a previously healthy man? He did not for an instant conceal from himself what was the matter with him, but at once freely expressed his conviction to his body-surgeon, Dr. Matteo, that he had been poisoned, and the latter entirely concurred with him in this opinion. Unfortunately the antidotes which were employed for the poor patient had not the desired effect, as it seemed apparent that it was not a question of mineral but of vegetable poison, which had directly penetrated into the vascular system, and thus the wasting of the whole organism progressed unimpeded. On the 10th September a fainting fit occurred, and on coming round he felt himself so weak that he believed he could not survive another day. Still, his strong constitution conquered on this occasion. A week later, however, it seemed that his abdomen had become completely inflamed, as if on fire, and at the same time he was seized with a most violent fever. The pains also increased so frightfully that it was impossible to see him without feeling the greatest pity. At length, on the 22nd of September 1774, death put an end to his horrible condition, and his much-tried spirit took its departure at 13 o'clock according to Italian time, corresponding to 8 o'clock in the morning German time.

Throughout the whole of Rome the unanimous opinion was that the Pope had died from poison, and, indeed, from the so-called "aquetta," which is prepared in Apulia and Calabria, as this does not at once prove fatal, but, according to the dose, it may be predicted beforehand at what time the person poisoned must die. Even, indeed, did anyone have a doubt whether poison had been the cause of death, that doubt must have been at once resolved by the appearance of the corpse, when, on the day following the death, the 23rd September, the process of embalming the body was commenced. The face then presented a leaden colour, while the lips and nails had become quite black. Ash-coloured stripes showed themselves, too, under the skin, on the arms, sides, thighs, and feet, and on other parts of the body blue spots appeared, as if from coagulation of the blood. The

body was opened in order to remove the intestines, which was effected with considerable difficulty, while the whole presented the appearance as if eaten up with something resembling cancer. They were immediately placed in an especially well-closed vessel as the odour was most offensive, while the examination was proceeded with. Not an hour, however, had elapsed before the vessel burst with a loud explosion, and the gases issuing from the intestines produced so frightful a stench that it was impossible any longer to remain in the chamber, and the embalming process had to be discontinued for that day.

On the following day, the 24th, when they came again, it was found that decomposition had made rapid progress, such as never occurs in ordinary cases, but alone in those of poisoning, the face and hands having become quite black, while on the skin appeared thick blisters filled with a noisome lymph, and when these were cut or pressed an odour was emitted entirely similar to that coming from the intestines, and it was, indeed, necessary to avoid coming near the body as much as possible. But this was still not the least difficulty in carrying out the embalmment, as the skin had become detached from almost the whole body of the deceased, as in the case of a putrid carcase. Indeed, the nails came off, and the hair remained on the pillows on which the head rested. Under such circumstances embalmment was, of course, quite out of the question, and it became necessary to hasten to place the body quickly into a coffin before the limbs became entirely separated; and the Roman people had, for this time, to forego the spectacle of the exhibition of a Papal corpse in full Pontifical robes.

It may, then, be admitted as certain that Clement XIV. had died from poison; but the question was, who had poisoned him? The people of Rome quickly gave an answer, and exclaimed as from one throat, "This the Jesuits have done." A precisely similar opinion was held by a greater part of the rest of the world, and, while it was generally allowed that the sons of Loyola had a remarkable interest in seeing their deadly enemy removed from this world, such an opinion must have come tolerably near the truth. They—the members, that is, of the extinct Order of Jesus—had perpetrated an act of revenge; and that it was not contrary to their morals that such an act might be accomplished by poison or dagger we have already sufficiently

learned in detail in a former Book. Besides, they ventured to hope, from the large party disposed towards them in the College of Cardinals, that a head might be given to the Church, by the next Conclave, entertaining entirely different feelings towards the Society of Jesus than those of Clement Ganganelli; and, that such a hope might be realised as soon as possible, was not the murder of a man but a trifle in the eyes of the Loyolites? Let this be as it may—let the poisoning of Pope Clement XIV. have been the work of the Jesuits or not—it is, in any case, certain that they testified infinite delight over the removal of their deadly enemy, and they slandered his memory in such a way as if he had been an outcast from mankind. They called him a cheat and a weak-minded creature at the same time, and published a number of pamphlets about him, wherein they pictured his frightful tyranny in the blackest colours, while, respecting the Abolition Brief (that is, the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*), they declared it to be swarming with absurdities, lies, and contradictions, and of no more value than to be put into the fire and burnt to ashes.

They thus went on for several years, without in the least respect relaxing in their fury and malignant joy, hoping that the more they stormed and inveighed against him the sooner they would succeed in converting the whole of Christendom to their views. When they saw, however, that this method ofproceeding had exactly the opposite effect, and that not a few, owing to the foolishly vehement insults of the Jesuits, openly pointed them out as the murderers of Ganganelli, they all at once changed front and adopted quite different tactics, in order to nullify the abolition which had been decreed. They suddenly spoke of the deceased Clement with deep regret, and, amidst audible sighs, produced a document, affirmed to be autographic, containing a complete abrogation of the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*.

"Scarcely," so did they advance in detailed explanation, "had the Pope attached his signature to the pernicious Brief than he was overtaken by extraordinary qualms of conscience, as to the mischief that the abolition of the Society of Jesus had caused throughout the whole of Christendom; whereupon he thought to re-establish it, as far as possible, and thus came to the determination, through an equally

solemn as voluntary revocation respecting the abolished Society, to bear testimony to their righteousness, in order that they might the more certainly be re-established in their former position by his successor. He had thus produced this renunciation, signed by his own hand, and given it over to the Grand Penitentiary and Cardinal, Boschi, with an order that he should place it before the next Pope; quite quietly, however, be it remarked, in order that the Rulers of France, Spain, Portugal and Naples might not again take alarm. Unfortunately, the now deceased Boschi, had neglected to comply with this order, but a copy of the revocation had, at the same time, been taken by all the high dignitaries of the Church. Fear, nevertheless, prevented the document being brought to the light of day, and it was not till eighteen years after the death of Clement XIV., that this was ventured upon, because entirely different rulers then occupied the Bourbon thrones."

Thus spoke the Jesuits, and they were shameless enough actually to openly flourish the revocation before the world. I say "shameless enough," as one has only to run through this document, which breathes the spirit of a Hildebrand, to be certain that it never could have been executed by Clement XIV., but that "it was a subsequent production of the Jesuits themselves, which had only been manufactured in order to bring about their re-establishment therewith." It would be a misfortune to lose a single word of this, as even the friends of the Society of Jesus must now admit that the invention of Clement's Revocation was nothing more or less than a downright invention incapable of defence.

CHAPTER II.

THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JESUIT ORDER; OR, THE NULLIFICATION OF THE BULL "DOMINUS AC REDEMPTOR NOSTER."

On the 16th of August in the year 1773, the Bull was published by which Clement XIV. declared the Order of Jesus to be abolished, suppressed, and done away with, precisely as in his time Clement V. abolished the Order of the Knights Templars, Pius V. the Order of the Humilitants, Urban VIII. the Congregation of Convent Brethren, and Innocent X. the Order of the Holy Basilius; and, from the day above named, the Society of Jesus had no longer any legal existence—at least, no existence according to ecclesiastical law.

Be it also well understood that those Governments who had expressly demanded the abolition of the said Society permitted the publication as well as the carrying into effect of the Bull, and, consequently, it was at once officially published in Portugal, Spain, France, Naples, and Parma. Exactly the same took place in Venice and Tuscany, and generally throughout all Italy, and the Kingdom of Poland likewise followed the good example without any special opposition. Only in Germany were there many different opinions; and, particularly, the celebrated Empress Maria Theresa, might be singled out as the one who, on account of her extraordinary bigotry, resisted with hands and feet, that any injury should befal the pious Fathers in her country. In vain did her broad-thinking son, afterwards the Emperor Joseph II.,

urge her not to oppose the wishes of the other European monarchs; in vain, also, did her Prime Minister, Kaunitz, entreat her—the same it was who proved to her that she had been vilely betrayed by her Father Confessor, Father Parhamer, as regards State secrets entrusted to him in Confession. She would not yield until Pope Clement XIV., in a special letter addressed to her, as a true-hearted daughter of the Church, explained the necessity for abolishing the said Order, and carrying into effect the Abolition Bull.

Only then was the Bull promulgated, and the Society of Jesus ceased to exist in Austria also; but, the closing of the Jesuit Colleges, and the confiscation of their goods was proceeded with in such a mild manner that it could be easily seen that the Ruler was still actuated by their influence. Exactly in the same spirit were the sons of Loyola dealt with in Bavaria, and here, as in Austria, time was allowed them to secure their ready-money and capital, especially their movable effects, together with their archives and papers. Facts proved in this way that the reports in circulation as to the riches of the Society of Jesus had not been exaggerated in the least degree, but had rather fallen short of the truth, as when at length the sons of Loyola were proceeded against in Bavaria, it came out that the immovable property alone of the College of Ingolstadt amounted to upwards of three millions of gulden, and that of Munich even to much more. Different other things were also found which strongly compromised the Order of Jesus, as, for example, a crucifix, which, when it was kissed, the person kissing it was killed by a dagger springing out, as well as an executioner's sword with the remarkable inscription, *Hoc ferrum centum et decem reis* (*regibus?*) *capita demessuit.* But the most cruel shock was experienced by the discovery, in an underground room in the Munich College, where there was a vault entirely concealed, of eleven human skeletons hung in chains, which were all dressed in Jesuit clothing, and had apparently fallen victims to the supreme justice of the Order of Jesus. Naturally enough, the Electoral Government Commissary, who had made the discovery, wished to institute an investigation; but endeavours were made in high places to hush the matter up, and the Commissary had to be satisfied with the declaration of the Rector, that these were eleven brethren who had lost their reason, and who, on

account of their insanity, it was necessary to confine in chains. It is easy to see, from this trifling example, how infinitely dear the Order of Jesus had become to the Crown of Bavaria, as it had even covered such notorious things with a veil of blind love in order not to allow the Society to sink in public estimation. Not less zealous friends of the Order of Jesus were some of the South German Prince Priests, while the Bishops of Eichstadt, Basel, and Augsburg, even gave indications of wishing to set at defiance the Papal Abolition Bull. Matters did not, however, proceed so far, as the rest of the Church Princes of Germany strongly objected, lest through a predilection for the Jesuits a breach should occur with the Papacy; thus the Society of Jesus was abolished throughout the whole of the Catholic countries and small States of Germany. I said, "in the whole of the Catholic countries of Germany," but not correctly, as there was an exception in the Catholic Province of Silesia, which King Frederick the Great of Prussia had shortly before incorporated in his kingdom. According to the Peace of Breslau, the *status quo* in everything relating to religion was guaranteed by this King as regards Silesia, and he, consequently, believed that he was also necessitated to maintain the *status quo* as affecting the Institution of the Jesuits. He apparently, however, was not in the least disposed to take the Order of Jesus under his protection; but he held by the sons of Loyola thus far in order that educational matters, which had for a long time been completely conducted there by these Fathers, should not suffer loss. This appears from a letter which he wrote to Voltaire on the subject; and in order to give proof of this, I may be allowed to quote here some passages from the document mentioned, dated 18th November 1777:—

"We have none," writes the great King, "who are capable of conducting the classes; we had neither Fathers of the Oratorium, nor Piarists, and the remainder of the monks are sunk in the deepest ignorance. I must, therefore, hold by the Jesuits, otherwise the schools will fall, and, consequently, I choose the first evil. Besides, if the Order had to be abolished, the University (Breslau) could no longer be kept up, and I should then be placed under the necessity of allowing my subjects in Silesia to study in Prague, that is, in an Austrian university, where the principles of Government are quite different."

Thus, as teachers of youth, and only as such, did Frederick retain the Jesuits; not, however, as members of the Society of Jesus, which in his eyes had ceased to have any existence. On this account, even, the latter were compelled to lay aside their name of Jesuits, as well as their peculiar attire, and adopt secular costume, as well as the appellation of "Priests of the Royal School Institute." They were also strictly forbidden to engage in any other pursuits than that of the instruction of youth, and the "School Commission," which is the highest authority in all matters relating to education, was charged to take care that this interdict was not infringed. Frederick the Great also prohibited the sons of Loyola from receiving novices or founding novitiates, as he did not wish them to be further encouraged; and thus, from the very beginning, they were placed, as may be said, at the side of the grave. Under such altered circumstances, then, the Jesuits continued to remain in Silesia; but how different was this from their former state? It might, in truth, be called a mere nominal existence; and even this did not continue very long, as, in the year 1781, after the death of Frederick the Great, his successor, Frederick William II. abolished the "School Institute," and relegated its priests into private life, providing them with small pensions. In this manner was an end made also of the Order of Jesus in Silesia in reference to the Catholic provinces of Prussia, and it might be said, indeed, to be completely dissolved throughout the world, had it not been for one kingdom only, namely, Russia. It is true, indeed, that Peter the Great had, by an especial imperial law, already excluded the Jesuits from his dominions during all time, and this law was strictly acted up to until the year 1772; but, in the year named, by the partition of Poland, Russia had acquired an increase of territory, as, for instance, the provinces of Polocz, Vitebsk, Orsa, Dunaberg, Mochilow, and Mscislaw, in which the sons of Loyola possessed a number of colleges and other houses, and it became a question as to what was to be done with these. Most of the Empress Catherine II.'s advisers demanded that they should be expelled, and their goods confiscated; and to this the people also were agreeable. The Empress herself, however, with several of her confidants, among whom was, especially, the minister Count Gregor Czernyszew, was of opinion that if the law of Peter the Great were

applied to that country, it would inflict too great a blow upon the newly-acquired Polish subjects, who, as it was well known, adhered with strong predilection to the Jesuits; and, consequently, the Czarina resolved to preserve the Society of Jesus in Russian Poland as heretofore. As regards the remission of the Abolition Brief of 1773, the Empress, as head of the Greek Christian Church, declared that the Papal Decree had no effect in her country, and, on that account, the publication of the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor noster* was strictly prohibited.

Thus had the Jesuits found, at least, a corner of the earth where neither their existence, their sphere of operation, nor their property, could be touched, and as this corner happened to be of some thousands of square miles in extent—it comprised within it a great part of Livonia, a part of Old Poland, and the whole of White Russia, that had continued so long under Polish rule—it may be imagined how extensively they here attempted to spread and establish themselves. The Bourbon Courts, nevertheless, who desired the extinction of Jesuitism from the world, entirely disapproved of all this, and on that account urged Pope Pius VI., the successor of Clement XV., to remonstrate with the Empress through his Nuncius in Warsaw. He did so, although with much reluctance, as he greatly favoured the Jesuits; he did it, however, when he saw that it would occasion no harm to his favourites, but, on the contrary, would greatly benefit them.

The Empress did not at all like that foreign potentates should interfere with the internal affairs of her Government, and, consequently, very curtly rejected his expostulations. Indeed, incited by contradiction, to which probably the influence of her favourite, Potemkin, whom the liberality of the sons of Loyola had contrived to gain over, also contributed, the Empress went still further, and gave the Jesuits permission, in a decree dated 25th July 1782, to elect a General Vicar, as their Society could not well be conducted without a supreme head, and, when once again allowed, he might be elected in Rome and entrusted with the full power of a General of the Society. The sons of Loyola, of course, made at once good use of this permission, and, in October, in their profess-house in Polocz, their unanimous choice fell upon Father Czernicvicz, he being the Superior of the said

profess-house, and having already quietly, as such, held the reins of government.

The Bull of Clement, *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, of which mention has already been so much made, had, therefore, no effect whatever in causing the Society of Jesus to vanish out of the whole world; but the same flourished as much as ever in Russia, and General Vicar Czernicvicz conducted himself precisely as if he had been the legitimate and lawful successor of the deceased Ricci. He founded novitiates, in one of which the young John Philip von Roothaan, born in Amsterdam in the year 1783, entered on the 18th June 1804; this man was destined hereafter to become General on the re-establishment of the Order. He also established colleges, nominated procurators, rectors, and assistants. He summoned also the professed brethren to hold Congregations, and proclaimed their resolutions to be unimpeachable; in short, he acted exactly as if the Pope had never abolished the Order of Jesus, or as if he himself had the right to propagate and carry out the operations of the Order in spite of the Bull of Abolition. This conduct, however, seemed uncommonly strange, and people, much astonished, began to ask themselves whether the fourth vow, that, namely, of implicit obedience to the Chair of Peter, had become no longer imperative for the Jesuits? People asked themselves whether the pious Fathers were at liberty, at their pleasure, to hold it one day and set it aside on the morrow, and, on closer observation, it must be confessed that they did actually take this liberty. As Father Czernicvicz did, in Russia, so did also all members of the abolished Society of Jesus in general elsewhere, and almost every ex-Jesuit—there were, indeed, exceptions, of course, but very few—still continued to remain a Jesuit. He did not, it is true, do this openly before all the world, as he was wise enough to observe the laws of the country in which he lived, and did not attempt swimming against the stream. But in secret he still continued to hold communication with his brethren, and this he did in countries where the Order had been abolished, without bringing his fellow-members over the frontier; thus, in Austria, Bavaria, in the small German States, in Poland, and even in France, this was easy enough. Here, in these countries, the Jesuits might continue to live unopposed as long as they discontinued the attire of the Order and its ominous name; and for the most part they passed for

secular clergy, or as teachers and professors. The latter was especially the case in Germany, and it might be truly said that here they only changed their dress. It was more difficult for them, however, to penetrate again into countries from which they had been formally expelled, as, for example, into Portugal, Spain, and Naples; and also even in France they were not always fortunate enough to obtain any prominent position, as there a good look-out was maintained. In spite of this, however, they found, in course of time, what they wanted, when here and there they disguised themselves in secular clothing, under which garb no one could suspect them of being pious Fathers, but, on the contrary, men of the world, addicted to its pleasures.

What they particularly desired, moreover, was to obtain the place of adviser to some man of consequence, or to secure even the position of Court preacher, in which they not infrequently succeeded, an instance of this being the two ex-Jesuits Lenfant and Herbert, who succeeded each other as Father Confessor to Louis XVI. of France. Thus, in short, did the Jesuits progress as much as before, only in a different way, since, whereas formerly they carried on their calling openly, now they were obliged to work away in secret, under disguise. They also maintained among themselves firm connection, quite, indeed, according to the instructions given them by their General Ricci. At the time when the Jesuit Order was suppressed by force in France, Ricci secretly forwarded a letter addressed to the Superiors, in which, among other matters, it was stated as follows:—"When you are compelled by force to yield in laying aside the clothing which our holy Father Ignatius required to be worn, you can still inwardly, in your hearts, remain steadfastly united to his institution, and await a more propitious time when you can again adopt it openly, only take care to draw the bonds uniting you to one another more closely together, and recollect that no human power can release you from your vows."

According to this instruction on the part of their General, Ricci, did the ex-Jesuits proceed, and their Society thus continued to exist in all the countries in which they were formerly established, only the connection had to be maintained by means of secret correspondence, and, when this was impossible, by

journeys undertaken by the overseers among their retainers, which in some respects caused a degree of stagnation in the efficacy of the Order.

Was it, then, at all to be wondered at that gradually the sons of Loyola longed to commence again their work openly? Was it matter of surprise that there should be extreme joy among them, when the news came that they were permitted to elect a Vicar-General in Russia, who should concentrate in himself the full powers of a General? Again there was a central point around which they might collect: again had the Order a supreme head from whom it might derive its orders, a ruler who could assign to each member his sphere of operation. An enormous advance had thus been effected: with such a fortunate beginning, certainly, it could be no longer doubtful that the great end which the ex-Jesuits desired to attain from the commencement would eventually be reached—the aim and object, namely, of witnessing the Society of Jesus, murdered some fifteen years ago, again raised from the dead. The sons of Loyola then, at once, began again to develop extraordinary activity; and what good fortune was it that the Society had succeeded nine years previously in saving a great part of their money and capital, by having entrusted them to the keeping of faithful friends. Much might be effected in usefully employing this hoard; patrons and patronesses might be obtained by it, and adversaries might be silenced who would otherwise work much mischief. But the Jesuits did not conceal from themselves that, of course, money alone would not attain the object desired, as although many, not all, were open to its influence, and consequently, other levers must be put in motion of quite a different description. They accordingly set to work, and especially amongst the Cardinals who were favourably disposed towards the Order, to induce them to move Pope Pius VI., the successor of Clement XIV., to take some steps in favour of Jesuitism, and they requested him to approve, at least, of the proceedings in Russia, and to recognise the election of Father Czernicvicz as Vicar-General, were he not disposed to go at once so far as to officially abrogate the Bull, *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*.

As to the latter matter, Pius VI., although notoriously not unfavourably disposed towards the sons of Loyola, was under no

circumstances to be moved,* and, indeed, simply for this reason, that he was fearful of embroiling himself with the Bourbon Courts who had suppressed the Jesuits; perhaps, also, in a small degree, because he had made a present to his nephews of the possessions which the Society of Jesus had in Rome and in the States of the Church, and they were, of course, unwilling to give them up again. But if Pius VI. showed himself to be unyielding, they were not on that account to be discouraged, as the man was in any case mortal, as all creatures are, and, besides, much had still to be prepared before the last stroke could be effected. Especially the ear and hearts of the reigning princes had to be gained lest they should turn out to be hostile when the next Pope should issue the Bull of Re-establishment, and, besides, it would be necessary to form a party among the public, and, above all, among men of letters, in order that during the fight, which must necessarily take place on the question of restitution, they might not be completely left without support.

It will be observed that the sons of Loyola did not proceed to gain their object by any means with levity and recklessness, but secured their position with the utmost circumspection, and built up their palace of re-establishment only after laying as its surest foundation a massive bulwark of stone. It would naturally carry me too far away should I proceed to enumerate all the individual stones which the Jesuits pushed forward in order to contribute to the construction of their palace, and even less would it be needful for me to make mention of all the different master-builders and their apprentices engaged in the work. I must rather content myself by indicating general outlines, and so affirm that the Jesuits derived their chief support from their opposition to the progressive enlightenment which was then taking place, and especially from the French revolution which had at that time broken out.

France had for centuries sighed under the frightful despotism of its Louis's, a despotism which could only have been rendered possible in that the Loyolites, and Fathers of their way of

* The news spread abroad by the ex-Jesuits, in the year 1782, to the effect that the ex-Jesuit Benislawski, who had been sent to Rome by Catherine II. on business connected with the Church, had obtained from Pius VI. his approbation of the Society of Jesus in White Russia, is completely false, and the Pope himself disavowed this in an autograph Brief of the 11th April 1783.

thinking, kept the people in a state of the grossest intellectual slavery; but, at length, when the measure was full, reason aroused itself and broke its fetters. It did this in order to discharge an act of righteous punishment on those by whom it had hitherto been trampled under foot; and who will blame it if, in this act of punishment, it sometimes went too far, when it carried out, instead of an act of righteous vengeance, the blood-thirsty revenge of a destroying angel? Yet, as the destroying angel spread its wings, ah! how did the remaining princes of the world quake, especially those small despots in Germany and Italy, who were known for their bad administration, so similar to that of the Louis's in France! Did not all those, too, quake, who had rendered a helping hand to the despotism of the princes, who had supported them in all their evil deeds by advice and action! Had they not, indeed, been frequently goaded on by the latter thereto, and derived the chief advantage therefrom? They looked upon themselves as lost; the whole of them, dreaming or waking, believed they felt the sword of vengeance at their throats. But, lo and behold! a deliverer now appeared, and this was no other than the Order of Jesus, abolished some fifteen years ago. The Jesuits, undaunted and unabashed, advanced the proposition that all this mischief which had so disturbed the world had been caused by nothing so much as by enlightenment and unbelief. "Not owing to the shameful administration of the Kings of France, nor the despair which, through the despotism of the Louis's, had brought the French nation to the verge of destruction, was, according to their representation, the revolution brought about, but from Jansenism, from heresy, from the worship of reason; and even, therefore," continued they in their argument, "it was not a question of righteous complaints, which the people ventured to put forward, but rather the bold arrogance of depraved people, which required to be suppressed with all power."

In other words, the ex-Jesuits came forward with a mass of pamphlets and controversial writings, which they launched from Augsburg, where they held appointments as teachers, and busied themselves there, year after year, with a printing press of their own, in part negatively, as opponents of the French Revolution, in part positively, as respectful defenders of absolute monarchies; and would it not, then, of course, be found that such proceedings

were uncommonly pleasing to the ruling princes who had been so much blamed, especially to the German and Italian potentates? Of course, these pamphleteers did not omit to add pathetically, "We, the sons of Loyola, alone are in a position to save alike the throne as well as the civil community from the threatening ruin, precisely as we did the Church at the time of the Reformation, when we purged it from all aggravated heresy, as we have proved from the time of our foundation that no one could prevail against us in contention with the pen or in verbal discussion"; also, lastly, continued they modestly, "could any in power on the earth come to another concluson than that, if our Order had not been suppressed, the intoxication of the French Revolution would never have been able to break out, and even on that account it would be for the interest of monarchs and princes that the Society should be again re-established as quickly as possible." *

Thus wrote the ex-Jesuits Feller, Von Eckartshausen (Bavarian Hofrath), Sailer, D'Estaimbourg, Martin, Fabres, and the like, and that, with similar expressions, they made an impression upon a certain portion of the public, especially upon the rulers and their immediate followers, there can be no question whatever. The ex-Fathers, from their innate sagacity, did not also deceive themselves, thinking that everything could be effected solely by the writing of pamphlets, but they knew that personal communication would have a far more intense effect, and, on that account, spared no exertions to obtain an entrance among the higher circles, either in a secular or ecclesiastical capacity. They founded, indeed, with this object new religious communities, as, for example, "the Alliance of the Holy Heart," "the Society of the Fathers of the Faith," "the Vincentiens," and such like, and, under similar innocent kind of names, they not infrequently succeeded in gaining admission into places where, on account of the public opinion respecting Jesuits, they would in no case otherwise be allowed access. In whatever locality, however, they took up a

* The titles alone of these Jesuitic pamphlets were of themselves sufficiently characteristic. Thus, for example, Eckartshausen wrote "Concerning the danger which threatens complete ruin to the Thrones, the States, and Christendom, through the false system of enlightenment of the day, and the bold arrogance of so-called Philosophers;" and the brochures issued from the pamphlet manufactory at Dillingen had precisely similar titles.

position, wherever they managed to insinuate themselves into the Court circle of some great one of the world, then did they contrive, after a short time, to gain a hearing for themselves through their Philippics against enlightenment and revolution amongst all those whose rule had, heretofore, been threatened by the same.

"Enlightenment," said they, "preaches nothing else than disturbances and insurrection, while the latter in turn proceeds to overturn Church and State. A cry is raised for the liberty of the press, and why so? In order to lower the majesty of the princes by means of unbridled language, and to undermine all the former order of things by anarchical principles. Freedom is spoken of, but what is this freedom but rebellion? The word reason is made use of, but when rightly viewed by the light of day it is unbelief, heresy, and the overthrow of all religion."

This was the tone in which the Jesuits spoke, and was it not natural enough that such sentiments should meet with approval in certain quarters? So natural, indeed, that one here and there forgot for what reason, some years before, the reigning Courts of Madrid, Lisbon, Paris, and Naples had dictatorially demanded the abolition of the Jesuit Order, and people began to hold up these zealous Fathers as the sole supporters of royalty! "Truly, indeed," was it whispered about confidently, "the Bourbon Courts, as they had previously compelled Pope Clement XIV. to issue the famous Bull, had committed a great blunder, and it is time to remedy this, and to replace the Jesuits as such."

The Society even contrived to bring over to this conviction the successor of Catherine on the throne of Russia (from 1798), the capricious Emperor Paul I., as extremely passionate in his dislikes as in his affections, and induced him, in the year 1800, to apply at once to the Roman Curie with an urgent petition to restore formally, by special Papal Bull, the Society of Jesus, which, as a matter of fact, had already been effected, in 1782, by an Imperial decree, although not legitimately sanctioned by the Pope. In Rome it was no longer Pius VI. who sat on the Papal throne, but—from 1800—Pius VII., who as Count Gregory Barnabas Chiaramonti had shown himself particularly favourable to the sons of Loyola. Consequently, after only short reflection, he at once acceded to the desire of the Emperor

Paul, and, on the 7th March 1801, issued the Brief *De Catholicæ Fidei*, by which the Society of Jesus was again re-established in Russia. For Russia only, be it well understood, however, but as formerly, with all the rights and privileges which the Society of Jesus had before possessed, especially as regards the privilege of the confessional and of preaching, as well as the instruction of youth and of educational chairs.

Father Gabriel Gruber, the rector, was now instantly elected by the joyful Loyolites as their General, and, as a number of the brethren at once established themselves there, coming from Germany, France, and Italy, the Order could then extend its operations, and spread over all that part of Russia which had formerly belonged to Poland. Thus colleges were established in Riga, Astrachan, Jaffa, Odessa, and St. Petersburg, a grand mission was constituted in the Government of Saratow, and there was no want of novitiates, and trial-houses for the training of young neophytes. In short, the Order of Jesus was newly revived, and with such zeal and strength as could hardly have been imagined. Moreover, of course, the Jesuits would not have been such had they been satisfied with being merely re-established in Russia alone. No, they only looked upon this as the beginning of a complete resurrection, and a means of working thence as a rendezvous for the whole of Europe. Inasmuch as they had made the Emperor Paul so firmly convinced that he would find in their Society a staunch bulwark against unbelief and renewed revolutionary attempts, they hoped to awaken the same belief in other monarchs also; and, lo and behold! they succeeded in a short time with one at least, namely in the case of the bigoted Ferdinaud IV., the King of Naples and Sicily. This monarch, who was entirely in the hands of his spouse, Maria Carolina, a daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria, as well as in that of her ally, Cardinal Ruffo, in fact, addressed to the Pope, in the spring of the year 1804, a petition similar to that which the Emperor Paul had submitted three years before, and he did so marvellously in almost the same words.

"Christian piety and morals," wrote he to Pius VII., "are everywhere endangered and persecuted in these lamentable times, and therefore the return of the Jesuits to the kingdom of the two Sicilies may give the pledge of better days, and restore science as well as the fear of God to the youth and the schools."

What rejoicing was now caused in Rome when this petition was delivered to the Holy See! One might have thought that most extraordinary prosperity had come to Christianity, the importance of which could not be measured. But wherein did this good fortune consist? One learned only too soon, for the Court of Rome solemnised, on July 31st, the Festival of the Holy Ignatius in three churches at the same time, namely in the Jesuits' Church, in the Temple of Ignatius, and in the Church of the Quirinal, and in all of these with such extraordinary pomp that one could have no doubt about it that something of immense importance had occurred favourable to the sons of Loyola. In fact, something of moment had taken place; that is, the Bull, which now extended their restitution over the kingdom of the two Sicilies, had been already subscribed by the Pope on the 30th July 1804, despatched by a courier to Naples, and would there be solemnly proclaimed on the 2nd August with the sound of kettle-drum and trumpet. At the same time the Government restored to them the palaces and goods formerly confiscated as far as this could be done, and now they were soon to flourish as fresh and beautiful as ever in Neapolitan and Sicilian lands.

The Order had now won their game, and there could no longer be the least doubt that Pius VII. was fully resolved to re-establish it again over the whole of Christendom on the first suitable occasion. This, indeed, happened only after a period of fully ten years, namely at the time when, after the enthronement of the Emperor Napoleon, it was attempted to re-establish throughout the whole of Europe the same state of things as existed previous to the Revolution of 1789. In consequence of this attempt, which in some measure failed—as it has already been seen that the German Empire held aloof—the Pope obtained again the States of the Church, and he endeavoured to collect afresh his full powers and to regain once more his almost extinguished authority over Christendom, by speedily, on the 7th August 1814, causing universally the revival of the Order of Jesus with all its former privileges, just as before its abolition by Clement XIV Thus runs the Bull relating thereto, which, from the words with which it commences, goes by the name *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*:—

"After the urgent and repeated petitions of the Cardinals,

Archbishops, Bishops, and men of distinction,* further, in consideration of the salutary fruits which have been produced in Russia, Naples, and Sicily, and, lastly, out of respect to the almost unanimous wish of the whole of Christendom, the Society of Jesus shall, by virtue of our full apostolic power, be renewed in all the countries of the Christian Church, confirmed in its former organisation, rules, legal powers, liberties, offices of teaching, preaching, and confession, colleges, houses, provinces, subordinate to the immediate patronage, protection, and obedience of the Holy See, and freed and released from all the consequences of a resolution of abolition devised in the form of a Brief by Clement XIV. Whoever, therefore, dares to impede or hinder in any way this enactment, with regard to the vigorous steersman in the little ship of the Holy Peter, the anger of Almighty God, and that of his apostles Peter and Paul, shall entirely and infallibly annihilate him."

Thus Pope Pius VII. commanded, and this edict is remarkable in three respects. In the first place the Pope revokes the Bull of his "infallible" predecessor, Clement XIV., without further ado, and without advancing any grounds whatever for such a proceeding save the strength of his own infallibility, so that thus infallibility enters into contention with infallibility. Secondly, without even asking the Governments concerned whether they were agreeable to this re-establishment, and whether they approved of the same, he restored, with all its legal powers and in its pristine condition, the Jesuit Order which, at the earnest importunity of four or, indeed, five good Catholic Governments, had been for ever abolished because its statutes, organisation, and customs were perfectly inconsistent with the laws and government of any well-ordered state. Thirdly and lastly, he threatened, with excommunication and interdict, all States and monarchs who would not receive again the Order of Jesus, himself a Pope of the 19th century, precisely as if a Hildebrand or Gregory VII. of the 11th century had come to life again—just as if the clouds of spiritual darkness which obscured the Middle Ages had also again hung suspended over the period of

* The Pope kept carefully to himself the names of these distinguished men, and it was in vain to search for them, and still less is known about the Cardinals and other Princes of the Church of whom Pius VII. here speaks; and had an inquiry been instituted, not a few of them, indeed, would have withheld their advice for the restitution of the Jesuits.

enlightenment which had been brought about through the French Revolution.

Thus did Pius VII. on the 7th August 1814, and the Society of Jesus, with its many adherents, rejoice loudly, as they believed that the stroke of the Papal pen had again insured for them a golden age.

CHAPTER III.

THE JESUITS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

One would have imagined that the European Powers, and more especially the Bourbon Courts, would have resisted, as one man, the Bull of Re-establishment of 7th August 1814, as it must have been within their recollection what the circumstances were which had rendered the forcible expulsion of the Jesuits necessary forty or fifty years previously; but, in fact, the very opposite occurred, and not a few of the reigning kings and princes hailed the regeneration of the Society of Jesus as a second Easter morning—as the day, in fact, when our Saviour rose again from the dead.

After the fall of Napoleon there came a period of the most fearful reaction all over Europe, and every sovereign vied one with another in the struggle to obliterate the last traces of the shocking Revolution of 1789, the last vestiges of the Empire which followed it, and of the commotions which it caused. Liberal ideas were feared like the spirit of evil, as through them the rights of the throne, of the nobility, and of the ecclesiastical world had become shaken; they were dreaded, they were hated, t was wished to suppress them, and in such a manner that they might be, indeed, killed and buried for ever. Why, then, should not rejoicing be universal at the re-appearance of the blessed sons of Loyola, who proclaimed themselves to be the true pillars of civil and ecclesiastical obedience, who had proved

in Naples, Sicily, and Russia that they were a talisman against revolutionary fever, and that on their bold advance all politico-philosophical reforming plagues were broken to pieces and shattered, like the army of the Persians by the Spartan phalanx at the celebrated battle of Thermopylæ. "Yes, indeed," so thought not an inconsiderable part of the ruling lords, "there can be no better means of securing our own stability than that we should trust our defence to the sons of Loyola"; and seeing that courtiers, with the nobility, at once echoed the sentiments of the ruling powers, thus did they offer their most devoted homage to Jesuitism as the great stand-by and point of support for the kingdoms of the earth.

Certainly, some doubts must have arisen among the European Powers as to the accuracy of this view of the case, as only a very few years afterwards they were destined to witness the peculiar spectacle of the Emperor Alexander, who at the commencement of his government showed himself to be as much enamoured as his father Paul, banishing these Fathers from St. Petersburg and Moscow, on account of their dangerous intrigues, by a ukase of 20th December 1816; while somewhat later (13th March 1820) a further ukase of the Emperor expelled the Society of Jesus for ever out of the whole Russian monarchy, as well as out of Russian Poland, on account of their proselytising proceedings, no less than their avarice, disobedience, and gross infraction of the rights of hospitality.

"The solemn obligation of confession," thus it was stated, among other things, in this Imperial ukase, "was undertaken by them for the instruction of youth, in order that the understanding of the latter should be enlightened by science, and their heart by religion. They, however, abused the confidence which was placed in them, and misled their inexperienced pupils. Themselves enjoying a beneficial toleration, they implanted a hard intolerance in natures infatuated by them. They took pains to overturn the bulwark of States, afforded by an attachment on the part of the people to the faith of their fathers, and thus to undermine family happiness, while giving rise to an injurious difference of opinion. Thus all the efforts of the Jesuits were directed merely to secure advantages for themselves, and the extension of their power, and their conscience found in every refractory action a convenient justification in their statutes."

The sons of Loyola were thus described in the well-considered ukase of the Emperor Alexander, and, assuredly, no more truthful or dispassionate account could be given of them. And this view respecting the true nature of Jesuitism remained henceforth fixed in Russia, and the sons of Loyola never succeeded in effecting a revocation, or even mitigation, of the decree mentioned, as the Cabinet of St. Petersburg had good statesmen, who took a clear insight into everything, and never allowed themselves to be turned aside, either by the art of flattery or dissimulation, from maturely-considered calm resolutions. The behaviour of the Russian Government was so uncommonly open and clear in motive, that, on that account, it gained over the whole civilised world to its side; yet the European Governments had given themselves over heart and soul already to the sons of Loyola, and they had committed themselves to such an extent that they merely examined the ukase of 13th March 1820 when it appeared. Above all, Italy paid its homage to the re-established Order, and, as may be understood, Pius VII., the great restoring Pope, who had to precede the whole world with a good example, at once re-consigned to their charge the palaces and property formerly held by them in Rome under Clement XIV., as much, that is, as had not yet got into private hands. Thus, for instance, the magnificent profess-house, "Al Jesu," the cradle of the whole Order, which, through the piety of the Apostolic See, had as much as possible been preserved in its former condition; then the "Collegium Romanum," and, somewhat later, the "Collegium Germanicum," together with the different churches and former possessions, not to omit, also, a magnificent building as a novitiate.

In consequence of this, and because, also, the following Popes, Leo XII. (1823–29), Pius VIII. (1829–30), Gregory XVI. (1830–46), and the still reigning Pope Pius IX.*, most

* Pius IX., immediately on his accession to the throne, commenced, as is known, with a strong Liberal tendency; but the sons of Loyola soon contrived to cure him thoroughly of this madness; and since that time, as Cardinal d'Andrea has publicly for some time expressly testified, the Holy Father finds himself completely in the hands of the said Fathers. Pius IX. commenced, in the year 1851, to make visits to their profess-house, as well as to their colleges, and had frequently even made use of the expression that, in these modern bad times, they were the only supporters of the true faith. It is also notorious that from 1851 no important action of government was determined on before the Pope had taken counsel with his dear Father Beckz, the present General of the Order, and during the

highly favoured the sons of Loyola, their numbers increased, as well in Rome as in all the States of the Church, to quite an extraordinary extent, so much so, indeed, that even in the year 1829 it was necessary, as far as concerned Rome, to assign them a place outside the walls as a lodging. At the present day, however, their condition is, indeed, more flourishing than ever, and their present General* may well boast with pride that none of his predecessors exercised such a powerful influence over the supreme head of Christendom as himself. Besides, not alone in Rome and the States of the Church did the Society of Jesus, after its re-establishment, take such a towering flight, but also in the other Italian provinces, as, for instance, in Genoa, Modena, Parma, Ferrara, and Verona, where they were petitioned to found novitiates and educational establishments of great extent.

Still more brilliantly did they flourish in Naples, as there their great protector, King Ferdinand, conferred on them the exclusive right of conducting the education of the youth of the nobility, in order, perchance, that they might not become acquainted with the frightful ideas of modern times; and the good sons of Loyola at once founded a Lyceum for the nobility, which naturally, as it was a kind of common mill, obtained an extraordinary number of customers. Besides this, they possessed four other such Lyceums in Neapolitan territory, and in the island of Sicily as many as fifteen colleges, corresponding exactly to the number of their seminaries, novitiates, and profess-houses. In short, in the whole of Italy, with the exception of Sardinia and Piedmont, where, although they were tolerated, it is true, yet they were not formally installed, they already acted the same part after a few years as they had played previous to their suppression, and at times one was almost tempted to believe that the period of their

following years their influence attained the unfortunate height regarding which we have to speak in the next chapter.

* As regards the later Generals of the Jesuits, there followed, after Father Gabriel Gruber, of whom I have already spoken, in the year 1814, a Pole, Father Thadäus Bryozowsky; after him, in the year 1820, an Italian, Father Ludwig Fortis; then, in the year 1829, Father John Philip van Roothaan, a native of Amsterdam, a second Claudius Aquaviva as to intellect and activity; and finally, in the year 1853, the present General, John Peter Beckz, a Belgian, who is now 78 years of age [this was written in 1873]. He saw light on the 8th February 1795, in a village near Mechlin, joined the Society of Jesus on the 29th October 1819, became at once Father Confessor of the newly-created ducal pair of Köthen; after this, he obtained the position of Rector of the College at Louvaine, was then promoted to be Provincial of Austria, and in the autumn of 1853 was selected as General of the Order.

history between 1773 and 1814 had passed over them without leaving a trace.

The sons of Loyola experienced even greater favour in Spain than in Italy, as a ruler like Ferdinand VII., a perjured tyrant, with few equals, must necessarily have been a devout friend of the Jesuits. Soon after the fall of Napoleon, when Ferdinand was brought back victorious to Madrid, in the year 1814, he issued an edict which not only restored the Order of Monks in general, together with the Inquisition and torture, but especially proclaimed throughout the land that the Society of Jesus had been restored by the Pope; and after this edict another followed, on the 29th May 1815, by which that Society was again placed in possession of all their rights and property of which they had been deprived since 1767. This was more than had been done for the sons of Loyola anywhere else in the world, but in return for this King Ferdinand and his Camarilla expected great things; nothing less than that they should destroy, root and branch, the Liberal ideas imported from France, that they should call halt to the spirit of the times, and make out of Spain the most absolutely governed kingdom on the face of the earth. In fact the Jesuits promised to fulfil completely these expectations, and there passed over the fair land a period of night which could not be darker; but the much-tormented subjects became weary of the continual punishments, imprisonments, banishments, and executions, and a general rising took place in the year 1820, the consequence of which was that a Liberal Constitution had to be inaugurated. It was now all at an end with the Jesuit administration, and the sons of Loyola had to evacuate the kingdom entirely.

But, lo and behold! the Liberal Constitution which Spain gave to itself did not at all afford satisfaction to the remaining European Powers, who perceived therein imperilment of the absolute principles in their own monarchies, and, consequently, France sent an army across the Pyrenees, in order to re-establish the old order of things. It succeeded, and, with the old order the Jesuits also returned, who nestled themselves in the country more firmly than ever.

After the lapse of ten years, that is, on the 29th September 1833, Ferdinand VII. died, and in regard to the succession to the throne a civil war arose, which tore the poor country to pieces for

fully seven years. One of the candidates to the throne was Don Carlos, the brother of the deceased King Ferdinand; the other was called Donna Isabella, the daughter of Ferdinand VII., who, from affection to the latter, had abrogated the so-called Salic law of the House of Bourbon, which excluded daughters from succession to the throne as long as there were any male princes alive. And now, because with Don Carlos the whole of the priestly absolute party united, Donna Isabella, or rather her mother, the Queen Dowager Maria Christina, saw herself compelled to open the army to Liberalism, and, consequently, in the year 1835, Spain was favoured with a Liberal Constitution which shut the door again, for the third time, to the Jesuits. Thus their fate changed about, and, in the year 1840, when the Carlists had been completely defeated, it seemed that the sons of of Loyola had lost entirely and for ever all ground in Spain. Their activity did not, on that account, entirely cease, especially as they still retained their educational houses; not under their own name, however, but at one time under one strange appellation, and at another under something else.

In former times, the Society of Jesus had found an exceedingly fruitful pasturage in Germany, Austria, and Bavaria, and there, as we have already seen, their abolition was very unwillingly consented to, so it was naturally to be expected that their re-establishment would be greeted in those countries with rejoicing. But this was not altogther the case, as since the death of Maria Theresa a change had taken place, and the spirit of modern times had seized, here and there, even on regions where such was not to have been anticipated. Thus a remarkable case, among others, happened in the year 1793, when the Treve Minister, Duminique, in the name of his lord and ruler, sent to the Archduke Maximilian Francis, the youngest son of Maria Theresa, who was in possession of the Electorate of Cologne and the Bishopric of Münster, as well as to other German Bishops and Prelates, asking them to intercede on behalf of the re-establishment of the Jesuit Order, the same being the most effectual bulwark against the revolutionary spirit which was steadily making increasing progress in Germany, as well as against irreligion, which was for ever raising its head still higher; it happened, however, that the said Archduke Maximilian Francis not only at once declined to co-operate, but grounded

his motives for this refusal on what must have tasted to the sons of Loyola more bitter than wormwood and gall.

"They" (that is, the sons of Loyola), it is stated in the document dated 29th November 1793, "have so constantly mixed themselves up in Court and State intrigues, that they must, in justice, be reproached with striving after universal dominion. They cost Kings their lives, not on the scaffold, but by assassination; and, equally hurtful as the Society of Illuminati, they were the foremost among the crowd, at all events, who applauded the murder scenes in Paris. They robbed the States of their most capable youths whom they enticed into their institutions, and procured for themselves, by their monopoly in the direction of study, in Catholic countries, an excessive and immoderate influence over all opinions. They held in their hands all the springs for working upon mankind; money, protection, confessionals, and other means were plentifully at their command. They might thus work for good if they wished to do so, but they laboured at the beck and call of their superiors alone, for their own peculiar advantage and aggrandizement, without any regard whatever for the well-being of mankind; and it is impossible, therefore, to indulge in a conviction that the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus can be productive of any benefit whatever."

Thus wrote the Grand-Duke Maximilian, and great numbers of persons of high position were of a similar way of thinking, as well among the clergy as among the laity, and unquestionably also the educated of the middle classes. The Austrian Government declined, therefore, without further consideration, to announce in their countries the Bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*, as demanded by the Pope, as, in those days (the years 1814 and 1815), tolerably good reasons were needed for not opposing the wishes of their subjects; and as the ruler of Bavaria, King Maximilian Joseph, was guided by precisely the same reasons, he also interdicted the legal reception of the Society of Jesus, although personally, no less than the Emperor Francis I. of Austria, he was not at all unfriendly disposed to the sons of Loyola. The two Governments, on the other hand, had nothing to urge against an expedient to admit the Redemptionists, instead of the Jesuits, not aware, perchance, that both—Jesuit and Redemptionist—meant, so to speak, precisely the

same thing; ignorant, forsooth, that the Redemptionists or Liguorians, as they were also named, after their founder, everywhere paved the way when the Jesuits were not tolerated "as such," and took their places until the latter were able to make their entrance with open vizor as sons of Loyola.* The Redemptionists were thus admitted into Austria, and in Vienna, in the year 1820, managed to get the Upper Passaverhof with the Church of Maria Stiegen allotted to them. Thence they spread themselves all over the provinces of the Imperial States, and even far beyond these, into Bavaria, where they founded their first settlement in the shape of the celebrated pilgrimage of Altötting. After they had made suitable progress and obtained a firm footing, they considered it better to throw off the mask, and revealed their educational institutions in Lemberg, Innspruck, and other towns, in their true colours, that is, as Jesuit colleges. The Government paid no heed to this; to speak more plainly, they tolerated the public appearance of the sons of Loyola, and the latter consequently took always more and more liberties. They also spread themselves over Rheinish Prussia, and founded, for instance, in Coblentz, a well-attended college, without the Government forbidding their proceedings. In short, the Society of Jesus was now in the best train for conquering, one by one, each of the positions they had lost since 1773. Then

* Alfonso Maria de Liguori, a very zealous member of the Propaganda of the Faith in Naples, founded at Villa Scala, in the year 1732, with the approbation of Pope Clement XII., a brotherhood in the hermitage of St. Maria, the members of which devoted themselves to the instruction of the young, the propagation of the true Catholic faith, and especially the service of the Pope, in whom they reverenced the embodied will of God. Their aim was thus the same as that of the Jesuits, and even their name indicated this, as they called themselves "Brethren of the Holy Redeemer" (*Santo Redentore*). They lived, not as united secular ecclesiastics, but in cloister-like communion, and therein consisted properly the sole difference between themselves and the Jesuits. They were regarded from the commencement as merely an offshoot of the Order of Jesus, or, it might rather be said, as younger brothers, who belonged to the family, indeed, and were obliged to do everything that might be required of them, without having any rights themselves, and without any prospect of receiving a share of the inheritance. Under such circumstances the new Order remained for a long time without any importance whatever, and found but very few adherents, even at the time that the Jesuit Order had been already suppressed. As, however, Pope Pius re-established the latter, and several States hesitated to introduce it, it occurred to the sons of Loyola whether they might not be able to carry out their plans of operation under the mask of the hitherto little-esteemed younger brothers, and this circumstance seemed to them so suitable that they at once brought it into operation. The Liguorians or Redemptionists also agreed to the plan with joy, as they gained thereby uncommonly in importance.

came the fatal year 1848, and this quickly put an end to their presence. Not, however, for long, as we must all have well in remembrance that, in the year 1849, a peculiar change or revolution took place, which usually follows upon times of great excitement, and, in place of the Liberal Ministers of March, in consequence of the relaxation and lassitude of the people, men of reaction and retreat came into possession of the helm. That was water to the mills of the sons of Loyola! They were now again enabled to put themselves forward before the people, and came to be regarded as the foremost combatants in the revolution. Now were they again enabled to exclaim to the Princes, "We alone are the chief pillars of the monarchy, and, if you will only permit us, you need not trouble your heads more about the suppression of the revolution." And what was the result of these frightful years of reaction? No other than that the Order of Jesus was again publicly recognised in Austria, permission being accorded to it to found educational institutions throughout the whole of the Imperial States, and, as may well be imagined, the most unlimited use was made of this permission.* Over the remainder of Catholic Germany, nevertheless, the sons of Loyola were not able even then to carry into effect their strictly official recognition, and they were obliged to work indirectly under the appellation of Redemptionists. But was their efficiency on that account any the less? One need only to bear in mind that the German College (Collegium Germanicum) in Rome was entirely supplied and recruited from Bavaria, Prussia, Baden, and the Rhine Provinces; and all these recruits, after completing their studies, were sent back again to Germany. But whither did those excellently-schooled pupils of the Jesuit Order wander? Why, one part to the universities, and another to seats of the different bishops. At the latter they obtained, through Romish recommendations, the most influential appointments, and their efficacy immediately became immense, as they governed all the seminaries and scholastic institutions

* The Order had to thank, for its unrestrained admission into all the provinces of the Austrian States, principally the female portion of the Imperial family, notably the Arch-Duchess Sophia, who for a long time had exercised an extraordinary influence on the Government. It founded, however, its first and most remarkable settlements in Galicia, among the Poles, and thence there arose the seminaries and colleges at Linz, Leitmeritz, Innsprück, Tarnopol, Thyrnau, Vienna, Agram, Feldkirch, Brescia, Verona, and many other places.

which were amenable to the bishop. At the universities, however, they entered as professors, and in their lectures taught the future spiritual guides a theology which was, of course, fashioned on pure ultramontane principles. Thus, in short, when they were unable to advance with an entirely open visor as Jesuits, their operations were still of such a nature as furthered the ends of the Order of Jesus; and, after long years of activity they brought the matter so far, that in time almost the whole clergy of Germany being brought up by them, swore allegiance to their flag. In much the same way as in Bavaria and in the Rhine Provinces was the fate of the Society of Jesus, after its re-establishment, determined in France, although the Order had the firmest conviction that Louis XVIII., the restorer of the Bourbon dynasty after the fall of Napoleon, could do nothing more beneficial than retract the Edict of Louis XV. issued in November 1764. This Monarch had, however, sufficient sagacity to perceive that, were he to take such a step, he would be going quite contrary to public opinion. Consequently, the sons of Loyola remained shut out of France, at least in name, and even the exertions of "Monsieur," brother of the King, who afterwards ascended the throne as Charles X., had not the effect of making Louis XVIII. more compliant. Certainly, these continued refusals cost him much anxiety, especially since the Pavillon Marsan in Paris, where the ultra-Royalists in combination with the ex-Jesuits had taken up their quarters, had the audacity to proclaim him publicly as a pupil of the infamous Voltaire; but his Minister brought daily to his recollection that the re-establishment of an Order so greatly hated by the great majority of the French people would doubtless have the effect of creating the same disturbances as those which had already overturned the throne of the Lilies once before; and as the crafty Monarch had the wish, at any price, to be buried in the royal vault at St. Denis, one can well imagine that he remained inflexible on this point to the end of his Government in the year 1824. He was not, however, completely inimical to the sons of Loyola, and gave them consequently the same kind of existence which they had obtained for themselves at first in Austria after the year 1814, that is, he allowed them to begin again their old accustomed sphere of operations under another name, and in a different, although very similar, costume. They, therefore, called

themselves, as regards France, "Pères de la Foi," that is, "Fathers of the True Faith"; and, lo and behold! in a few years they again attained to great power and riches. This certainly did not take place without contentions and adversities of all kinds, as the re-establishment of the black cohort met with much resistance from the Chamber of Deputies, which protested against them with all the legal means in its power; but to all these complaints, protestations, and monitions, the Ministers of Louis XVIII. replied, in an evasive manner, "There are no Jesuits in France"; and the Monarch also used the same dubious language. It, however, troubled the Jesuits greatly that they were unable to come forward openly and boldly as that which they professed to be; and, besides, their efficacy was in this way also much impaired, as their connection with the rest of the Jesuits, and especially with their General in Rome, had to be kept secret, and denied before the world. On this account they did not fail—after the accession of Charles X., their great patron and friend, to the throne—to lift the visor somewhat, or rather, indeed, to an extent that no one could have any further doubt about the matter as to who were attired in the garments of the Fathers of the Faith; more especially they presented themselves quite unabashed at the episcopal sees, for the most part as head teachers of the seminaries where the rising clergy were brought up; as also as overseers of the education of the young in general. Indeed, they organised their many colleges and seminaries (as, for instance, the Mission-house of the Order in Paris, and the Colleges of St. Acheul, Montrouge, and elsewhere) in an intimate union, the head of which they declared to be the Jesuit General in Rome, and their Principal, or Præpositus, did not hesitate openly and boldly to subscribe his name, on the admittance of pupils to the novitiate, as "Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Province of Gaul."

This took place in the year 1826, and on being questioned in the Chamber of Deputies, the Ministers were obliged to admit that the Society of Jesus did actually exist on French soil, and that their presence was with the permission of the Government. Thereupon there arose among the majority of well-informed people a storm of disapproval; and the highest tribunal of the kingdom at once seized this opportunity to declare that, according to the

established laws of France, neither under one name nor another was the Society of Jesus allowed to have any existence, and also that their contemplated re-establishment was entirely contrary to the constitutional charter sworn to by the King and his Ministers. The result of this was that in the year 1828 the Jesuit colleges and schools at St. Acheul, near Amiens, at St. Anne, in Bretagne, at Dole, in Jura, at Montmorillon, in the department of Vienne, at Bordeaux, at Aix, at Fortcalquier, at Montrouge, and at Billon, which were attended by more than 3,500 pupils, were obliged to be suppressed, and the Government, who espoused the cause of the Jesuits with all their power, only succeeded in saving, with much difficulty, the seminaries of the Pères de la Foi, together with those of Montrouge, St. Acheul before the gates of Paris, and some dozen others. The sons of Loyola now, however, urged their obsequious pupil King Charles X. to withhold his approval to these violent measures on the part of the judicature and of the deputies, to annul the charter of the Constitution, in order that the old absolute monarchy, with the supremacy of the Order of Jesus, as under Louis XIV., might be re-established; and the weak Monarch actually allowed himself to venture upon such a foolish undertaking.

In August 1829 Prince Polignac, the strict ally of the Jesuits, stood at the head of the Government, and consequently a period of reaction began, more vile, oppressive, and bloodthirsty than can be well imagined. Thereupon the sons of Loyola were highly jubilant, and presumed that now the game was theirs. But on the 27th and 28th of July 1830 the population of Paris rose, and this revolution occasioned the Bourbon Government to fall to pieces like a house built of cards. Charles X. was, like a culprit, compelled to take flight to England; and from the day of his departure there was an end of the Society of Jesus, as the Provisional Government of the July Revolution banished them for ever from French soil.

For a long time nothing more was heard of the sons of Loyola, and one might have been tempted to believe that they had retired from the field for ever. In truth, however, it had not yet come so far as this, but they continued to keep watch on the immediate frontiers of France, for instance, at Freiburg in Switzerland, in order that when the time arrived they might be

quickly on the spot again to reconquer the lost ground. And this period did arrive on the fall of Louis Philippe and the accession to the throne of Napoleon III., as the latter required to make use of the priesthood in order to secure his newly-baked, or, perhaps it may be said, his newly-warmed Imperial throne, and with the growing power of the Catholic priesthood the influence of the sons of Loyola equally held its ground.

None the less it was not a question this time of a formal and public reintroduction of the Society of Jesus, and all that its members could desire was toleration; but this was of such a plain nature that the Loyolites soon found it no longer necessary to make their appearance under a strange name or such other pretext, but their colleges and seminaries opened again with the visor fully removed. They thus spread themselves afresh over the whole of France, and in a period of ten years there was no longer any department in which they had not the chief control of all education, at any rate, so far as founding educational houses. Nor were they during all this time attacked by anyone, because without doubt no one dared to run counter to the absolute will of the Emperor Napoleon, and thus the ancient proverb well applied to them, "Where there is no complainant there is no judge." Yet, no, I must not keep silence respecting a movement which took place against them towards the end of the year 1856, when a petition was numerously signed by the first notables of the land, and especially by the professors of the University, requesting that in reference to the Jesuits, resort should again be had to legal regulations. This was translated into German, and was nothing else than a demand that the Government should no longer tolerate the legally proscribed Order of Jesuits, but at once suppress and prohibit it. And for what reason did the petitioners demand this? Their language was sufficiently distinct, as they expressed themselves, amongst other things, in the following words:—"The Jesuits prosecute the spoliation of heritages, regarding the result with little compassion for families, so that we have in France at the present time the spectacle of a Society which is hurtful to the State as well as to individuals, which is inimical to our institutions, and at the same time dangerous from its teaching—a Society which, condemned by our laws, extends itself and increases in numbers under the toleration of the administration."

But what was the result of this petition? The Government gaily replied that they knew how to take account of the laws concerning legacy-hunting, and consequently the whole affair was buried in oblivion. In other words, the Jesuits were allowed, as before, the most ample sport, and consequently their riches and influence increased year by year.

The Court of Portugal conducted itself in altogether a different manner from the other Catholic Courts mentioned, respecting the Bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*, as it did not hesitate to allow the same to be read aloud in Portugal and Brazil, and, indeed, proclaimed to all the other European Cabinets a formal protest against the Society. The ruler, John VI., declared: "The order of the 3rd September 1759, which exiled the Jesuits from the country, had his approval, and this could not be otherwise than for ever, else the same evil days for himself and his family, as also for his subjects, would again come to pass, which had once before brought the kingdom to the brink of destruction."

The Pope used his utmost endeavour to induce the Monarch to take a different view, and with this object a special Nuncius was despatched to Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro; but the influence of England, and especially that of Marshal Beresford, was too powerful to admit of this step being productive of result, and thus the sons of Loyola remained excluded from the kingdom during the whole period of the government of John VI., that is, up to 1825. They found no greater favour with his granddaughter and successor, Donna Maria da Gloria, the daughter of the Emperor Don Pedro of Brazil; and when even her uncle, the frantic Don Miguel, having succeeded for a short time in depriving her of the throne, through a decree of 30th August, 1832, re-established the Society of Jesus, although without any claim on their former possessions, privileges, and immunities, this restoration did not last longer than eleven months; for in July 1833, the usurpation of Don Miguel was overthrown, and the Jesuits had again to vanish speedily out of Portugal, or they would have been in danger, precisely as in the time of Pombal, of being shipped off to Italy. Since that period Portugal has been classed among Constitutional States, and in consequence, there has never again been any question of a fresh introduction of the Society of Jesus. They continued and will

continue to be banished out of that country, as it appears, for the future, as the present Government never tolerates the settlement of any whom they have reason to suspect of concealing Jesuitism under their mask.

The little kingdom of Belgium formed a complete contrast to that of Portugal, as there Jesuitism flourished with the full sanction of the Government, in a fashion and to such an extent as was never exceeded elsewhere in the world, not even including the glorious States of the Church. According to the Belgian Constitution, the education of the people, no less than the form of religious worship, is completely free, the State having divested itself of all right to mix itself up with any religious or ecclesiastical matters, so that thus all Orders have a completely open field. Of this unlimited freedom the sons of Loyola made use so zealously, however, that the remaining Orders, all put together, do not attain to a fourth part of what they themselves can boast. The best proof of this is, that so far back as the 4th November 1834 they were in a position to open their own university in the town of Mechlin; and as, of course, no other professor is authorised to teach but those alone who have been scholars of their Order, it can easily be imagined with what spirit the academical youths of that city must have been animated. From these latter, and I beg this may be well considered, sprang a great number of men who afterwards came in riper years to work as servants of the State, and even therein lies the ground of the Jesuits having so many friends among the great people of the land. Matters did not, however, end with the University of Mechlin, but the Jesuits founded colleges also in Alost, Antwerp (where they also established a commercial school, in order to get the sons of merchants also into their power), Bruges, Brussels, Courtnay, Ghent, Liege, Louvaine, Mons, Namur, Tournay, Verviers, and elsewhere, by which they appropriated to themselves, for the most part, the instruction of the youth of the land. In spite of all this, however, they could not prevent the friends of enlightenment among the Catholics making use of political and religious liberty with the view of founding in Brussels a free university by which that of Mechlin might be counteracted, and just the same happened in the case of the remaining educational institutions of the country. Thus in Belgium the remarkable spectacle might be seen that

the Society of Jesus, having full liberty from the Government to extend themselves and develop their power, was still met with voluntary opposition by the more enlightened part of the inhabitants, while here and there national feeling was sufficiently strong to keep pace at least with the sons of Loyola, and in part to make them retire within the limits of moderation.

As now in Belgium, so also in the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, Jesuitism prevailed, and at the beginning of the year 1818, only three years after the re-establishment of the Order by the Pope, a splendid Jesuit College arose in Freiburg. But what am I saying? for the Order never, indeed, ceased to exist in Switzerland, even after the abolition decree of Clement XIV., as may be learned from the Jesuit writer J. Esseiva himself! Thus we read in his writings regarding the revenues of the Jesuit College of St. Michael in Freiburg:—

"At that period, that is, in the year 1773, the Jesuits remained in spite of the abolition of their Order; they had, indeed, become secularised, but had lost nothing except the name, being in possession of all their pulpits and of all their educational establishments. They continued still to form a corporation of learning; they obtained, by their genius, well-filled classes; they endeavoured to propagate the work of the Society with zeal."

A precisely similar report is made by the ultra-Catholic Fr. J. Buss, who writes as follows:—

"The Jesuits, on November 2nd, 1773, laid aside the costume of their Order, but they contrived to live on according to their constitutions much as before, and did not discontinue giving public instruction. As the old Fathers died off they acquired for themselves several young men endowed with zeal, and founded a College at Sion, in the canton of the Vallais, where the Government allowed them to carry on their proceedings with freedom."

As the sons of Loyola, although certainly under other names, such as "Fathers of the Faith" (Perès de la Foi), worked on in Freiburg, and in the canton of the Vallais, quite undisturbed, it could not be wondered at that Father Joseph Sineo de la Tour, when he arrived in Switzerland in 1814 with a commission from the General of the Jesuits to found Jesuit colleges, was received with open arms in the cantons mentioned. The excellent instructor of youth, Professor Girard (a Franciscan), was certainly entirely opposed to the official re-establishment of the

Jesuits in Freiburg, and he was supported by a large part of the inhabitants; but the Bishop, the higher clergy, the patricians, with the Government stadtholder, Müller, at their head, had long been won over to the Order, and insisted on having their own way. Thus, in short, the Jesuits were called to Freiburg in the spring of the year 1818, and at once, on the 21st November of the same year, opened their beautiful College with 200 pupils. The sons of Loyola now possessed a firm nursery in Switzerland, and from this they spread themselves out in all directions. Almost everywhere they contrived to procure an entrance for their fellow-believers, and the result of this influence was the founding of further colleges in Staffis, Sion, Brieg, Schwytz, and Lucerne, as well as of different smaller educational institu tions at some other places.

The sons of Loyola had now won their game, especially as they further succeeded in talking over the bigoted nobility of the neighbouring Bavaria, as, in part, also of France, to entrust the education of their sons to the Society, of course at the expense of domestic habits, and educational institutions, and their consideration in this respect rose so high that they obtained the upper hand in the Catholic cantonal governments, especially in Schwytz, Freiburg, Vallais, and Lucerne, reformed all the laws according to their pleasure, and filled up all offices with their adherents. Thus affairs went on during several decades, and doubtless would have so continued still longer if it had not been from their unlimited love of power, whereby they trod under foot all other right-thinking people, whereby they eventually called down upon their heads the most frightful animosity throughout the rest of Switzerland. The Tagsatzung,* that is, the supreme Government of the United Cantons, by a large majority demanded their removal. The answer, however, of the Jesuits was that, on the 11th December 1845, they persuaded the Catholic cantons, viz. Schwytz, Lucerne, Unterwalden, Freiburg, Zug, and Vallais to form a union which, in complete opposition to the spirit of the Swiss Confederation, as well as the Act of Confederacy itself, should offer opposition to "all unsuitable orders of the Tagsatzung," and, when necessary, even

* The Canton of Zurich had already demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits in the year 1845; but in the next year, on the 20th July 1846, this proposal obtained the necessary number of votes to make it effective.

to take up arms. The sons of Loyola thought by such determined mode of proceeding to intimidate the Tagsatzung, which had distinguished itself as yet by no great energy, or at least to impress them; but this time they completely miscalculated. When the seven confederated cantons, after repeated demands, did not seem inclined to render obedience to their union, or to dismiss the sons of Loyola, but treated with scorn the commission of Tagsatzung sent to them at the beginning of 1847, the latter resolved upon taming the refractory offenders by force, and at once called under arms 100,000 men, whom they placed under the supreme command of the brave General Dufour. Nothing was then left for the seven Jesuitically-disposed cantons than either humbly to sue for peace, or manfully to defend themselves. As a matter of fact, they brought together an army of 36,000 men, and supported these by 47,000 yeomanry; but there was no enthusiasm among the troops, and as Dufour advanced into the canton of Freiburg they all fled before him in fear of death. The same thing took place when the bulk of the Tagsatzung's army moved against Lucerne, and during the whole of the war the Union troops only once resisted manfully. This was on the 23rd November 1847, near Gislicon, on the borders of Zug, near Lucerne. But on this occasion they ultimately fled, after a short resistance; and thus ended the campaign, at the beginning of which the Unionists had boasted so arrogantly as to the ignominious defeat of their opponents.

Of course, the sons of Loyola at once perceived that it was no longer possible to remain in the country, they therefore made their escape into the neighbouring Tyrol and Austria, where they sought protection. They fled, indeed, so rapidly that they even left behind them what was dearest to their hearts, namely, their property and wealth, as they feared being made responsible for all the mischief of the Union war, they alone having instigated it. They prized life with liberty more highly than all other earthly possessions. Besides, they did not long remain alone in their flight, as those at once followed them who had placed themselves with the Society at the head of the plot, among whom, besides the laity who were Jesuitically disposed, were also the Redemptionists, the Marianists, the school brethren, and the school sisters, with the Dames de la Sacré Cœur. Thus the Swiss atmosphere was cleared

at once from the whole of the pestilential Jesuit exhalations.

In order, however, that the same scenes of religious excitement which, as we have seen, resulted in this civil war, should not possibly be repeated, the Tagsatzung banished the Society of Jesus for all time out of the whole of Switzerland, Catholic as well as Protestant; and this law was also forthwith adopted, in the year 1848, by the newly-founded Union Constitution, and has remained, up to the present time, in full operation as the law of the land, although frequent attempts at evasion have been made in the centre of Catholic Switzerland, and with partial success, but not to any great extent. If the sons of Loyola, then, had lost in Switzerland a rich pasture, which they afterwards in vain sought to regain for themselves, they nevertheless contrived to indemnify themselves through other far-distant acquisitions, where, from their first abolition by Clement XIV., they had been perseveringly unable to find an entrance. Thus the Government of Great Britain, after Parliament had carried through the Catholic Emancipation, could not but allow also the admission of the Society of Jesus into the country; and the latter made use of this so far that it founded splendid educational institutions at Stonyhurst, near Preston, in the county of Lancashire, as well as at Hodderhouse, in the neighbourhood of London. The Order was not the less zealous in prosecuting its extension in Ireland, and in modern times a number of small schools have sprung up there, all of which are conducted by Loyolites. These latter, however, have not hitherto made any very prominent progress, as, whence could the poor Irish obtain the money in order to give such support to the Jesuit Fathers as they had hoped, expected, and demanded? The Society of Jesus, however, met with a very different destiny in America—in the same land where, especially in Paraguay, things had worked so fatally for their existence; and they created here for themselves a sphere of operation of which they had previously never even allowed themselves to dream. Wonderful to say, moreover, this sphere of operation did not lie in Catholic South America, in which, in the middle of the previous century, they had been so powerful; neither was it in Brazil, nor in Mexico, nor in Peru, nor in Chili, nor in any other South American free

State which had formerly belonged to Spain, Portugal, or France; but, forsooth, in North America, or, more properly speaking, in the United States, notwithstanding that these had been founded by the Puritans, who play an important part there at the present day. Since the free legislation of the North American Union not only admits of every creed, but also tolerates every religious Society, and allows their establishment in any part of the territory of the United States, the Jesuit Fathers did not delay, after their re-establishment by the Pope, in taking a look over this part of the world to a small extent, to ascertain whether they might not, perhaps, here and there, do something for their Order; and lo, and behold! they found that a large field was open for their operations, as soon as they were able to reconcile themselves to the Republican tone of North America.

Father Roothaan, the General of the Order in Rome at that time, very quietly sent a mission to the Union, and it first of all took up its quarters in the almost thoroughly Catholic Maryland,* whither, indeed, the Fathers had been earnestly summoned by some rich planters. An educational institution was speedily founded there, and was much sought after by the sons of wealthy parents, and thereupon followed a second, third, fourth, and fifth. The means were also sufficiently forthcoming, so richly, indeed, that in the course of a decade the Order saw itself in a position to make a beginning also in other States in which the population was Catholic, founding establishments, and in the end even venturing, at Georgetown, the second city of the district, and in the very heart of the Union, to erect a college, which, as regards its endowment and magnitude, might boldly rival any other "college" in the United States.

In short, the sons of Loyola gradually succeeded in making themselves quite a considerable power in North America, and the number of Catholics there gradually increased, through the

* In 1632 King Charles I. of England presented all the land on the Chesapeake Bay, between Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia, to his favourite Lord Baltimore, and he, a zealous Catholic, named it, in honour of the deceased Queen Mary, Maryland; as, however, King Charles was murdered by the Puritans, and all Catholics in England were persecuted with fire and sword, the latter could not be sufficiently thankful that a Maryland existed across the sea, as the same became to all of them an asylum, and, as it were, a second fatherland. Hence comes it that this State has conspicuously a Catholic population.

constant emigration from Ireland, as well as from the Rhine countries of Germany, to more than eight millions; and thus one may with certainty affirm that their influence will always be more and more in the ascendant. Thus, over all western Christendom, with the exception of but a few countries, the sons of Loyola firmly established themselves, and, indeed, all over the New World their wheat flourished in such a way as to enable them to anticipate a truly splendid harvest. Consequently, their power was by no means broken by the Abolition Bull of Pope Ganganelli, as, otherwise, they could not have risen again in the way they actually have done since 1814. They might have lost somewhat as to riches—perhaps even a very great deal, as they were deprived of their great possessions, and had to relinquish their extended traffic with the East and West Indies, which annually brought them in millions.

As regards members, on the other hand, they appear rather to have increased than diminished, and, in the number of assistancies and provinces, to have remained about stationary. The assistancies were reckoned as four: first, the Assistancy of Italy, with the provinces of Rome, Naples, Sicily, Turin, and Venice, which together, according to a proclamation of General Beckz, under date 11th July, 1850, numbered 8,350 members of the Order; secondly, the Assistancy of Spain, with three provinces, which could not, however, be openly so named, seeing that the Order, being for the time prohibited, could only exist there *incognito*; thirdly, the Assistancy of France, with the provinces of Paris, Lyons, and Toulouse, which together amounted to 7,420 members of the Order; fourthly, and lastly, the Assistancy of Germany, which was by far the largest, with the provinces of Austria, Germany (that is, Prussia and the smaller German States), Galicia, Belgium, England, and Ireland, with Maryland in America, which together amounted to a total of not less than 22,159 Jesuits.

The whole together, then, of the sons of Loyola were, in the year 1850, not fewer than 37,929, and with such an army, something considerable might certainly be effected; more especially as it consisted of only tried veterans, not even taking into account recruits, that is, novices and the train of lay brethren. And now omitting further consideration of the extension of the Jesuit Order, we will turn to the question of the ways and

means by which this re-ascendancy of the sons of Loyola had been brought about.

The answer is, however, easy, as the means which the disciples of Ignatius employed are, and always will be, the same: in the first place, they travel about preaching; then follow the confessional and further congregations and sodalities; lastly, educational institutions and public opinion. Indeed, the entire ways and means of the modern Jesuits were, and are, nothing different from their activity under Ignatius, warmed to life again, and one might almost fancy he had himself, with his associates, risen again from the grave. Let us take, for instance, the erratic preaching or the missions of the modern Jesuits; are they not, as everyone has stated to me who has happened to have lived near a Jesuit mission, a simple copy of what Bobadilla, Favre, and Canisius had already done. Every three, four, or half-a-dozen of them, would be selected to go round the world preaching. Only those were chosen with this object who were considered as specially endowed with the gift of speaking, and then only such as were in a position to avail themselves of this gift through their physical advantages. They ought to be, if possible, tall manly figures, with fiery eyes and pale cheeks, men upon whose countenances self-denial had imprinted itself, and whose whole appearance, supported by the long black cloak and prayer-book, ornamentally bound, proclaimed them to be "saints on earth." In a word, only such members of the Order were destined to be mission preachers as were similar to a Father Roden, a Botgeisser, a Haslacher, an Anderledy, a Fruzzini, or a Waldburg-Zeil—six who went about all over Southern Germany during fifteen years or more, so that one might be certain that their preaching would not be ineffectual. How could this, indeed, be otherwise? They were only attracted to those towns and places where they knew that a part, at least, of the inhabitants were worshippers of bigotry, if even the remaining portion had been, perhaps, infected with the baneful spirit of enlightenment, or, indeed, been overtaken b heresy and Protestantism.

These towns were to them, indeed, the most agreeable, as the bigoted portion could then be so much the more easily inflamed to take the resolution of guarding themselves from the unholy touch of unbelieving people who had been contaminated

by Satan; and besides, it might be, perhaps, brought about that some lost daughter, or even son, might, by their eloquence, be induced to return into the bosom of the only saving Church. Seeing, however, that a portion of the inhabitants was captivated by the Fathers for a week or more beforehand, in the place where they had the intention of placing their mission cross, and as, also, they had not omitted to proclaim their coming beforehand, it was, then, an easy matter for them to reckon upon a large audience, and to double, or even treble it hour by hour. Ah! they preached, indeed, with the greatest fire, and were wonderfully skilled in infusing into their discourses the most effective descriptions and the most exciting comparisons. They had thoroughly well studied the art of working upon the minds of men, and entering upon the most delicate matters wonderfully unconcerned. They understood, indeed, so marvellously well how to describe the splendour and holiness of the heavenly regions, to which admission is accorded by Jesuit petitions, and through their influence. Ha! and then, moreover, Purgatory and Hell! They truly possessed the gift of description and of depicting in the highest degree, so that their hearers might well imagine how the infernal sea of flames was agitated up and down with the souls of those lost for ever, that is, of heretics and unbelievers. Indeed, in the excitement of a heated imagination one might be able to swear to hearing the cries of misery and the curses of the tormented, and to smell the smoke and fumes of the lake of sulphur! What heart, especially if beating in a female breast, would not be touched? in whom would not remorse be awakened? who would not be forcibly impelled to make known his sins to the holy Fathers, and to purchase absolution from them? Certainly, no one was able to withstand such a holy agitator, who was in such an excellent position to harangue the people; and was it not true good fortune that one might be able to have his sins remitted so easily by offerings, prayers, pilgrimages, and other outward means!

The greatest good fortune for the sons of Loyola was, however, when such-like missions were held in states and principalities where the members were not, as Jesuits, allowed to take up their abode, and where they had no legal home.

O Lord! the dear innocent missionaries are far from wishing to establish colleges or seminaries, and much less of making a domestic settlement; they merely come as "travellers" and "passers-by." Only as private individuals and guests of Bishops, whose personal freedom may not be so interfered with as that any questions should be put to them regarding their fellow-believers. Besides, it was not preaching alone which brought about these marvellous effects, but still more the *Hocus-pocus*, if I may be allowed to make use of such an expression, with which the pious Fathers were wont to adorn their missions. They made their appearance, indeed, as little better than play-actors, well knowing that the mass of the people were carried away by nothing so much as splendour on the one side and buffoonery on the other! In this respect I could bring forward a number of proofs of this usual missionary *Hocus-pocus*; for instance, one of the very worthy Fathers would mount the pulpit as the advocate of the Roman Catholic and apostolical religion, thundering down with the full force of his lungs upon another who, in the guise of the living Satan, defended the cause of irreligion and heresy; but such-like things are too well known that it should be necessary for me to dilate further on them.

Who does not call to mind, at these missions, the usual pomp displayed, the Mount Calvary, the "public deprecations," the "way to the cross," and many other similar things? Who does not remember about the heaps of Mary's images, statues of Christ, Agnus Dei, relics and crucifixes, which are sold to the faithful after having been endowed, by the magic wand of the Jesuits, with the power of working wonders? The power, indeed, of operating against witches and ghosts, as well as counteracting diseases, burns, and every thing of the kind? All this was brought into use at these Jesuit missions, whatever, indeed, might have an effect on the superstitious minds of the hearers, and no artifice remained untried in order to make the people enthusiastic "for the things of religion," as the sons of Loyola expressed themselves; that is, in plainer language, to drive away from the uneducated and ignorant masses all sound religious ideas, and instil into them, instead, the grossest superstition, as well as, also, the deepest veneration for the Society of Jesus.

Mundus vult decipi, ergo decipiatur—"The world wishes to

be deceived, it will therefore be deceived"—is an old proverb, and the sons of Loyola conducted their missions according to this notion. The superstitious peasants, however, allowed themselves to be persuaded by the latter to buy Ignatius' powder against the danger of fire, Ignatius' water against devils and ghosts, and Ignatius' pennies against pestilence and contagious diseases; but these, indeed, were even better than those poor women who allowed themselves to be goaded to distraction by the insane descriptions of the torments of hell, and were sometimes driven to take refuge in mad-houses.

The second approved means of acquiring power and influence has ever been, amongst the sons of Loyola, the confessional, and this mode they employ, even now, with the best results. It is not, however, the consciences of the common people that lie at their heart, as it is not easy to work upon the ordinary populace by means of missions; it is rather the consciences of the people of rank, the powerful and influential, whilst, too, through them alone, can anything be got. Consequently, in all Catholic countries the positions of Father Confessors at Courts were almost invariably found to be held by Jesuits, either open or disguised, and where this was not the case no means were left untried in order to overthrow those ecclesiastics who acted as spiritual advisers. Now this was in many cases by no means easy of accomplishment, as one may, perhaps, well imagine that the previous Father Confessors were not infeequently men of sense, and knew how to defend themselves; but when all means were ineffectual, when neither calumniation, bribery, nor dissimulation led to the end to be attained, the Jesuits took to their last resource, the influence of woman,—and this remedy never remained without effect. Who is the mother who has not a son, and who the spouse who has not a husband, who has not witnessed lovers having everything in their power, as where is the man who does not allow himself to be governed by a beloved daughter of Eve? It was precisely on these grounds that the sons of Loyola made it always their great aim to gain over the women, and as they now, in their seminaries, expressly brought up suitable youths with this object, they always found among their ranks some, at least, whose mellifluous speech and physical beauty it was not easy for the female mind to withstand.

In these crooked ways, then, the pious Fathers always attained

what they desired; and how, then, was it to be wondered at that the situations of Court Father Confessors were almost always to be found in the hands of the sons of Ignatius? No, verily, on this point need no one wonder, and still less as to the use to which they put the confessional. Their main object, indeed, was to regain for their Society the dominion which it possessed previous to its abolition, and, in order to accomplish this, the belief must be established among the great of this earth that the Jesuits alone were the possessors of true religion, while by their aid only could a monarchical Government be upheld.

They continually whispered into the ears of the princes that, "with the abolition of the Society of Jesus the power of the Roman See sank lower and lower; with this See the power of kings, also, diminished in a precisely similar proportion. Thereupon broad thinking, enlightenment, and science, or, as it may otherwise be called, irreligion, burst all the bands of obedience to the laws, and the general spirit of liberty which now spreads itself from one end of the world to the other is nothing else than the degradation of the true faith. This must, then, be firmly planted again, and in order to accomplish this the sons of Loyola alone are fitted."

Such is the confessional teaching of the Jesuits, and what they meant by the "true faith" is to be seen in their missions, with their rosaries, their scapularies, their penitential shirts, their fasts, their processions, and all the other baubles of their worship.

A third means for the attainment of power and riches by the sons of Loyola was the congregations and sodalities which they established in all Catholic countries, and, in truth, the same of which I have already spoken so much. Mankind remains always the same, and as a fanatical use of religion must immediately exercise an extraordinary influence upon worshippers and bigots, therefore the sons of Ignatius instituted—and so it is even at the present time—holy brotherhoods, the members of which confess almost daily, as well as communicate, fast, and devote themselves to other holy exercises. They instituted them because all these fanatical devotional exercises proceeded under their own personal supervision, and because thus the brothers, united together in the sodalities, were not only quite dependent upon them, but also formed a body-guard for the Order which was not at all to be

despised. Moreover, it would be erroneous, were it to be believed that these sodalities were confined entirely to the male sex, and that, in the Society of Jesus, mere "brotherhoods" had been founded, taking this word in its literal meaning. It was, indeed, quite the opposite, and there are actually, among the many congregations dependent on the Society of Jesus, far more females than males. This is especially the case in those countries in which the Society, being still nominally prohibited, dare not make its appearance openly; and the wonderfully sagacious Fathers, who never undervalued the influence of the fair sex, well knew how to set to work.

One meets, then, in all Catholic Christian countries, large communities of "sisters of mercy," who, to all appearance, know no other object in life but to be useful to mankind as nurses to the sick. In this manner they manage everywhere to get the hospitals into their own hands. If, however, one looks into their proceedings more minutely, it may at once be seen that the cure of the souls of the sick, and their conversion to the true faith, according to Jesuitical instructions, lie more at their heart than a regard for the body and the healing of physical ailments. Indeed, as it has been long ago proved, by magisterial investigations, the nursing of the sick, and the innocent title which they bear, are only made use of by them as an ensign, that they may be able more surely to work less disturbed for their friends the Jesuits. Further, there are "Ladies of the Holy Heart of Mary and of the Infant Jesus" who have found especially a great development in the Roman States, and whose position is to the female youth what the sons of Loyola are to the male. In other words, they devote themselves entirely and solely to the educa tion of young maidens, and their system of education corresponds exactly with that of the Jesuits; on this account, these ladies have also got the name of "Jesuitesses." Lastly, there are communities which are still more widely disseminated, the "Sisters of the True Faith," called also, in France, "Mères de la Foi"; and I need not waste words in affirming that these, too, are nothing more than instruments of the Society of Jesus for clearing the way for its reception and propagation. This name, "Mère de la Foi," evidently signifies the same as "Père de la Foi," of which I have already made mention.

Thus, in short, the Society of Jesus directs its chief attention, wherever it has penetrated since its re-establishment, to the formation of congregations and sodalities, as well of the male as of the female sex, and the holy Fathers contrived to take good care that the people should flock for admittance into these and similar "holy societies." O Lord! there occurred so much excitement and agitation about this that it was, indeed, hardly possible to withstand it. One has only to consider the monthly general communion with thorough plenary indulgence! One has only to think of the devotion of nine Sundays in honour of the Holy Ignatius, of the nine in honour of the Holy Xavier, of the six Sundays in honour of the Holy Aloysius, and of the league in honour of the Holy Heart of Jesus! Reflect on the many pilgrimages, offerings, and processional prayers, especially, however, on the holy exercises with the churches draped in black, and the titillating scourges, and such like. Was there, then, any wonder that, as has been stated, people of all conditions flocked to be received into the sodalities? The Jesuits, however, exercised all over the world, through these societies, a power not to be undervalued, as they remained, without exception, under the supervision and control of the Jesuit General in Rome, who carefully looked after them through wandering members of the Society, causing lists and reports of them to be sent to him, with whose wishes they were obliged unhesitatingly to comply.

Yet still more than by these missions, confessionals, and sodalities, the sons of Loyola, in modern times, contrived to procure for themselves consideration and acceptance through their educational institutions, and thus the old story was repeated of which I have already spoken in the Second Book of this work. They commenced quite imperceptibly wherever they came, and perhaps some few pupils formed in the whole year the sole foundation; but after two or three years had passed the thing had developed itself quite marvellously, and instead of a few poor scholars they possessed hundreds, if not more. Among these, however, the most part belonged to the higher classes, and it happened, of course, that instead of a small unpretending house, in which instruction had begun to be given, there was in its place a grand palace which almost resembled a university. Astonishment was, perhaps, manifested at this extraordinary

change, and it was looked on as a miracle; without reason, however, as it was only a natural consequence. The sons of Loyola demonstrated to the higher classes, and especially to the nobility of the land, that the spirit of modern times was highly depraved; they told them that the so-called enlightenment of the day was alone to blame for the revolutionary movements of the last seventy or eighty years; they proved to them that all the pernicious changes which had weighed so heavily upon the nobility, in the political organisation of States, would have been impossible if the old faith had still governed the minds of men to its full extent; lastly, they cautioned people most earnestly, and by the most horrible suggestions, against allowing the youth of the nobility to be educated together with the common herd at the ordinary gymnasiums and universities, and they represented the danger lest they might also imbibe the poison of new-fangled worldly opinions. Such and similar sentiments were continually given out by the sons of Loyola, who, at the same time, maintained such a truly settled expression of countenance that no one could have any doubt about the truth of their words.

What was left, then, for the noble parents, who would gladly have seen the condition of the world re-established as it was previous to the French Revolution? What was open for them to do, but to confide their sons to the Jesuits, in order that they might be educated in the true faith, and in proper views as regards worldly affairs? What remained for them, besides, but to assist the poor Fathers of the Order energetically with gold and goods, because there was really no other way left for the correct nurture of their sons, as they would otherwise be obliged to allow them to grow up in the degraded society of the common people, in which they must necessarily become acquainted with the subversive ideas as to throne and altar pervading the present century? This, then, accounts for the palatial appearance of the new Jesuit colleges, and hence came the overcrowding of the latter with the youth alone of the nobility * But, in truth, the noble

* The South German reader who wishes to convince himself of the truth of what is here related through personal observation, has not far to travel, for he finds everything confirmed most completely should he betake himself to Gorheim, in Sigmaringen, or to Feldkirch, in Southern Austria. It swarms there with young Barons, Counts, and even Princes, whose home is to be found for the most part in tolerably distant countries, such as West-

parents did not consider that the Jesuits' method of teaching in their colleges continued to be the same as it had been for centuries previous to the suppression of the Order, a method which had been acknowledged as entirely vicious, defective, and generally injurious.

The high-born barons, counts, and princes did not take into consideration that, centuries ago, no truly scientific education was to be got from the Jesuits, but merely a semblance of the same; indeed, a poor external varnish concealed an inward unsubstantial foundation. They did not reflect that the extraordinary progress witnessed in this century, both as regards education, the art of teaching, and the sciences themselves, particularly natural science, was completely ignored in the Jesuit schools, and that the pupils of the latter were necessarily, as concerns their knowledge and attainments, very far behind their companions educated elsewhere. A Liberal deputy of the great Council of Freiburg spoke thus, when the question regarding the education given to the academical youth by the Society of Jesus was before them:—"Would you give over this most sacred trust, the education of youth, to such men? Fanatical half monks, who do not, in the least, possess the knowledge of ordinary preceptors, and who are very far removed from the summit of modern science; a loose heap of Italians, French, and Germans collected together, full of pride and self-esteem, who, without true culture and information, inveigh with hate against freedom and enlightenment; men who fundamentally falsify history and the science of nature, in order not to mention the ideas of modern times; who only propagate stupidity and superstition; and, as they belong to no particular country of their own, drive out of the minds of their pupils the most noble of all feelings, that of patriotism." Thus spoke one of the free Swiss citizens; and that he was perfectly right in what he said, anyone may be convinced by the subsequent experiences in Freiburg.

Lastly, I must still make mention of a fifth means, by which the sons of Loyola contrived to raise themselves in estimation and consolidate their power; and that is, their influence on public opinion. They knew only too well how much depends upon

phalia, Hungary, Poland, and elsewhere. In Northern Germany, however, the principal colleges are to be sought for on the Rhine, especially in the dioceses of Cologne, Treves, Paderborn, and Münster.

this, and, therefore, they immediately launched against their opponents such a hail of pamphlets and lampoons that these latter could hardly walk upright under the weight. As now, however, in our times, in the place of contentious writings, brochures, and pamphlets, newspapers are to be met with, the Loyolites did not delay a moment in making themselves at home in this department; and there was soon no country, indeed, no province, in which the Society of Jesus did not possess its own peculiar organ, that is to say, a public print which, conducted in a Jesuitical spirit, defended Jesuit principles, teaching, and interests. In this respect I have only to call to mind the so-called *Deutsche Volksblatt* in Stuttgart, the *Friedrichtshafener Seeblatt*, the Baden *Beobachter*, the *Munich Volksboten*, the *Mainzer Journal*, the *Tyrol Stimmen*, the *Dillinger Aehrenlese*, the *Sonntagsblatt* of Uhl, the Alban *Stolz'schen Blätter*, and many more of a similar description. These nine appeared in Southern Germany alone, and from this the reader can form some idea as to what a mass of newspapers were at the command of the Jesuits all over Christendom. It is true that these prints were not always conducted with skill, but, on the other hand, they abounded with abuse and falsehoods, that is, with calumnious and coarse attacks on those of a different opinion from themselves. The Loyolites were doubtless aware of the old Latin proposition, *Semper aliquid hæret*, and on that account they seldom hesitated to project the most foolish calumnies against those who thought differently from them. They thus calculated in their minds: "The public will, it is true, be of opinion that we have been libelling, but still, nevertheless, there will certainly be on the part of many a belief that there may be at least some truth in what we advance, and, therefore, our untruths will always be productive of some advantage."

It will be seen, then, that the Jesuits continued to act on the same principles which they formerly allowed themselves to adopt as regards their many dealings with the remaining Orders and ecclesiastics; and even their most respectable and greatest organ, the *Civilta Cattolica*, could not clear itself from such a reproach.

These are the means by which the Society of Jesus, after its re-establishment by the Pope, contrived to attain its powerful position, and I must repeat that such were exactly the ways

and methods of which Loyola and his first scholars made use. The Jesuits remain entirely the same as of old, precisely as their great patrons the Popes, and whoever can have any doubt on the subject, let him please to put himself right about it; let him learn how they were wont to maintain the vows of poverty and chastity; let him instruct himself as to how the doctrine of approved murder and assassination was practised by them, and then certainly will all his doubts be set at rest. In relation to the vow of poverty, the greater part of thinking people are of one mind only on the subject, that the sons of Loyola have never carried on the pest of legacy-hunting to such an extent as happened after their re-establishment, and this is proclaimed already by that petition to the French Senate to which I have before briefly alluded. Besides, can the many complaints which are continually coming before the courts of justice, brought by injured relatives, have their origin merely in fabricated charges? However, I will not allow myself to enter into too minute details thereupon, but merely content myself with explaining the particulars of a single case which occurred only a few years ago, because the reader can draw a conclusion from this single instance respecting all the others, especially in regard to the way of proceeding on the part of the Loyolites.

At the beginning of the thirtieth year of our century, a bachelor of the name of William de Boey, already rather advanced in life, settled in Antwerp, in order to live there as a private individual. He had previously been a merchant, and had through fortunate speculations acquired for himself a colossal fortune of nearly six million of francs. The interest of this property he did not require to use for himself, as he lived a comparatively very simple life; instead, however, of adding it to the capital, he annually expended large sums in benevolent objects, and no one was ever turned away from his door who was in any need of assistance. Besides which, he aided energetically his poor relatives, of whom he had a number, and thus the name of William de Boey was highly esteemed by everyone all through Antwerp. Even envy had nothing to bring forward against the good old gentleman, his rather contracted mind and almost extravagant bigotry alone excepted. Thus things went on for several years, till towards the end of thirty years some members of the Society of Jesus gained admit-

tance into the rich man's house, under the pretext of soliciting a contribution for a poor man in distress; from this time forward, however, a complete change took place in the manner and way in which William de Boey exercised his benevolence. As he had formerly given a friendly ear to the voice of any deserving person, be he priest or layman, he only listened now on the advice of the Jesuits, and instead of, as formerly, making the whole needy population of Antwerp happy, he now gave only to those who were recommended by the sons of Loyola, that is, to themselves. He bought for them a large house in the city in order to found a college, besides which he assigned considerable revenues to them to meet the rest of their expenses.

Now, notwithstanding the large donations which the good Fathers Boone, Vanhalsenoy, Hessels, Lhoir, and Franqueville, who proved themselves so very active in the matter, contrived to obtain from the rich old man, they must needs cast their eyes on the capital of the property, that is, on the six millions, and in order to get possession of it De Boey must be brought to execute a will in their favour. This was, in truth, a very difficult undertaking, as the old gentleman, as already said, had very many relations, and of these he loved several almost as much as if they had been his own children. Thus, especially, Maria de Buck, one of his nieces, and two nephews, by name W. Grabeels and Benedict de Buck, the latter of whom, indeed, resided with and was brought up by him, while the other two daily came in and out of his house. Still, the worthy Fathers, of whom the General of the Order had conducted the business of the heritage with De Boey, belonged to the most experienced, sharp-sighted, and intelligent of the Order, and, consequently, they would not long remain undecided as to the step contemplated by them. They perceived that the relations of the old man must be estranged, that they must be made to be suspected by him, and that by degrees he must be brought to the belief that the cousins and nieces came about him, and paid him so many visits, merely to see if they would ere long enter on the inheritance, that is, whether the rich uncle would soon be taken out of their way by death. This means worked well, and William de Boey caused himself to be denied to all his nephews and nieces, with the exception alone of the three above-mentioned, Maria de Buck, W. Grabeels, and Benedict de Buck. And even

this did not last long, as Maria de Buck was not allowed any more to enter the room of the uncle, his spiritual advisers having succeeded in persuading him that she was leading an immoral kind of life, and that her tender sympathies were of no value. The sons of Loyola proceeded with equal skill against W. Grabeels, as they at once sent him over to America, as soon as they had brought him to enter their Order as a novice, and caused him to be shut up in a trial house in the State of Missouri. There remained, then, only the young Benedict de Buck to get rid of, and, indeed, as quickly as possible, as the latter enjoyed the special favour of the uncle, and there was the greatest danger that his liking for him would only increase year by year, owing to the sprightly and amiable behaviour of the boy. But there was no need for anxiety about the matter, as Father Lhoir had taken it in hand, and as he was in the first rank as to his Jesuitical capacity, it would be criminal to doubt that he would bring it to a fortunate termination. Before everything the Father strove, with this object, to obtain the most unlimited confidence from his confessant William de Boey; and this was easy on account of the extraordinary knowledge of human nature which the spiritual adviser possessed, coupled with the gentle tractability of the merchant's disposition. He first offered his assistance to the old gentleman in regard to the education of his favourite Benedict, and he did this with such an expression of sincerity and kindness, that the old gentleman, as a matter of course, consented with pleasure. Now, then, in order to render the young man zealous in the study of languages and sciences, and, at the same time, in order to be able to keep him away from the evil influence of the bad fellows of Antwerp, Benedict was scarcely ever allowed out of the house, so that he was obliged completely to dispense with the natural pleasures of boyhood. On the other hand, the Father took care to excite to the extreme the lively imagination of the young man, and by the use of dissuasion from worldly lusts, which he described in the most glowing colours, to create in him an earnest longing after these very sins. The consequence of this could be no other than that the nearer the boy approached to the age of manhood, the more unbearable became the constraint in which he was held, and he began to give way to excesses which not infrequently accompany that time of life. Instead, now, however,

of remonstrating kindly with the youth, as to the impropriety of such indulgences, to which for the most part the Father had in an underhand way given rise, he not only censured them most vehemently, but, what was the chief thing, represented them in the light of real crimes to the uncle now imbecile from age. On this account there necessarily arose an estrangement between the two, as the uncle saw in his nephew no longer the dear relative who, in the stead of a son, should enliven the evening of his life, but rather an ungrateful "ne'er-do-well," on whom all the kindnesses he had lavished had been completely thrown away; and, on the other hand, the young Benedict shunned the company of his uncle, as that of a morose peevish man, who embittered all the joys of existence by his excessive strictness. Thus it was in the house of old de Boey, when Benedict, after having passed the age of fifteen, being seized with a longing after the outer world, on one occasion left his lonely apartment in order to refresh his disordered mind in God's free air. Accident threw in his way some boys of his own age, and they soon struck up an acquaintance with each other. The young company took their road to a chapel before the town, in which, at the time of their visiting it, neither a sacristan nor any other devout person was present. Everything, therefore—the sacristy, the organ, and the altar with the holy pictures placed at the back of it—remained completely open to the undisturbed diversion of the boys. Among these holy pictures there happened to be a Madonna with a heavenly crown of silver, and this attracting the eyes of the young fellows, they declared it to be fair booty. Benedict himself took no part in the theft, but, nevertheless, did not venture to oppose his newly-acquired comrades, and bound himself under a promise of inviolable silence. Of course, the transaction soon became noised abroad, and Benedict was obliged to confess his own complicity, while the real thieves did not omit to point him out as a ringleader, as they thought that the near relative and heir of so rich a man as old de Boey would not be much of a sufferer. Such, indeed, would certainly have been the case had only Father Lhoir not been in existence. Now he had for some years past longed for some such occurrence, and he would have been no true son of Loyola had he not taken full advantage thereof. He, therefore, did not fail to represent the matter to old de Boey in the

darkest light possible, and endeavoured to bring him at once to the conviction that only a very exemplary punishment of his nephew would save the young thief from a criminal course of life. Lastly, in spite of the earnest entreaties of Benedict not to expose his shame, as he had, indeed, not himself taken any part in the robbery, he did not omit to bring the case before the judgment court of Antwerp, and to take care that his pupil should be sentenced to the degradation of a year's imprisonment for being concerned in a church robbery.

This occurred at the end of 1834, and the first step towards making a galley-convict of the young Benedict had succeeded. The young man was at once conveyed to the penitentiary at St. Bernard, and everybody knows what is learned in such an institution.

In order to bring him back to the way of virtue, then, after the period of punishment had transpired, his uncle, by the advice of Father Lhoir, had him confined in the lunatic asylum of Froidmont. He had, it seems, come across an old law, by which it was allowed to a relative to place an irreclaimable member of his family in an institution of the kind with the view of curing him. Froidmont, however, was such a peculiar reformatory that the young Benedict shortly became a Bedlamite, and in one of his fits of madness made his escape without further ado. He was next found on the esplanade at Antwerp, with a sword-stick and a newly-discharged pistol in his hand, shouting out and staggering like a drunken person. He was immediately arrested, and examined by a physician, and anew brought back to Froidmont, because he was evidently suffering from mental aberration; but Father Lhoir made good use of this circumstance in order to bring the uncle to the conviction that Benedict had at that time the intention of murdering his uncle, and had only by a fortunate circumstance been prevented from making the attempt. After his fresh arrest—in August 1836—Benedict was compelled to pass another year at Froidmont, and he would probably have remained there during the remainder of his life, had he not, for a second time, found an occasion to make his escape.

When, however, he now installed himself again in the uncle's house in Antwerp, he entreated the latter so urgently not to send him back to the lunatic asylum, that the latter at

last consented. But what was now to be done with the youth? Whither was he to be sent? A mercantile house in Havanna was tried, but the house became bankrupt, and the youth was again without employment. Father Lhoir now advised that the lad should go to Braine-le-Comte, in order to learn carpentry under carpenter Lhoir, the Jesuit's own brother: and as the Father, in the meantime, had from confessor and spiritual adviser to old de Boey been raised also to be his man of business and factor, the uncle approved of the plan, as might be understood. Benedict, then, at the beginning of his twentieth year, was obliged to become apprentice to a carpenter; but, from peculiar circumstances, he acquired a taste for his new trade, and so much zeal, that in a short time he arrived at considerable efficiency therein. He became acquainted in Braine-le-Comte, with a girl of the name of Catherine Manfroid, and the two became so enamoured with each other that they wished to marry. Consequently Benedict applied to his uncle for his consent, and while in the meantime he had become quite a steady man, he had so little doubt about the matter that he at once made the furniture ready as dowry. He had, however, reckoned without his host, as how could the sons of Loyola consent to such a marriage as this, in consequence of which his uncle would doubtless become reconciled to him? Then he would again be installed as the dear favourite nephew, and the prospect of inheriting the six millions would have become, for the Society of Jesus, very dark indeed. On this account the carpenter Lhoir was instructed to send such a disreputable report about Catherine to Antwerp, that old de Boey was in despair in regard to complying with the request of his nephew, and Father Lhoir was commissioned to put an end to the business as soon as possible. The Father set off immediately for Braine-le-Comte, and declared to Benedict that his uncle would disinherit him if he did not forthwith give up Catherine, and ended by bringing him to Tournai, to a secret agent of the Society of Jesus called Philippart. Here Benedict remained under the strictest observation; or he was, rather, kept as a prisoner, and, especially, without any money whatever at his disposal.

But the more strictly they proceeded against him, the more his longing increased after his beloved one; so he took an opportunity which occurred to embezzle from his tormentor,

Philippart, a small sum to enable him to travel to Braine-le-Comte. Philippart was at once indemnified by Father Lhoir, but was instructed to lodge a complaint, in consequence of which Benedict was sentenced afresh to imprisonment in his former house of correction in St. Bernard, but this time not for one year but for three years.

That was the second step towards his becoming a galley-convict, and now the third was not far off. After Benedict had completed his term of punishment, Father Lhoir brought him away from St. Bernard and took him to Arlon, once more to a carpenter, whilst he at the same time intimated to him that his uncle de Boey was still too irritated to see his nephew. Benedict then continued to pursue his avocation at Arlon, and gave satisfaction. After a couple of months, however, he determined to go on his travels, in order to see a little of the world, and during his wanderings he first came to Prussia, and later on to Würtemberg, where he for some little time remained at work.

Towards the end of the year 1842 he went to France, in order to become acquainted with that country; as he, however, found no work there, he wished, from want of money, to enlist in the Foreign Legion in the beginning of January at Grenoble, under the name of Vandael, and thereupon at once informed Father Lhoir about it, whom he still foolishly continued to look upon as a fatherly friend. His entrance into the Legion, however, never took place, but, on the contrary, he met with punishment in the galleys; or, more correctly, compulsory labour in the hulks of Toulon.

On the 30th of January 1843, he happened to fall in with two people of bad reputation, and as all three of them did not possess a single sou between them, they arranged among themselves to procure money somewhere or other. They set upon a carrier at night, got hold of him, and robbed him of everything. The whole amount obtained was only about seven francs, but it was, nevertheless, robbery; and as the thieves were immediately apprehended, they were sentenced for the crime. Benedict got, from the Assize Court of the Departement du Bar, six years' punishment in the hulks, and, under the assumed name of Vandael, was at once conveyed to Toulon. His fate had now overtaken him; yet nothing was known of it in his uncle's

house, but it was believed there, from the statement of Father Lhoir, that he had proceeded with the Foreign Legion to Algiers; and yet more, it was rumoured shortly afterwards that he had met with his death in Africa; and old de Boey also participated in this belief without Father Lhoir ever having told him anything to the contrary, although he, as we shall soon afterwards learn, was perfectly well aware of the real truth.

While all this was going on, the Jesuits had, in the meantime, been making themselves more at home in the house of old de Boey; especially Fathers Lhoir, Boone, and Hessels, and they soon carried it on so far, that of all among the whole number of the old gentleman's relations there was not a single one of them who dared to come near him. The servants received orders to refuse admittance to any of them, under the pretext that the uncle was otherwise engaged, or that he had gone to bed, or was asleep; there was always, however, at least one of the Jesuits on the spot, and, indeed, they took care never to lose sight of the old gentleman, even during the night. Of course, the welfare of his soul always lay, especially, at the bottom of their hearts, and even, on this account, they whispered into his ear: "If you leave your fortune to your family, all harm that they in future will do with the money—and that they will do harm there can be no doubt from the spiritual condition of your relations—will rest on your soul."

Nevertheless, the old gentleman appeared not to be in any hurry to make a will in favour of the Jesuits, and in order, therefore, to overcome his last resistance, they persuaded him to make a journey to Rome, where he might obtain a plenary indulgence. De Boey, although already a decrepit old man, determined upon this course, and, accompanied by two of the Fathers mentioned, he devoted fully fifteen months to the capital of Christendom, and her hundreds of churches and cloisters. However, after that he had so long prayed and made pilgrimages, and, indeed, incurred an expenditure of more than 200,000 francs, in presents to the Pope and the saints, he came to the conviction that his soul's welfare would be endangered if he did not benefit the Society of Jesus in preference to his relations; and thus, at length, was the great aim attained for which the sons of Loyola had devoted so much time, trouble, and consideration. In short, after his return from that troublesome

journey to Rome, William de Boey died on the 25th February 1850, and true enough—the Fathers Hessels and Boone had never, during his last days, left his side—a will was found. According to the same, the whole of his near relatives, eighteen in number, with the sole exception of Benedict de Buck, whom William de Boey considered to be dead, obtained legacies to the amount, in all, of about 35,000 francs, and, at the same time, annuities to the same extent were secured to them for life; but the whole residue of this colossal property was assigned to an advocate of the name of Valentyns, affiliated to the Society of Jesus, who at once made it over, as soon as he took possession thereof, to the Order in question. Valentyns, whom de Boey had not known at all before, and who had entered the house only three days before for the first time, was thus only a fictitious heir in order to get over the restrictions which legally stood in the way of leaving property directly to the Jesuits, and the sons of Loyola made no secret that they had obtained the inheritance. On the other hand, they at once built the magnificent College in Antwerp, which they still possess, and they go so far as to concede, when the question is asked how much the inheritance amounted to, to reply, with a soft, humble voice, "It was not so considerable as public report made it out to be."

The Jesuits had thus attained their object, and the relations of the rich old man were cheated out of the property which naturally should have been theirs. This fraud was so apparent, too, that all Antwerp became indignant about it, and those who had been so deeply injured were encouraged on all sides to raise complaints, in order that the evidently surreptitious will might be upset. They did not do so, however, and could not do so, as the said will contained a clause that, on the least attempt of the relations to contest the same, they should forfeit the legacies accorded to them. The clause ran as follows:

"As the concord and unanimity of my family lies at my heart, and, as I wish to prevent all legal proceedings and strife, I direct and affirm that each individual legatee must put full confidence in the honesty of my universal heir, and if any one of them, or several of them, to whom is accorded a special legacy or pension, commences any kind of contention, or raises any action at law against my universal heir, or permits himself to enter into any transaction with the object of impeaching the

validity of my present will: I affirm and require that the person or persons who shall attempt anything of the kind, shall forfeit all their rights which they may have to any pension or any special legacy whatever."

Thus was it explicitly stated in the testament; and how, then, could one or more of the relatives to whom legacies were assigned, dare to proceed with a complaint against the Jesuits? Oh! the sons of Loyola were sufficiently cunning, and knew how to make certain of their booty in every way. But, behold! they still found themselves in a dilemma, and, indeed, in one of no trifling character, as there existed yet another of the relatives of the deceased rich man who had not received any legacy, and who might contest the will, as he was not affected by this said clause. This relative was no other than Benedict de Buck, whom William de Boey once so much loved that Father Lhoir found it necessary, by suspicious machinations and subornations, to make out as morally dead. Indeed, in spite of his knowledge to the contrary, he allowed him to be considered so, in order that his uncle, holding him to be lost for ever, should not bring the old love to his recollection by leaving anything to him. I say, in spite of his knowledge to the contrary, as Benedict, as soon as he was confined in the hulks, at once applied to the said Father and accurately related to him not only everything that had befallen him, but requested his intercession with his uncle. Still, were this Benedict de Buck even yet alive, had the Society of Jesus, on that account, any cause for anxiety? Indeed, he was for nine years a man lost to the world, as, from forcible attempts at escape, the original term of six years had been further increased to three years more in the penitentiary. Besides, no one in his home knew anything about the matter, whether he was still alive, and there was nothing to be afraid of, nor was it likely that anyone belonging to him should take him up. What occasion is there, then, to repeat that there was no need for anxiety on his account, especially as it was no easy matter for anyone to hear of his existence, because in the hulks he went by the assumed name of Vandael.

The Society of Jesus, however, determined to go to work as circumspectly as possible, and Father Lhoir, who had hitherto so well contrived to get the better of the helpless fellow, whereby to gain advantage for the Jesuits, did not now venture for an instant

to lose sight of him. This he did not do for a single moment, but at once entered into correspondence with him, and endeavoured, by means of small donations, to make the convict believe that he would always find a benefactor and fatherly friend in his spiritual adviser. The said money donations effected this result, though Benedict, by his own confession, obtained, from time to time, but 740 francs, of which, moreover, the jailer retained for himself more than half. When, then, the Father subsequently, in the autumn of 1849, demanded from the prisoner a full, free, and heartfelt confession of all his misdeeds, sins, and lawlessnesses, with the object of pacifying the indignant uncle, Benedict forthwith complied. The Father thus obtained, in November, the written confession desired; and who now was more delighted than he?

"Now," rejoiced he in his heart, "now, friend Benedict, dare to say a word! Now, just try to make a complaint against me and my Order on account of legacy-hunting! As soon as you do this, or as soon as you show any inclination to do so, I shall, regardless of consequences, hand over to the tribunal of secret confession the statement of your evil deeds, and annihilate you under the weight of your shame!"

In the meantime, as it appeared, Lhoir did not entertain the slightest fear that the matter would ever come to extremities, but was rather inclined to hold the opinion that Benedict, who did not enjoy the best of health, might end his life in the hulks, and, on that account, did not even intimate to him the death of his uncle, which, as before stated, occurred on the 25th February 1850. On the other hand, he continued to send him money as if it came from de Boey. Finally, however, as the day of his liberation nearer and nearer approached, he now thought it necessary to make disclosures to the prisoner regarding the death, because the matter must shortly come out, and at the same time he commissioned the prison chaplain to offer him, in the name of the Society of Jesus, a yearly income of 1,200 francs, on condition of his renouncing all further claims. With this brilliant offer he, however, thoroughly failed, as at length Benedict de Buck's eyes were completely opened, when he became aware how he had been treated in his uncle's will, and quite passed over as a deceased person, and he now perceived what kind of a friend he possessed in Father Lhoir. He was seized at once with violent rage, and not only rejected with disdain the offer of the 1,200 francs, but

vowed, indeed, to do *his utmost* to take revenge on Father Lhoir, who had deceived him so shamefully, as well as on the Antwerp Jesuits.

All this the prison chaplain, whose name was Van Hammée, wrote to the said Father in Belgium, and he consequently was aware of all that had occurred. Finally, in the autumn of 1852, Benedict de Buck, on the expiration of his nine years at the hulks, was at length liberated, and at once made his way to Belgium in order to seek out Father Lhoir. He encountered him at Mons, on the 20th October 1852, and at once peremptorily demanded from him the payment of his proper share of his uncle's succession. This imperious tone, however, made no impression on Father Lhoir, but he contemptuously searched his pocket, and offered to the other a bank-note for a hundred francs, as if he were a beggar, and, shrugging his shoulders, added, "that was all he could do for him, and should de Buck demand any more, he might certainly reckon upon eternal disgrace and moral annihilation." Such behaviour naturally made the man, cheated of his inheritance, perfectly furious, and he thereupon threatened the Jesuit. De Buck, at length, presented a pistol at the Father, without firing it off, however, whereupon some persons coming to the pious Father's assistance, easily seized it out of the culprit's hands, and, by the order of Father Lhoir, without any resistance on the part of the offender, handed him over to the police. It was all over with the poor man, as the Father made a complaint against him for attempt at murder, and, at the same time, produced the written circumstantial confession of his sins, in order to prejudice the judges all the more strongly against the accused. They, indeed, allowed themselves to be thus influenced, as their friend the Jesuit Father desired it to be so; since, too, unfortunately, Benedict was found in possession of several tools which might be taken as thieves' instruments, although they were merely carpenters' tools, namely, a saw, a file, an English awl, a description of dagger, &c., the Appeal Court of Brussels condemned him, on the 16th April 1853, to ten years' imprisonment, and afterwards to ten years' police surveillance, on account of vagrancy and carrying about on him weapons and forbidden instruments. "Now complain of us for legacy hunting!" jeered Father Lhoir, with devilish delight, as his victim was conveyed to the prison

of Vilvorde, as he naturally believed that it was impossible for the prisoner to survive this fresh punishment. He did, however, serve his time and a still further six months also, which the Brussels Court of Judicature accorded to him for an attempt at escape. He stood out the ten years and a half, and his spirit was so little broken that, as soon as he had obtained his freedom, on the 13th October 1863, he was able to institute the long-contemplated action against the plunderers of the succession appertaining to his family. But, behold! he was again arrested, at the instance of the Antwerp Jesuits, for having threatened them with death in writing, and placed before the Jury Court of the Province of Brabant; for Friedrich Bossaert, the Provincial of the Jesuit Order in Belgium, had received a letter from the penitentiary of Vilvorde bearing the signature of Benedict de Buck, and in this letter the Jesuits, namely, the Provincial Bossaert and the Fathers Lhoir and Hessels, were not only directly accused of having stolen the inheritance of him, Benedict de Buck, but there were therein strong threats, conjoined with the most malicious, insulting expressions. "I declare expressly to you," concludes the letter, "that wherever I may be, I shall never renounce my rightful claims; the guilty individuals, wherever they may be, may hide themselves in vain; I will know where to find them, as I have nothing more to lose. Take warning of what I have said." The Provincial then laid this letter before the judges, and demanded that measures should be taken to prevent de Buck from carrying out his threats of murder. The State officials, however, caused the letter to be examined by experts to ascertain whether it was actually that of de Buck, and, as they declared that the writing was his, the arrest of the author thereof was of course made, and a charge against him instituted. De Buck, however, entered a protest against the accusation made against him, and denied in the most vehement way having written the threatening letter, declaring, with a firm voice, "that the same was an artificial imitation of his handwriting, fabricated by the Jesuits, and devised by them, that he might be again condemned to imprisonment, and, perhaps, for life, in order that they should get rid of him for ever." Who, now, was right, he or the sons of Loyola?

The trial was commenced on the 13th May before the Jury Court of Brabant, and all streamed there to be present at it.

For many many years, there had not been a Jury Court case of such interest, as for many many years nothing of such importance had been in question. It did not so much concern the poor Benedict de Buck, as rather the more whether it might be possible in Belgium, the first stronghold of Jesuitism, to get up a case against the Society of Jesus. It was a question as to whether light might be thrown upon the dark secrets of that frightful Society, and the vile manner of its transactions proclaimed abroad. And, wonderful to relate, never was a trial before brought to so brilliant a termination, notwithstanding that the Public Prosecutor, with all the power of his position and all his eloquence, pressed for a verdict of guilty, notwithstanding that the accused, who had been hardly out of prison ever since his sixteenth year, was very badly defended, and the President of the Court, M. de Marbaix, was declared to be, and doubtless not without reason, a zealous partizan of the Jesuits. But on that account two youthful aspirants had undertaken Benedict's defence, and these gentlemen contrived with much intrepidity to lift the veil of secrecy which covered this ugly business, and the sons of Loyola, and especially Father Lhoir, soon stood forth in all their hideous bareness. Finally, no spectator or juryman, could any longer have doubt about the matter, that Benedict de Buck had been systematically stamped by Father Lhoir as a thief and criminal, in order to enable the latter to carry out the knavery of a stupendous legacy-hunt, and, as after a four days' trial the question was put to the jury, whether Benedict de Buck was guilty of having threatened Bossaert and his companions with murder, the unanimous answer proclaimed was, No.

The sons of Loyola thus complety failed in their complaint, and Benedict de Buck once more obtained his freedom. Indeed, still more, for all now pitied him as the victim of Jesuit intrigue, while the authors of this villainy stood forth as deeply-branded hypocrites and legacy-hunters, for whom no transaction was too rascally, provided anything could be got by it.

It is, alas! but too true that the immense heritage remained theirs, as the testament of the deceased William de Boey could not be called in question.

I have considered it necessary to enter somewhat into detail concerning this trial, as it is well calculated to give us a deep insight into the mode of thought and action of the modern

Jesuits, and as it will be perceived therefrom that the Fathers of our own time have not improved one iota, in relation to their love of money, on those of the 16th and 17th centuries. Even as little have they progressed in relation to purity of manners, as will be seen from the following example, and of such there are still to be found many dozens.

The Order of Jesus was, as we have above seen, denied entrance into the kingdom of Sardinia, and on that account its members smuggled themselves into it under another name. The sons of Loyola, then, under the title of "Ignorantelli," had founded a splendid educational institution in Turin, which was held in such high repute that upwards of 300 young men, all of whom belonged to the upper classes, were educated in it. The Rector, Theoger, was especially distinguished for his piety, amiability, and modesty, and was represented universally as a perfect pattern of a teacher and head of a school. This opinion obtained, also, after the transformation Italy underwent subsequently to the year 1859, and the higher classes continued to hand over their sons to the Jesuits without any mistrust whatever.

Now, it happened that a General of the new Italian army, who had some time previously been sent to Southern Italy in order to fight the Bourbon banditti there, commissioned a friend in Turin to take a look after his son now and then, as he had been for some years attached to the Jesuit Institution; and the friend first began to execute this commission in 1863. Was he not astonished, however, when, in connection with the said Institution, things came under his observation of the existence of which he had not the least conception! Was he not amazed when he became convinced that the heads and professors of the Institution were labouring quite contrary to the intentions of the Government! The friend's wonder, however, reached its culminating point when the son said, in the course of conversation, without any circumlocution whatever, or the slightest colour in his face, "The real robbers are the royal soldiers, and my father is nothing else than a General of robbers, precisely as Victor Emanuel of Piedmont has stolen Italy, like a thief, and not obtained it legitimately."

The other pupils of the institution were found to entertain the same treasonable sentiments, and it was thus quite clear that

their teachers and principal were bringing them up as regular conspirators against their country. The friend could not keep silence about this, and he at once laid the necessary information before the Minister of Justice, who thereupon instituted a commission of inquiry into the matter, and ordered the same to inspect the Institution quite unexpectedly and unannounced. This took place! But, O Lord! what showed itself now? Not only a miserable method of teaching, which condemned every sound elevation of the mind as something to be rejected and heretical, but such a thorough and illimitable moral corruption, that made the hair of the Commissioners actually stand on end.

The Institution was, as a matter of course, closed at once, and a formal trial was commenced against the teachers and principal; but the chief offender, Father Theoger, unfortunately, succeeded in making his escape to France, and several of the other teachers as well as pupils, also disappeared without its being possible to get hold of them again. They were afraid of the punishment that awaited them; and this fear was only too well founded, as such abominable things came to light during the course of the trial that no one could have believed possible. Shameful offences were quite common, and gross crimes were not only openly carried on, but even taught and recommended as salutary. I have no intention of inflicting any further details upon the reader, but will merely add that, as already said, not only was the Institution closed for ever, but justice received satisfaction in the fullest measure, save that two of the most guilty among the guilty escaped through flight.

Upon this, no time was lost in making an investigation regarding the rest of the Jesuit institutions in Italy, several of which, as those at Spoleto, Foligno, and Apisi, were at once closed. Thus, in this respect—that is, as to the question of morality—the Jesuits of the 19th century resemble those of former times; and equally so as regards the question of murder and assassination. But how as to this, indeed? Have I not already proved it to the reader by the history of the Sunderbund war, of which I was obliged to make mention in the history of the extension of the Order of Jesus in Switzerland? And does not this appear even more clearly from the Belgian revolution of 1830, which resulted in the separation of Belgium from Holland,

and which, according to the irrefutable testimony of history, was, at least, in a great degree, the work of the Jesuits and their friends? Was there not evidence of this also in the Polish outbreak of 1872, wherein the Jesuits, secretly, and well disguised, so long incited and instigated strife, until at length blood flowed in streams?

The reader must, indeed, be more or less aware of all these things, and it is merely sufficient to bear them in recollection. Universally, wherever any profit for themselves could be obtained, they preached now, as in former times, murder, assassination, revolution, and rebellion; only they denominated their rebellions and revolutions a work of justice and religion, while they condemned to the lowest hell the democratic insurrections, as the result of disdain for religion, and of profligacy! It is to be well understood, moreover, that it did not everywhere and in all States proceed as far as the latter means—open rebellion and civil war; but it was found necessary to proceed quietly, and creep in, as it were, by stealthy ways. One must, first of all, get a firm hold before being able to commence operations! But as soon as the period arrived that this was accomplished, that a sound footing had been obtained, what a change then took place! Then suddenly the delicate advances, insinuations, and vexing of confessants, no longer sufficed. War, war, war, was the solution; not such war, in truth, where the sword is drawn from the scabbard, as that would not be tolerated by those in authority; but a war with the tongue, a war with the heart, an everlasting contention and strife with all those who were a thorn in the side of the Jesuits, more especially with abominable heretics and anti-Catholics. But of this I will proceed to consider in detail in the next chapter, taking my leave here with these reflections.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CATHOLICISM INTO JESUITISM; OR, THE JESUIT PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

In the foregoing chapter we have spoken of the extraordinary extension of the Order of Jesus during the first half of the 19th century, and have examined the way in which the Society employed its freshly-acquired power, so that all thinking people must consider the proposition to be firmly established that "the Jesuits remain the same as of old." But with this the Fathers are far from being satisfied, their great aim and object being still "the most complete sway over Church and State."

In the Church it has reached as far as this, that the Jesuitical tendency has become sole and unconditional mistress; that only those make use of the name Catholic who think, believe, and act as the Jesuits wish them to think, believe, and act; that Jesuitism and Catholicism signify one and the same thing; in short, that these words are synonymous terms.

In and out of the State, however, all that is antagonistic to Jesuit principles and Jesuit views and teachings has to disappear, even, it may be said, the very State itself. Thus, all the different kingdoms and principalities of Catholic Christendom must have nothing but Jesuit principles, morals, and religion, nothing but Jesuit dictates as to marriage and instruction, nought being left to them but to carry out most humbly Jesuit decrees against anti-Catholics. But, naturally, the Fathers are unable to conceal from themselves that to obtain such power will cost a tolerably severe contest, and they are unwilling to open this struggle thoughtlessly. No; the strife must not commence till

they are properly armed; and they may venture to make themselves certain of victory by virtue of their powerful position. Their endeavour, therefore, must first be limited to securing for themselves this requisite authority, and in this respect the first decade of the second half of the 19th century has been exceptionally favourable to them.

The reader remembers, without doubt, the year 1848, and therefore I hardly think it can be necessary for me to enter into details regarding that great Revolution which, commencing in France in February, soon spread throughout Germany, and drew into its sphere of agitation the whole of that country, together with Italy, Austria, and Hungary. Consequently, I merely affirm that the liberty, the waves of which then raged vehemently, was highly detrimental to the Order of Jesus, as in France as well as in Germany, in Turin as well as in Genoa, in Naples as well as in Sicily, in Styria as well as in Tyrol, in the Archduchy of Austria as well as in Bavaria, indeed, even in the States of the Church, its members were expelled and its colleges abolished. Moreover, here and there their houses were even torn down, and the General of their Order, hunted on all sides, at length found no shelter but in Protestant England. It thus appeared that, for the second time, the last hour of the Loyolites had arrived; but out of apparently the deepest misfortune sprang up, for them, the greatest good luck. The great Revolution from which, it was believed, spiritual as well as material liberty had been secured to the people for all time, was, in the course of 1851 and 1852, suppressed by force by the different Governments; and then set in such a system of reaction as the Jesuits could not have desired better for themselves. Yes, truly, they had a golden era, throughout an entire decade from this time, as all the Governments believed in their words, that they alone were fit to put down the frightful phantom of Liberalism. Besides, not the Governments alone were on their side, but the nobility also, who hated as the deadliest plague the said Liberalism of modern ideas, by which it had been either actually robbed of its former privileges, or still feared that such would be the case; and then came to be added the whole of the Episcopate, to whom the national agitations of the years 1848 and 1849 appeared nothing else than a kind of sacrilege. In short, the reaction—that is, the clutching again after the power in vogue in the Middle

Ages, which for some time had been abated—spread all over Europe, and the fat swimming on the top of this new ebullition consisted, as may be well imagined, of members of the Society of Jesus.

Let us look, above all, at Austria, where, on the 31st December 1851, the Government re-created the Constitution of 1849. Did not, then, the Concordat with Rome come to be established through the exertions of the Society mentioned? It was signed on the 18th of August 1855, ratified on the 25th September, and on the 5th November 1855 proclaimed by an Imperial Patent, which completely set aside all formerly acquired freehold properties (also the Josephinum, *i.e.* arising from the Emperor Joseph), being designed to form from this time a barrier against all Liberalism—indeed, against the whole civilised world with their modern ideas. One has only to bear in mind Article I. of that Concordat, according to which the Roman Catholic religion was again endowed with all the legal powers and privileges which it possessed in former times: one has only to scan Article IV., which gives complete freedom to the Bishops to exercise, in their dioceses, all the powers belonging to Government; to appoint, especially, their councillors, representatives, and assistants, entirely according to their discretion, to consecrate anyone whom they pleased, to establish benefices, to found parsonages, to arrange about public prayers, processions, and pilgrimages, as well as to hold provincial synods according to necessity, and to proclaim their resolutions as binding: one has only to examine Article V., by which all education has been placed in the hands of the Catholic clergy, and Article VII., which commands that only Catholic professors and teachers shall be appointed to all gymnasiums and middle-class schools: one has only to peruse Article IX., which delegates to bishops and ordinaries the right to interdict such books as seem to them to be hurtful, which command the Government has to carry out: one has only to cast one's eyes over Article X., which refers to the Ecclesiastical Court all law questions which concern faith, sacraments, and ecclesiastical offices, so that it alone has to decide on matters about marriage and hindrances to marriage: one has only to read Article XI., according to which the bishops are empowered to proceed against and punish all believers within the Catholic Church, as soon as they overstep ecclesiastical

regulations or are suspected thereof: one has only to see the drift of Articles XXVIII. and XXX., by which not only the administration of all church properties, foundations, &c. is delegated to the Bishops, but the privilege of introducing every ecclesiastical order which they think worthy of consideration is conferred on them: one has only, I say, to think of all this, and then ask oneself the question whether in Austria the Catholic Church, or, rather, the Catholic priesthood, has not been endowed with almost greater privileges than it even possessed in the Middle Ages? To its tribunal belong all marriage permissions and prohibitions, especially as regards mixed marriages. All matters connected with burial and exclusion from church are equally under its control, as well as all education from above and below. Before its tribunal all borough legislation has to be submitted, so far, that is, as it may happen to come into collision with canon right and church teaching. How could there be any wonder, then, that Jesuitism flourished, when they were thus allowed complete liberty? We may here bring to recollection what has been stated on this point in the foregoing chapter. Could it be cause for astonishment that, from the beginning to the end of the Imperial States, they possessed themselves of all gymnasiums and lyceums, especially as, according to episcopal permission, they had to undergo no examination for the office of teaching? What wonder, then, that they erected magnificent colleges in towns specially adapted to their purpose, as in Feldkirch, Ragusa, and elsewhere, whereby the State, on the recommendation of the princes of the Church, supported them with large money contributions?

The sons of Loyola found a no less productive field in Prussia, which still, as regards the majority of its inhabitants, adhered to evangelical doctrines, while at one time it might boast of being the advanced post of Protestantism. However, King Friedrich William III. issued strong regulations in respect to the dangerous Society of Jesus, and it was not only forbidden to Prussian subjects to visit the Collegium Germanicum in Rome, or any other Jesuit institution, but an order of the Cabinet also interdicted, under severe punishment, the maintenance of Jesuit missions and other similar inventions for conversion.

It was quite different, however, as regards the Government of Friedrich William IV., who, being an enthusiast for the so-called

Christian State, was from the very beginning favourable to devotion, which proved highly detrimental to the free intellectual development of Prussia. As, however, after the complete suppression of the Revolution of 1848, a thoroughly reactionary Ministry was called to take the head of affairs—I can only remember the names of Radowitz, Manteufel, Raumer, Westphalen, Bethmann-Hollweg, Mühler—it was then all at an end with the spirit of progress, and, with ultra-Lutheranism, ultra-Catholicism as well obtained complete liberty in the Catholic and mixed ecclesiastical provinces. The celebrated Alexander von Humbolt gave to that time the name of "a disordered mischievous economy," and the honest Bucher complained that "out of Hengstenberg's study, by means of Gerlach, proceeds everything stupid and obscuring, only hypocrisy and unbelief being sown around, so that one might blame and condemn this dull age even more severely than that of Volney, of unhappy memory."

In January 1850, there was allowed to the Roman Catholic Church Princes of Prussia, first of all, free intercourse with Rome, then perfectly absolute Church administration, with the accompanying rights of the Archbishop, which were formerly exercised by the Government; further, the nomination of all ecclesiastical appointments, and the publication of all ecclesiastical ordinances; lastly, the admission of religious Orders and religious Societies, as well as their free intercourse with their foreign Superiors and Generals. How the sons of Loyola now rejoiced! They no longer required to creep into Prussia under false names, but had free right to bend their steps in any direction, wherever things seemed favourable for their projects. And, in fact, it is astonishing how rapidly they spread themselves. In Cologne they had already, in a few years, five colleges, and two each in Breslau, Treves, and Münster, and one each in Paderborn and Gnesen. They possessed, too, novitiates in Münster, Bonn, and Gorheim, and the seminaries over which they ruled amounted to a whole hundred. Added to this, also, were their missions, their sodalities, their brotherhoods, their exercises, their conferences in the confessional, and, above all, the unions founded by them, as the Pius union, the Vincentius union, the Bonifacius union, the Boromeo union, the Stephan union, the Severinus union, the Huberts union, and the union of the

Childhood of Jesus, not to forget, as well, the Bachelors' union.

But, what was the chief thing, in addition to the Loyolites, a number of other Orders installed themselves in Prussia, which were all more or less dependent upon them; among these, especially, the school-brethren and school-sisters are to be mentioned, who, everywhere blindly obeying the behests of the Jesuits, endeavoured to get into their hands the instruction of the lower classes; and the result was that, after the lapse of a decade, the Prussian States could number not fewer than 700 cloisters, with at least 6,000 people of the Order.*

The rest of Germany proved somewhat less fruitful to the Jesuits, not even excluding Bavaria, as in that country they dare not set foot, because the laws forbade this. They, however, could find admittance everywhere as private individuals, as well in Bavaria as in Saxony, and in Würtemberg as in Hanover, while the Bishops allowed them not only to preach but to maintain missions, without the respective Governments seeing any occasion to prevent such proceedings. Further, they succeeded here (as, also, partly in Prussia, where Count Friedrich Leopold von Stolberg and others became converted) in making a number of proselytes, among whom were prominently conspicuous Duke Friedrich Ferdinand von Anhalt-Köthen, Duke Friedrich of Gotha, Prince Löwenstein-Wertheim-Freudenberg, the hereditary prince of Ysenberg-Birstein, the Bavarian Minister Edward von Shenk, the author Friedrich Schlegel, the Crown Princess of Saxony, *née* Princess Wasa, the Countess von Quadt, *née* Countess Schönburg, and the ill-famed Countess Hahn Hahn. With regard to Switzerland, it was much the same as with the smaller German States, since also here they continued to be legally excluded, though now and then they contrived to creep in again, as, for instance, happened in Schwytz (1856–1857) through the evasion of the law. On the other hand, they

* For instance, the diocese of Cologne had, in the year 1866, ten male and thirty-one female descriptions of cloisters; Treves, six male and twelve female; Paderborn, three male and thirteen female; Münster, four male and fourteen female. Aix-la-Chapelle had one ecclesiastic for every 110 Catholic inhabitants, in Münster for sixty-one, in Treves for fifty-six, and in Paderborn for thirty-three. Is not thereby a colossal increase of the Order in Prussia apparent? An increase which is the more conspicuous, as before 1848 there were only some few cloisters of the Benedictines, Carmelites, and Franciscans.

obtained not inconsiderable power in Geneva, under the dictatorship of Fazy, and not the less did they succeed in converting some influential Swiss. Thus, especially, the Confederation Governor von Mohr in Chur, Councillor von Haller in Bern, and the well-known Hurter in Schaffhausen. Still, what did these few small results signify among the great bulk of the population? France showed a great contrast in this respect to Switzerland, inasmuch as the despotism of Napoleon III. widely opened the doors to the Society of Jesus. He required its services in order to consolidate his new throne, reeking as it did with blood, and on that account they were but too precious to him; so not merely were the restraining ordinances of the year 1828 abolished, but, further, in 1850 the most unlimited liberty to establish and conduct schools and institutions was conceded to the religious associations, and, in particular, to the Society of Jesus. Still more favourable became its position by the marriage of Napoleon III., because a Spanish party was then formed at the Court of Paris, and they were, of course, enthusiastic for everything that recalled Ignatius Loyola to recollection, and cherished, besides, the firm conviction that it would be impossible for the dynasty of Napoleon ever to be touched as long as it had the Society of Jesus on its side.

From this one may draw the conclusion as to how greatly Jesuitism must have been favoured in France under the despotic government of Napoleon III., and as a proof of the extension of the schools and institutions founded by the Society I may mention that the sons of Loyola brought no fewer than fifty-two scholars to the military school of St. Cyr in the year 1868, as well as twenty-seven into the Pyrotechnic school. Precisely the same was the case in Italy, in which several kingdoms and principalities were again open to the sons of Loyola after the suppression of the Revolution of 1848. They founded colleges in Modena, Massaducale, Malta, and, under a different name, even in Turin; they returned, however, especially, in great numbers into the States of the Church, as well as into the kingdom of the two Sicilies, in the latter of which they contrived to completely monopolise for themselves educational affairs. Jesuit teachers alone laboured in all gymnasiums and lyceums, and their colleges in Palermo, Naples, and Reggio, were established with a splendour as if they had received Imperial endowments.

Indeed, they founded in Palermo a kind of academy for knights, in order to get into their hands the whole of the youth of the nobility, and the run on it increased year by year. Lastly, I have still to allude to the third great Roman state, namely, Spain, and affirm that here, also, after the reaction at the Court of the Queen Isabella, sunk as it was in debauchery, had gained the victory, their affairs flourished, proof of which was manifest by their colleges and novitiates in Loyola, Madrid, Aspeytia, and other places, as well as by their seminaries and novitiates in Huesca, Burgos, Avila, and Albacete. But the activity of the Jesuits was not merely confined to Austria, Germany, and the Roman States; they even penetrated into countries where hitherto their entrance had been entirely, or almost so, prohibited, such as, for instance, Holland, England, and North America, but as I have already spoken about the latter in a former chapter, I shall now be very brief respecting it. So far as North America is concerned—I mean the North American Free States, or the Union—the power of the Jesuits increased in the same proportion as the extension of Catholicism, and one in Germany can have no idea at all of the extraordinary growth of this latter religion in the North American Union. Twenty years previously the diocese of Buffalo numbered 20,000 Catholics, with sixteen churches; according to the census of the year 1866, however, there were 200,000 Catholics, with 140 churches and eighteen cloisters. Still more gigantic was their progress in the dioceses of Cincinnati, mostly by emigration from the Palatinate, as there were there, in 1866, upwards of 400,000 Catholics, with 400 churches, and fifty religious Orders. The best proof, however, of the increase of Catholicism in the Union is illustrated in this way, that sixty years ago one single Catholic Bishop was sufficient to meet all requirements; whereas in 1866, there was one Archbishop, or Metropolitan, 54 Bishops, 20,173 Priests, 1,109 seminaries, almost all of them being in the hands of the Jesuits; 2,948 churches, 2,576 provisional chapels, which within a few years would become churches, 93 monks' cloisters, 265 nuns' cloisters, and 12 Catholic academies, to which, of course, the Jesuits gave the tone.

What need, then, can there be for any further evidence? In precisely the same manner has Catholicism increased in England; and when once the Government had, with the approval of

Parliament, decreed Catholic emancipation, it could not be otherwise than that, as a consequence, the adherents of the Papacy obtained still other concessions. Among those I refer especially to the endowment of the Jesuit Catholic College of Maynooth, as well as to the Roman Curie, while religious instruction at English educational institutions, in the case of Catholic pupils, is given by priests of their own religion. A third concession will prove to be still more lasting, although perhaps less patent, namely, that, in addition to the Colleges of Stonyhurst and Hoddenhouse, the sons of Loyola have been allowed to found other settlements, as of this they have made the most extensive use. But the members of the Society of Jesus gained the greatest advantage from the circumstance that, by their constant exertions, they succeeded in bringing over again to the Papacy a number of Englishmen of rank, especially professors and spiritual advisers who had hitherto belonged to the English High Church, the ritual of which, as well as its ceremonial, bears much resemblance to that of Catholicism, and, from this, they even became intoxicated so much as to come to the conclusion that, in the course of a few decades, or, perhaps, a century, a complete end will be made to the English defection to Protestantism under Henry VIII. Professors Pusey, Newman, Palmer, Keble, and Hook, of the University of Oxford, initiated this state of matters through their ogling with Catholicism, which afterwards got the name of Puseyism; but Vice-Chancellor Newman led the way to the complete passing over to Rome, and, in a short time, no fewer than 867 men of great consideration followed his example, among whom were some very wealthy Peers, as the Marquis of Bute and others, with 243 who had hitherto been Protestant clergymen.

Was it, then, to be wondered at that the Pope of Rome at that time, Pius IX., was highly jubilant; and, indeed, dared, on the strength of this great victory, to re-establish a Papal hierarchy in England, through a special Bull of September 1850? Sure enough, he founded twelve bishoprics, over which he placed one archbishop; first, Cardinal Wiseman, and after his death the still more Popish Manning; and all this the English Government allowed, without offering any energetic opposition thereto.

I have now, lastly, to report upon the powerful influence exercised by the Jesuits in Holland. From this almost purely

Protestant country, they had been completely excluded after the contest about the Infallibility, and the few Catholics living there did not make the slightest complaint about the matter. Matters, however, underwent a complete change in the year 1848, when the principles of thorough religious liberty became law, for now the sons of Loyola were free to make entry without hindrance. Here, as in England, they induced the Pope to re-establish a Catholic hierarchy, and further, in the year 1853, to found four bishoprics, with one archbishopric. They then managed to get into their hands educational matters throughout all the Catholic parts of the country, and they also succeeded in this respect in most of the towns. As, however, their colleges, especially that of Amsterdam, began to flourish, their chief aim was how to obtain, together with the Catholic pupils, Protestants also, with, of course, no other object than to convert them; and here, also, they were able to boast of no small result. The opposition, however, with which they had to contend was not by any means inconsiderable, and this increased in proportion as they gained ground. Indeed, they had two enemies to deal with at the same time, each of whom exerted itself to the utmost, namely, first of all, the Protestants, who formed the large majority of the population; and then the old Catholics or Jansenists, who maintained themselves in considerable numbers in Utrecht, Haarlem, Deventer, and Amersfoort. This was, indeed, a very severe contest, but the sons of Loyola knew how to take up their new position, and to attack their enemies in the severest language in two journals founded by the Society, viz. the *Catholic* and the *Tyd.*

Their progress in Holland, nevertheless, suffered severely in these combats, as not only the Protestants of Holland, but also the Catholics became enlightened, through the same, as to the true character of Jesuitism, and did not allow themselves to be so easily deceived by their tricks and artifices as was the case in other countries. The prominent influence of the sons of Loyola which, in the first decade of the second half of our century, they contrived to exercise, was, as the reader has no doubt convinced himself, very important, and extended itself, indeed, in four different directions.

First of all, they possessed immense influence on the masses, which they understood how to command by means of their

missions, sodalities, &c. &c., the particulars regarding which have been explained in the foregoing chapter. In the second place, the Governments adhered to them, even in the case of the most Protestant States, because these latter were of opinion that in them was to be found the best remedy against the plague of Liberalism and of modern ideas. Thirdly, they for the most part won for themselves the nobility, as, with the aid of the black cohort, who strove to bring matters back to what they were during the Middle Ages, it hoped to regain its lost position, and, moreover, its sons were brought up in their colleges. Fourthly, and lastly, all the reigning bishops and princes of the Church saw only through purely Jesuit spectacles, and, indeed, simply on this account, that from their earliest infancy most of them had received their instruction and education in the schools of the sons of Loyola. Indeed, the said Fathers had, ever since their re-establishment, looked upon it as their first aim and object to labour in the colleges, as well as in the universities of the countries, and never to desist until they had gained possession of the whole of that class of theologians from which it was usual to select the bishops. The results were really the most splendid that can be imagined, as, up to the year 1866, hardly a single opponent of Jesuitism sat upon a bishop's throne. Indeed, it had come even so far as this, that the non-Jesuitical bishops formed an expiring generation, and almost every occupant of a bishopric considered it his highest aim to distinguish himself by his support of Jesuit tendencies in all his colleges.* Again, almost every prince of the Church maintained a Jesuit as spiritual adviser—as, for instance, the Bishop of Paderborn, Father Roh—and this spiritual adviser, in any matter, whether religious, ecclesiastic, or political, about which there could be the slightest doubt, invariably gave his decision, which was regarded as final. I repeat, therefore, that the powerful influence which the sons of

* Of those bishops and archbishops who came forward as friends of the Jesuits, the reader must allow me to furnish him with some few names in alphabetical order :—The Archbishop Cardinal Bonnechose, of Rouen ; the Bishop Canossa, of Verona ; the Archbishop Cullen, of Dublin ; the Bishop Deschamps, of Malines ; Dr. Fessler, Bishop of St. Pölten ; Bishop Gasser, of Brizen ; Bishop Martin, of Paderborn ; Bishop Leonhard, of Eichstadt ; Bishop Wermillod, of Geneva ; Archbishop Manning, of Westminster ; Bishop Plantier, of Nimes ; Bishop Pie, of Poitiers ; Cardinal Reisach, of Vienna ; Bishop Reynier, of Cambray ; Bishop Riccabona, of Trient ; Bishop Genestrey, of Ratisbonne ; and Archbishop Tarnoczy, of Saltsburg.

Loyola, at the beginning of the second half of our century, partly won, and partly surreptitiously obtained, was magnificent; but it attained its highest summit when the Fathers succeeded, as I have already shortly indicated in a preceding chapter, in gaining such an ascendancy over the reigning Pope as had never before been witnessed. When Gregory XVI. died, on 1st June, 1846, to the great delight of the Romans, the election of a new Pope for a long time fluctuated between Gregory's secretary and confidential companion, Cardinal Lambruschini, and the affable and benovolent Cardinal Count Mastai Ferretti, from Sinigaglia; but on the 16th June the name of the latter came almost unanimously forth from the urn, and he thereupon succeeded, under the name of Pius IX.

The enthusiasm of the Romans was immense, as a complete new era of government was expected to be inaugurated by this Pope, an entire breaking through of the former Papal system. In fact, at the commencement Pius IX. began his reforms well, with a political amnesty, which made him very popular, as he gave their liberty to more than 6,000 prisoners. But what a contrast did his "ecclesiastical" proceedings, especially his Encyclica (circular-letter to the Bishops) of the 9th November 1846, no less than his Allocution of 17th December, 1847, form to his political decrees! In both the above-mentioned edicts he showed himself to be as thoroughly Papal as any of his predecessors, as he thundered therein not only against Bible Societies, as well as against the frightful system of religious indifference and the perverting influence of philosophical teaching, but he no less condemned all those who believed that they might be saved out of the pale of the Catholic Church, and especially those who made bold to interpret the word of God according to their own notion, while God had set up a living authority (the Pope) who taught the true meaning of His heavenly revelations and ordered all disputes in matters of faith and morality by his infallible judgment.

From this, the conclusion may be drawn that it was impossible for the new Pope to be in earnest when he favoured measures of freedom in the secular government of the States of the Church, and the apprehensions on this score were soon to be realised. Everything that the Pope ordained was merely designed for a purpose, being calculated to appease the Romans

in order that they might not also be seized with the revolutionary spirit which shook the half of the world in 1848; and it was apparent that the whole of these reforms would be again swept away as soon as the dangers of revolution had somewhat subsided. The consequence of this was that the Romans urged the Pope to take his measures in earnest, and to finish the structure of civil liberty. Pius IX. sought afresh to temporize; but the Romans, who could no longer be restrained, now made short work of it, and in March 1848 not only drew up for themselves a constitution of their own, but also expelled the Jesuits at the end of a month, as it was known that they strongly influenced the Pope. Thereupon an end was quickly put to the affection and concord existing between His Holiness and the Romans; and, finally, Pius IX. saw it to be necessary, as one tumult in Rome followed another, to seek his safety in flight, with the help of the Bavarian Ambassador. He succeeded in effecting this, well disguised, during the night of the 24th–25th November, and reached the Neapolitan fortress of Gaeta, to which he had directed his steps; he thereupon, on the 1st January 1849, launched his lightning of excommunication against Rome. He made sure that the inhabitants of the Eternal City would now immediately crawl again towards the Cross, but they simply replied that they had deposed the Pope, as secular ruler of the States of the Church, and declared Rome a Republic. This was, indeed, a severe blow; but still Pius IX. knew how to help himself, and entreated the intervention of the President of the French Republic, the future Emperor Napoleon. Napoleon was only too ready to help, as he had good grounds for winning over the Pope for himself, and he accordingly sent an army against Rome. The Romans, however, under the lead of Garibaldi, bravely defended themselves, and the French did not succeed till July 1849, in taking the city by storm.

The Pope was then again Sovereign of the States of the Church, and there was nothing in the way to prevent his return to Rome, as the French bayonets were there. Still, he did not make his entry into the Eternal City till April 1850, and even then the Romans received him with coldness and indifference. They thoroughly hated him, because he had turned out quite differently from what was originally expected. He now, however, showed himself in his true colours, and surrounded

himself with only those men who prompted him to act even more Popishly than his predecessor Gregory. That these men were no other than the sons of Loyola, or such as had been educated by them, can the reader have any doubt? and Pius IX. at once proved this to be the case by the first decree which, as Pope, he caused to be issued after his return to Rome. What were the Jesuits about? First the canonization of their brother in faith, Peter Claver, as also of John de Britto. After these two, then followed Andrew Bobola, as well as the noted Peter Canisius; and, lastly, there was added the canonization of the Japanese martyrs, of whom the reader has been already made acquainted. The Jesuits, then, were those who governed the Pope after his return from Gaeta, and, besides them, there were only such Cardinals as had sworn entirely to their creed, headed by the Secretary of State, Antonelli. But what were the names of these Jesuits? To commence, I must bring forward, in the first rank, the General of the Society of Jesus, the aged Belgian Beckz, of whom I have already spoken; then the Italians Mignardi, who was taken by Pius IX. as Father Confessor, Piccirillo, Perrone, and Curli; further, the Belgians Franzelin and de Bucq; lastly, the Germans Schrader and Kleutgen. All of these became quite indispensable to the Pope, more especially the two first named; and, on the other hand, they took good care that no "outsider," that is, no one, either lay or priest, who had not sworn allegiance to their banner, should approach his presence, even for a short time. Only in their atmosphere was His Holiness allowed to breathe, only through their spectacles to see, and only with their ears and mouths to hear and learn what was going on in the world.

Formerly, indeed, in previous centuries, this had by no means been the case; but other Orders, especially the Augustines, Carmelites, Minorites, and Dominicans, had their influence, and not infrequently, indeed, strove for supremacy with the sons of Loyola. The whole of these Orders were now at a discount in Rome, and the Jesuitically-disposed Pope merely allowed them to vegetate, so to speak. Indeed, in order that the only single one of them that still had any influence should be set aside, to wit, the Dominicans, they were induced to select as their General the Frenchman Jandel, who was entirely for the Jesuits and never laid any obstacle in their way. As regards the Orders

which had sprung up in modern times, such as Redemptionists and Liguorians, from the commencement they had been nothing else than under-strappers of the Jesuits, preparing the way for the latter, and taking their cue from them. What became, then, of anyone in Rome who dared to oppose the all-powerful will of the Jesuits?

A highly-esteemed savant and theologian, the Cardinal Guidi, once tried, in an audience which he had solicited of the Pope, to furnish him with the pure wine of honest advice. But what was the consequence? He was from that hour, and for ever afterwards, denied access to His Holiness, and remained isolated among his colleagues. How now did the Jesuits profit from the potent influence that they had won over the Pope? In order not to tire the reader, I will mention from a few instances only the most weighty.

In the first place, the sons of Loyola, from the beginning of the year 1866, undertook the task of editing the *Civilta Cattolica* which is the official organ of the reigning Pope. In his Brief of the 12th February 1866, Pius IX. declared that this journal —which, coupled with its primary duty of defending the Catholic religion, was expressly destined to teach and disseminate abroad the authority and power of the Roman See—should henceforth be written and published by a proper college, consisting of men nominated by the Jesuit chief,* and General Beckz, in pursuance of the Brief, at once named Fathers Piccirillo and Perrone as editors. And it is a fact that these two latter were, from this time forward, regularly accorded audiences of the Holy Father, precisely in the same way as the Secretaries of State and Ministers, not less seldom than once a week, indeed, but rather oftener. It is also, further, a fact that the editors in such audiences laid before the Pope the manuscripts destined for the next numbers; that the Pope read over the same, and sent them on to the Chancellory of State accompanied with remarks, according as he found them, or, as was almost always the case, unaltered. Finally, it is a fact that the *Civilta* declared, in conspicuous type:—

"We (that is, the editors) are not the authors of the Papal

* The Pope devoted forthwith a special building for the editorial office, as well as considerable salaries, which rendered the editors independent of all earthly anxieties.

thoughts, and it is not by our inspirations that Pius IX. speaks and acts; but we are certainly the true echo of the Holy See."

What is meant by this, then? Nothing else but that the Pope himself admits that the ideas which are from time to time published in the *Civilta* are his own, and, therefore, that all the many utterances of the Jesuits in the *Civilta*, inimical to modern States and the entire modern civilisation, are nothing other than the expression of the innermost conviction of Pope Pius IX. Nothing else than that the present Popedom, or, to express myself more clearly, the present Papal Catholicism, is entirely identical with Jesuitism, that is, with the teaching and faith of the sons of Loyola. I may further remark that, for the completion of the editorial department of the *Civilta Cattolica*, the final revision of the journal in question is looked after by Monsignor (Prelate) Marini; that, moreover, this prelate is a special confidant of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Antonelli, and, consequently, that no essential alterations as to the tendency of the articles need be feared at his hands.

The second thing I have to state is this—that the Jesuits brought about that the Pope should promulgate, as his own act, without consulting his Council, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, in order to send it out into the world as a feeler to ascertain how far the power of the Pope might reach. On this matter the Jesuit Clement Schrader thus expresses himself verbatim in his pamphlet *Pius IX. as Pope and King.* Vienna, 1865:

"This is quite a peculiar act of the Pontificate of Pius IX., seeing that no foregoing Pontificate had enunciated it; while the Pope has defined this dogma on his own responsibility, and in the plenitude of his power, and without the co-operation of his Council; and this independent definition of a dogma determines at the same time—not expressly or formally, it is true, but, nevertheless, undoubtedly and as a matter of fact—another dogmatical decision, namely the settlement of the mooted point as to whether the Pope can be, in his own person, infallible, or whether he can only lay claim to infallibility at the head of his Council. Pius IX. has, it is true, not theoretically, by the Act of 8th December 1854, defined this infallibility on the part of the Pope, but practically he has claimed it."

Is it not, then, to be clearly seen that the dogmatising of the

Immaculate Conception of Mary could be nothing else than a feeler to ascertain how far the Pope might go? But, to proceed to the fact itself, not a single word was ever heard in the first eight centuries of the Christian era about an Immaculate Conception of the Mother of Jesus Christ, although Mary-worship had been promulgated at a very early period. The first who alluded thereto was, indeed, the Abbot of Corbie, Paschasius Radbertus, who lived at the beginning of the 9th century; but all better-instructed theologians opposed him in this view. At length it pleased some of the canons at Lyons, in the 12th century, to celebrate a special festival in honour of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, and forthwith, here and there, the thing met with imitation. However, two centuries later, the celebrated Dominican, Thomas d'Aquino, attacked the new dogma as heretical on truly annihilating grounds; and the matter might be considered as settled.

Such was not the case, however, for the Franciscan Duns Scotus took up the matter in the strongest manner possible; and from that time arose a violent contention between the Dominicans and Franciscans respecting the said dogma. The latter fought like men for the Immaculate Conception, while the former were as violently opposed to it; a definite decision, however, was never brought about, and only this was clearly evident, that men of the greatest consequence, and most learned and most clear-sighted as theologians, rejected the dogma. The Jesuits, however, ranged themselves on the side of Mary, as from the commencement they had carried the worship of the Virgin to the greatest height; thus, the old battle was renewed. With this difference, however, that the enlightened among theologians declared the whole question to be so laughable that it was not really worth the trouble of breaking lance about it. Thus no Pope dared to come to a decision on the matter, not even those most favourably disposed to the Jesuits; the same was the case as regards the Council of Trent, although there the sons of Loyola were almost omnipotent.

Pius IX., on the contrary—and from this we may see how completely the Society of Jesus governed him—in one of his Encyclica, even as early as 2nd February, 1849, intimated to the Catholic bishops that he had the intention of appointing a Special Commission for the determination of the question regarding

the immaculate conception of Mary, and requested them to communicate their views on the subject to him as soon as possible. One could, indeed, see from the Encylica itself, how much the matter lay at his heart, as he stated, verbatim, therein, "That, from the days of his childhood, nothing lay nearer his heart than to reverence the ever-blessed Virgin Mary with peculiar piety and devotion, combined with the most intense and heartfelt love, and to accomplish everything that might tend to the promotion of her glory and public worship."

Well, the Commission was appointed, and the Pope nominated as President of the same the celebrated theologian Dr. Passaglia, the trusted confidant of the Jesuits. One may draw a conclusion from this as to what was the opinion of the remaining members of the Commission; but, nevertheless, their consultations lasted fully three years, and Passaglia did not publish his report till December 1853. The contents of the same proved all the more delightful, as the sentence of the Commission ran as follows: "That to the Virgin Mary, on account of her transcendent holiness and grace, which, as above everything human, cannot naturally be quite clearly propounded, must be ascribed an immaculate conception, free from all original sin, founded on Scripture, tradition, and public worship as conducted up to the present time."

The bishops, for the most part, voted as assenting to this,* and Pius IX., in his joy on this occasion, wrote from Rome, on 1st August 1854, summoning a Council for the purpose of confirming the projected dogma. The Council, however, never took place, so far as deliberation was concerned, as only 192 prelates appeared; these, for the most part, indeed, were Italian, who, besides, dropped in so slowly, that the first meeting of the same was not held until the 20th November 1854. The Pope, some days later, then laid the dogma before them, and their consent to it was given on the 4th December, without any proper consultation and discussion having taken place. Thereupon, Pius IX. held a solemn High

* Not fewer than 440 prelates, as one man, acquiesced in this Popish hobby, as one which might be well carried out without harm, and only thirty-two were of opinion that it would be better to let it alone, in order not to arouse the laughter of the times. Among the latter, however, were to be found some voices of great weight, as that of Archbishop Sibour in Paris, the Cardinal Bishop of Breslau, Dievenbrock, and the Archbishop Schwarzenberg of Salzburg.

Mass, on the 8th December, in the Sistine Chapel; placed a diadem of brilliants on the image of Mary; and issued the famous Bull, *Ineffabilis Deus*, in which the Pope, "By virtue of his own authority, as also by virtue of the authority of Jesus, and of the Apostles Peter and Paul," declared "that the dogma which teaches that Mary, from the first moment of her conception, by an especial grace and privilege of God, was preserved free from all taint of original sin, was manifested by God, and must, therefore, be firmly and constantly believed by all the faithful."

Thus, finally, was the great end attained for which the Jesuits so long contended, and the unheard-of doctrine "of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary," from this time forward was to be held as "dogma."

How, then, was the new creed received by Christendom? Most men remained perfectly indifferent about the matter, as if the thing did not at all concern them; those of cultivation, however, openly derided and mocked at the circumstance of a new goddess being added to the Christian heaven. But those of the clergy came worst off who dared to express openly their displeasure at the new article of faith, as they were forthwith excommunicated by the Pope, and no Government dared to take action against His Holiness. It was highly disgusting, however, that the old Catholics or Jansenist Bishops of Holland—who issued a pastoral letter of their own against the dogma, wherein they proved in the clearest possible way that the same was taught neither by Holy Scripture nor yet by tradition, and on that account called down also excommunication upon themselves—were unable by any possibility to be reached by the arm of the Holy Father in Rome. But even in this case, the Jesuits carried off the victory by means of a further letter, in which Pius IX. compromised himself still more deeply.

In the summer of 1859, the Franco-Italian war against Austria began—the reader doubtless remembers the famous New Year's speech which Napoleon III. made to the Austrian Ambassador, Von Hübner—without the Roman Curie being able to prevent it; and as, in consequence of the same, the Austrians withdrew from the Papal provinces occupied by them in June (on June 13th from Bologna), those provinces rose in a body in order that they might be included in the new kingdom of Italy. There could be no wonder about this, as there

did not exist, perhaps, at that time, a worse-governed kingdom in the whole world than the States of the Church, and the subjects of the Pope would on that account long before have shaken off the yoke, had they not been restrained by force, partly as regards the Austrians (in the Romagna), partly by the French in Rome and its neighbourhood, and, again, partly by means of the mercenary troops in the remaining States of the Church.

Well, then, the Austrians withdrew from Romagna, and the very next day, as has been mentioned, the populace rose. In vain did the mercenary Papal troops fight against them, and the most cruel atrocities occur in Perugia. In vain did the Pope issue one allocution after another, wherein he testified that the possession of the Pope's temporal power was a necessity for him, and consequently that the annexation of Romagna to the kingdom of Italy must be punished as a robbery of the Church. The Romagnians had no desire to return under the scourging rod of the Holy Father, and none of the foreign Powers were at all disposed to proceed by force against them. On the contrary, Napoleon III., in a letter dated 31st December 1859, demanded the renunciation of Romagna by the Pope, receiving in return a guarantee for the remainder of his possessions.

What now could be done? Prudence counselled submission, in order most probably not to lose still more, or, indeed, perhaps all. The Jesuits, however, in whose hands the Holy Father found himself, urged him to the contrary, and thus, then, the French Emperor got "*Non possumus*" for his answer, a reply which has since become famous. So Pius IX., indeed, exclaimed, "*Non possumus*"—the signification being "We cannot" —"as he could not relinquish what did not belong to him but to all Catholics." "Nay, rather," added he, "by such abdication he would infringe his oath, his preferments, his rights, and not merely encourage disturbance in the remaining provinces, but also injure the rights of all Christian princes."

At the same time as this answer was despatched to Rome, all means were put into operation in order to give expression to the same, and the whole Catholic Episcopate were required to lodge a protest "against a deed of violence by which the most ancient possession was attacked, and all legitimate rights and relations were put in question." Besides, collections were every-

where made for the distressed Pope (these moneys, called "Peter's Pence," were highly welcome to the Roman Curie, and on this account they have never been discontinued), and addresses, preachings, meetings, public prayers, and everything else of the kind that was humanly possible were instituted. Indeed, even a Protestant King of Prussia projected to draw the sword for the Pope, and thereby to win for himself his high blessing! Unfortunately, nevertheless, all this proved fruitless, and Romagna was and remains lost. The Jesuits urged the Pope to the adoption of the *ultima ratio*, the last means that remained at his command, namely, the excommunication of the robbers of Romagna, and, under date the 26th March 1860, appeared the Bull of Excommunication referring thereto:—

"All those who had been guilty of rebellion, invasion, usurpation, and other similar attempts, were by the same excommunicated; further, all their instigators, accomplices, advisers, and followers, as well as all those who had favoured or facilitated these deeds of violence; finally, all who, although even sons of the Church, had arrived at such a pitch of effrontery that they continually asseverated their respect and devotion for the Church, while they still attacked its secular power and despised its authority."

It was clearly evident whom the Pope meant, although he mentioned no name, and King Victor Emanuel knew very well who it was. His army and the whole of his people also knew; but did this give rise to an insurrection against him? O Lord, no; but, on the contrary, it increased his popularity, while, on the other hand, the Holy Father in Rome became an object of derision among almost all Italians. Still more, not a single one of the foreign potentates broke off friendly relations with the King of Italy on account of this Bull of Excommunication, and thus the Papal curse completely failed in its object. As a matter of course, mankind now stood on quite a different footing as regards civilisation than in the times of Gregory VII. or Innocent III., and it was only the Loyolite surrounding of the Pope that had flattered itself with the hope that one could possibly conjure up again the Middle Ages. When, however, even the *ultima ratio* vanished in sand, entirely disregarded, the rage of the Jesuits worked itself up to stark madness, and they proceeded, with the sanction of the Pope, to collect

a mighty army with which they hoped to defeat the troops of Victor Emanuel. These, indeed, were actually forthcoming, but what was to be expected of them? It is true that nothing could be advanced against old General Lamoricière, the leader selected, schooled as he had been in Africa; but what concerning the army itself? A small minority consisted of Austrian soldiers on furlough, or discharged from the service, as well as French enthusiasts; but the great bulk was formed of drunken Irishmen and vagabonds of all nations. It may, therefore, be easily imagined that the Papal army, on coming into collision with the troops of Victor Emanuel, was ignominiously defeated, and the inevitable consequence was that, after the storming of Ancona, both Umbria and the Marches were lost to the Pope.

Even Rome itself, indeed, would have been conquered, had it not been that Napoleon III. had protected the Eternal City by a French corps, and by brute force hindered the entrance of Garibaldi.

It may, then, be seen that the Pope did not act wisely during the war in allowing the Jesuits to drive him to throw down the gauntlet to the King of Italy, and it might have been thought that in consequence of this a rupture would have taken place between him and the Jesuits. But precisely the reverse was the case, and Pius IX. was always more and more encircled by the latter, indeed, they finally drove him to adopt a measure which, for disregard of all moderation, had never hitherto been surpassed. Forsooth, he issued an Encyclica, on the 8th December 1864, which condemned the entire civilisation of the times; and we cannot do better than reproduce here the principal heads of this colossal curse of excommunication.

Pius IX. says in his circular letter to the Catholic bishops: "Our predecessors, and the defenders and supporters of the Sublime Catholic religion, as well as of truth and justice, had much at heart, not less than the supreme care over the welfare of souls, the discovery and condemnation, in their most wise pastoral letters, of all erroneous teaching and mistaken opinions, which had given rise to the most violent storm, in resistance to our divine faith, to the teaching of the Catholic Church, to decorum in manners, and to the everlasting welfare of the souls of mankind and desolated the Church and State in a manner most deeply to be deplored. On this account, therefore, these

our predecessors have invariably, with most apostolic vigour, offered continual resistance and opposition to the flagitious machinations of godless men, who, frothing up in ebullition their peculiar aberrations like the floods of the raging sea, promised liberty while they themselves continued slaves of corruption, and, with deceitful views and highly injurious writings, took pains to subvert the principles of the Catholic religion and of the social system, to eradicate every virtue and privilege, to ruin all souls and hearts, to cause the unwary, and especially the inexperienced youth, to deviate from due propriety in manners, to destroy them miserably, to draw them into the snares of error, and, finally, to tear them away from the bosom of the Catholic Church."

After some intermediate observations, Pius IX. thus continues:—

"In a like manner have we also raised our voice, as, to the great pain and disquiet of our soul, we perceive the hideous storm roused up by so many infamous and wicked opinions, and the highly prejudicial and never sufficiently to be deplored damage, which overwhelms the Christian people with such a flood of errors. We, too, have raised our voice by virtue of our apostolic office, and, by means of several Encyclical Briefs which we have issued, the allocutions we have delivered in the Consistory, and by other apostolical writings, have condemned the conspicuous errors of our truly melancholy times, have aroused your most careful episcopal vigilance, and reminded and warned, over and over again, all children of the Catholic Church, so dear to us, that they should utterly abhor and haply avoid this frightful pestilence. Although, however, we have never omitted to prohibit and reprobate these leading errors, nevertheless, the well-being of the Catholic Church, no less than the salvation of souls committed by God to our care, and the matters connected with the social system itself, settled by us, demand that we should afresh incite your pastoral solicitude owards the combating of other not less worthless opinions, which spring up from these errors as from wells."

"For you well know, reverend brethren," it goes on, "that there are not a few in this present time who, while they apply to the social system the absurd and godless principle of naturalism, dare to teach that the best organisation of States and of

social progress strictly demands that human society should be constituted and regulated irrespective altogether of religion, just as if, indeed, this latter had no existence at all. As a sequence, indeed, to this completely false idea of the management of society, they are not intimidated from encouraging that erroneous view, detrimental alike in the highest degree to the Catholic Church as well as to the welfare of souls, that this liberty of conscience and of religion should be the peculiar right of every one, which the law in all well-conducted communities must express and regulate, and that a title to that liberty, unlimited by any ecclesiastical or secular authority, may rest with the citizens, in virtue of which they may be enabled, openly and before all, to make known and declare any thoughts agreeable to them, either orally or through the press, or in any other manner whatever. And they exclaim, in a truly godless manner, 'Let all right be withdrawn from the citizens and the Church, in virtue of which they dare to dispense alms for the sake of charity, and let the law be abolished by which, on certain days, manual labour is prohibited for the sake of God's service'; while they set forth most deceitfully that the said right and the said law are opposed to the principles of good popular government. And, not content with banishing religion from society in general, they desire to exclude it also even from families. For, while these people recognise and teach the highly injurious errors of communism and socialism, they affirm that the domestic community, or the family, borrows the whole groundwork of its existence merely from civil right, and that, even on that account, all rights of fathers over their children, and particularly the right of caring for the education and instruction of the same, are derived from, and depend on, the secular laws.

"With these nefarious opinions and machinations, those highly deceitful men proceed to contend that the wholesome teaching and influence of the Catholic Church should be completely banished from the education and instruction of youth, so that the tender and pliable minds of the young are lamentably infected and ruined by these injurious errors of teaching. On that account, they never cease, in the most disgraceful manner, to plague the monkish and secular clergy, from whom, as the most brilliant memorials of history can testify, the Christian, civil, and scientific communities derive such great

advantages; and reiterate that this same clergy as an enemy, as it were, to useful progress and civilisation, should be relieved from all charge and concern as to the instruction and education of youth. Others, with special effrontery, dare to subjugate the highest authority derived from the Church, and this apostolic See of Christ, the Lord, to the caprice of secular authority, and to deny to the Apostolic See all right to have any control in regard to matters appertaining to external order. Then, they are not ashamed to affirm that the laws of the Church are not binding to the conscience, except when they are recognised by the secular power; that the acts and decrees of the Popes of Rome require the sanction and approbation, or, at all events, the acquiescence of the secular power; that the excommunications launched by the Popes of Rome against those who attack and arrogate to themselves the privileges and possessions of the Church, depend upon a confusion of ecclesiastical with civil and political order; that the Church has no business to determine what the conscience of believers may fix, in relation to practice in secular matters; finally, that the Church has no right to proceed against the transgressors of their laws with secular punishments. And they do not blush to recognise publicly, before all the world, the judgment and principles of heresy, out of which, already, so many perverted opinions and errors have arisen. Then, they always continue to affirm that the power of the Church, in virtue of Divine right, has no effect independent of the secular power, and that this separation and independence cannot be conceded without the Church seizing and arrogating to itself the essential rights of the secular power. We cannot, finally, pass over in silence the audacity of those who set up the affirmation that those sentences and decrees of the Apostolic See, which do not relate to the dogmas of faith and morality, may be denied assent and obedience, without sin and without any endangerment whatever to the Catholic confession. In such great perversity of degenerate opinions we have considered it our apostolic duty, and, on account of our great solicitude concerning the souls which are entrusted to us by God, we believe ourselves to be afresh constrained to raise our voice, and for this reason we reprobate, forbid, and condemn, in virtue of our apostolic authority, all and every one of the wicked opinions and teachings individually specified in this document,

and we will and command that the same shall be held as reprobated, forbidden, and condemned by all children of the Catholic Church."

Thus the Pope wrote to all the Catholic Bishops of Christendom, and his Encyclica concludes with these words: "Given at Rome, by the Holy Peter, on the 8th December 1864, in the tenth year after the dogmatic declaration of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God and Virgin Mary, in the 19th year of our Pontificate. Pius IX."

But now, however, we ask, "What are the individual wicked opinions and teachings which the Pope reprobated, forbade, and condemned?" The Papal list, or syllabus, enumerates eighty, and we would wish to reproduce the whole thereof, but to do so would take up a great deal too much space, and we must, therefore, be content with making a selection of them.

Thus reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 3 of the Syllabus): "Human reason is the only arbitrator concerning what is true and false, good or bad; it is even itself law, and is, with its natural powers, adequate to care for the benefit of men and peoples."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 7 of the Syllabus): "The prophecies and miracles reported and related in the Holy Scriptures are inventions of the poet, and the mysteries of Christian belief are merely the result of philosophical investigations, and in the books of the two Testaments are contained mythical inventions, and Jesus Christ Himself is a mythical fiction."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 11 of the Syllabus): "The Church must not only not proceed inimically against philosophy, but she must also tolerate the errors of the same and leave it even to itself to correct them."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition No. 15 of the Syllabus): "Every man, guided by the light of reason, is free to adopt and to recognise whatever religion he considers to be the true one."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 16 of the Syllabus): "By the exercise of any religion whatsoever men may find the way to eternal salvation and attain eternal happiness."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 18 of the Syllabus): "Protestantism is nothing more than another form of the same true Christian religion, and one may be in it as acceptable to God as in the Catholic Church."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 21 of the Syllabus): "The Church has not the power to establish the dogma that the religion of the Catholic Church is the only true religion."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 24 of the Syllabus): "The Church has not the power to employ external pressure or any direct or indirect temporal force."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 29 of the Syllabus): "Pardons granted by the Pope must be looked upon as of no use, unless sanctioned by the State government."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 31 of the Syllabus): "Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in civil as well as criminal matters, in which ecclesiastics are concerned, is completely abolished, without reference even to the Holy See."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 36 of the Syllabus): "The decision of a national council admits of no further discussion, and every State government can bring a matter to a decision."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is proposition (No. 38 of the Syllabus): "The separation of the Church into eastern and western has contributed to the exaggerated pretensions of the Popes of Rome." (With the condemnation of this proposition the Pope would annul history).

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 45 of the Syllabus): "The whole guidance of the public schools in which the youth of a Christian State is educated may and must be conformable to the State control (with the exception of episcopal seminaries under certain conditions), and truly so, since no right whatever can be recognised whereby any other authority can interfere in regard to school discipline, the regulation of the studies, the granting of degrees, and the choice of teachers."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No 47 of the Syllabus): "The best State regulation demands that the schools, which are accessible to all classes of the people equally, as well as the public institutions which are intended for

higher instruction, should be exempt from all authority, guidance, and interference on the part of the Church, and be superintended by the secular powers, according to the will of the Governments, and according to the ruling spirit of these latter."

Rebrobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 55 of the Syllabus): "The Church shall be separate from the State, and the State from the Church."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 67 of the Syllabus): "According to the laws of nature the marriage bond is not indissoluble, and in several cases divorce can be legally pronounced by the secular authorities."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned, is the proposition (No. 72 of the Syllabus): "Boniface VIII. has, in the first place, declared that the vow of chastity, taken in ordination, renders marriage null and void." (Another attempt to annul a historical fact by a Papal condemnation.)

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 73 of the Syllabus): "A true marriage may take place between Christians through civil contract merely, and it is false that this is null and void should the sacrament be omitted."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 77 of the Syllabus): "It is no longer expedient, in our time, that the Catholic religion be considered the sole State religion, to the exclusion of all other forms."

Finally, there is still the proposition (No. 80 of the Syllabus): "The Pope of Rome must conform and accommodate himself to progress, to Liberalism, and to modern civilisation," which is reprobated, forbidden, and condemned, and therewith is a crown put upon the whole Syllabus.

Such was the step to which, at the close of the year 1864, the Jesuits contrived to impel the Pope, and one might now believe they had at length attained their end. Not so, however, but they had still a last trump "in petto"; so they caused the Pope, through a Council, to be proclaimed as unerring, or, as it is mostly called, infallible. Viewed by the eye of reason, it is certainly not merely absurd, but perfect insanity, to put forward the proposition that any mortal being can exist possessing the attributes of freedom from error, or infallibility, as, in that case, the said mortal would be divested of mortality, and straightway elevated to the Godhead. But when have the

sons of Loyola ever hesitated to smack reason straight in the face, when so doing contributed to their advantage? Naturally; for through the Pope alone were the Jesuits what they were. It was only him, or, rather, perhaps, his predecessor, they had to thank for all their privileges, as, indeed, for their very existence, and, without the Papacy, Jesuitism would never have taken root. On the other hand, to what end would the Papal power have come had there been no sons of Loyola? Thus have Jesuitism and the Papacy grown into one another, and in most recent times they can, indeed, no longer be distinguished from each other. Thus, as the Pope was infallible, so were the Jesuits infallible; or, as may be better said, as the Pope obtained a fulness of power through the dogma of the Infallibility, such as no former Popes ever possessed, so this plenitude of might tended, above all, for the benefit of the Jesuits. For they acquired the entire sway in the Catholic Church over science, literature, and matters of instruction, and, above all, their theology and moral philosophy were raised to be canonical. Indeed, as a modern reasoner expresses it, they entirely alone stamp the dogmatic coin, and all other Orders, all other theologians and ecclesiastics—yes, indeed, the whole of Catholic Christendom—must bow humbly down before them.

Surely and verily, then, was their Order the "*urim* and *thumim*" of the Popish High Priest, as the latter could only issue an oracle when he had, beforehand, consulted his "Breastplate," whereby the said oracle was put into his mouth. Thus "infallible," or, better said, "earthly God Almighty," shall the Pope be, in order that the sons of Loyola may be enabled to take possession of the whole Catholic Church, and appropriate its entire vital powers. But, of course, the dogma of the Infallibility could only be created by a Council, and, accordingly, the Jesuits commenced to urge the Pope, in the year 1865, to call together such a Council. It is true no General Council had taken place for centuries, and the different European Powers might declare themselves to be opposed to the same. But what had the Pope to trouble himself about such trifles when so great a thing was in question? Thus, in the year 1868 were the necessary preparations instituted, in order that the same should be called together at the end of 1869, and everywhere did the Jesuits speak of it, and what great hopes they founded on the same!

Thus an article appeared in the *Cirilta Cattolica*, in the following language:—

"The Liberal Catholics fear lest the Council should proclaim the doctrine of the Syllabus, and the dogmatical infallibility of the Pope; the proper Catholics, however, that is, the great majority of believers, have opposite hopes. They trust the Council may promulgate the doctrine of the Syllabus, and not less will the true Catholics receive with joy the proclamation of the infallibility of the Pope. No one can mistake that the Pope himself is not inclined to take the initiative in respect to a proposition which appears to concern himself. It is to be hoped, however, that the unanimous manifestation of the Holy Ghost by the mouth of the Fathers of the Council will define by acclamation the infallibility of the Pope. Finally, the true Catholics wish the Council may crown the series of homages which the Church has offered to the all-holy Virgin, through the promulgation of the dogma of her glorious reception into Heaven."

Thus wrote the *Civilta*, while the Belgian Jesuit paper, the *Tyd*, expressed itself as follows:—

"We hope that the Council will, once for all, put an end to the division among Catholics, while it deals a death-blow to the spirit and teaching of Liberalism. On that account it is the certain expectation of all true believers that the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope, and of his supremacy over all councils, will be defined as soon as possible."

Finally, the Jesuitical *Monde* (who does not know this ultra of all ultramontane journals?) proclaimed to mankind the news that the next Œcumenical Council in Rome was determined to deal a decisive blow against Protestantism.

"Protestantism," writes the *Monde*, in December 1868, "has arrived at its last stage of decomposition. This is a self-evident fact; so much so, that even the heads of this sect can no longer conceal the same from themselves. Protestantism maintains itself still in some minds by the nucleus of Christian truths which it has preserved to itself; but in by far the greater majority of Protestants we find nothing but rationalism and nihilism. Is this at all a reassuring symptom, or is it not much rather a prelude to new and more frightful trials for the Society? We are of opinion that this state of transition will be of short duration. Sober minds will spring back from

the edge of the gulf which opens up before them, and return again to the Catholic truth. The Catholic religion will triumph over Lutheran Calvinistic errors as she has overcome the Arian and numerous other heresies, the names of which are to be found in history; but the next General Council of St. Peter will bring about this great revolution, and then will peace settle itself down upon mankind whose wish is good and pure."

One sees how much the Jesuits hoped to gain by this council that they had suggested. The great thing, however, was always the infallibility of the Pope; thus the question involuntarily forces itself on our attention as to whether this doctrine was a pure invention of the Jesuits, or whether it had already been in existence in the Catholic Church. The Jesuits say the question is coeval with Catholicism itself, but what does history show about this? For fully ten entire centuries after the birth of Christ complete silence reigns throughout the whole Christian Church respecting this doctrine, and neither any of the old confessions of faith, any catechism whatever, nor any other single writing of the Fathers of the Church, contains one word about the Pope and his infallibility. During the first four centuries there were, indeed, no Popes, but merely Bishops of Rome, and the power of these scarcely reached beyond the city itself. They had, moreover, no influence at all on the decision of questions of controversy which at that time agitated the Christian world, and, consequently, there exists no trace whatever of any decrees that they may have issued during this period. Controversial questions were, indeed, simply and solely settled by the assembled bishops at synods and councils, and at several of those, as, for instance, at the second Œcumenical Meeting in the year 381, when the dogma regarding the Holy Ghost was formulated, Rome was not represented at all. From the 5th century onwards, however, as the authority of the Roman See had already greatly increased in importance, this was altered, and the voice of Rome now assumed a more decided character. Thus, in the year 449, the Bishop, or, as we may now say, the Pope, Leo the Great, delivered a powerful utterance on the so-called Eutychian controversy; but, at the same time, he acknowledged that his view only obtained force after being confirmed by the assembled bishops (Synod of Chalcedon).

Pope Vigilius, in the year 546, came forward still more in the

Nestorian controversy; but as the fifth Œcumenical Council, in the year 553, dissolved Church fellowship with him on the ground of his heresy, he declared that hitherto, unfortunately, he had been but an instrument of Satan, working for the overthrow of the Church, and recalled all that he had previously taught and decreed.

It went still worse with Pope Honorius I., as the Œcumenical Synod, held at Constantinople in the year 680, condemned him, on account of his approval of the so-called Monotheletism, as being heterodox, and his previous manuscript decisions were committed to the flames. Indeed, his immediate successors, such as Leo II. and others, could not refrain from repeating the anathema over him, although he had long been committed to the grave. So here we have an example of a heretical instead of an infallible Pope.

In the extremely shocking condition in which the Roman See found itself from the time of Nicholas I. to that of Leo IX. (from the year 858 to the year 1049), either ill-famed women or barons rivalled one another in appointing, according to their pleasure, Popes who surpassed in profligacy all that had been seen or heard of previously. One has only to think of a John XII., as also of a Benedict IX. One has only to call to mind how the Holy See was openly bought and sold at that time, until finally, in the days of the Emperor Henry III., three Popes contended respecting the Tiara.

What sort of influence could such Popes exercise in Christendom? how could they lay any claim to infallibility? Not merely could they not do so, but they did not themselves wish it; and simply on this account, because they were much too deeply sunk in the mire of the most common vices to be able to think even of anything noble.

It was a very different thing when, in 1049, the famous monk Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII., began to make his powerful influence felt, and commenced that great battle with the kingdom, which finally ended victoriously for the Roman See. His motto was reformation of the deeply degraded Church, and thereby he procured a colossal following for himself. The single and sole aim he pursued was to gain absolute dominion for the Church over the State, and then to secure to the Pope sole authority over the former, or, as may be better said, over the bishops and clergy. And this aim he attained in some

degree partly through himself, and partly through his equally powerful immediate successor. The means, however, of which Gregory VII. and his successor made use, for the most part belonged, truly, to the most exceptionable that could be well imagined. One has only to bring to remembrance the colossal falsification of the Isidorian canonry, which then, by the order of the Roman See, was effected by Anselm of Lucia, Gregory of Pavia and others. One has only to call to mind the famous donation of Constantine the Great, owing to the purely fictitious cure of the said Emperor from leprosy, and his baptism by Bishop Sylvester. One has but to remember the decree of Gratian, devised in Bologna, upon which, during many centuries (until the fraud was discovered) the whole Papal canon law depended. One has but to call to recollection the unmarried state of the clergy (celibacy), which was only made law in order that the Pope might gain over a whole army of cowl-bearers without fatherland. One has but to consider the formidable masses of begging monks, who inundated the whole of Europe, fighting for the absolute dominion of the Papacy. Lastly, the Inquisition must be had in memory which consigned to an earthly hell everyone who doubted about an absolute Pope.

It does not belong to us here to bring to light the details of all this, which appertains rather to the history of Popery, and I must content myself by affirming that, through Gregory VII. (the monk Hildebrand) and his immediate successors, especially Innocent, the Pope became elevated to a height which was scarcely removed a step from infallibility. Innocent III., indeed, created afresh out of the *Vicarius Petri* (representative of the Apostle Peter), as the Popes had hitherto designated themselves, a *Vicarius Christi*, or, indeed, *Vicarius Dei* (representative of Christ and God), and consequently decreed that he, as Pope, must no longer be considered human, because he governed as the *alter ego* of our Lord.

Boniface VIII., who wore the tiara from 1294 to 1303, issued, indeed, the notorious Bull, *Unam Sanctam* (so called from the words by which it begins), in which he not only condemns as heresy the assertion that the temporal power is independent of the spiritual, but also represents, as a doctrine of faith, that the Pope controls all, while he himself cannot be controlled by

anyone, as he is alone responsible to God! He holds, says he, two swords in his hands, the spiritual and the temporal, of which the one can only be used by himself alone, the other by kings and princes, but only according to his pleasure and with his permission. Upon such a height had the Popes elevated themselves in the 13th century; but from this time their power decayed more quickly than it had been acquired.

Philip IV. of France, who felt himself to be highly insulted by the excommunicating curse of Pope Boniface VIII.,* succeeded, by bribery and other such means, in bringing round to his side a majority of the Cardinals in Rome, so that after the death of Boniface, in the year 1304, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand de Got, was chosen to be Pope, and this latter, who called himself Clement V., at once removed the Papal seat from Rome to Avignon in France. But what was the consequence? Simply this; that not only the said Clement V., but also his six successors, who resided altogether in Avignon, were compelled to act completely according to the will and pleasure of the reigning kings of France, and, consequently, there could no longer be any question as to Papal infallibility. This period was afterwards very aptly denominated the Babylonish captivity of the Popes. It is true, indeed, that Messieurs, the representatives of God, the more they were oppressed by their French vassalage the more they endeavoured to assume a powerful language against Germany, and already Clement V. declared that every German Emperor was obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the Pope.

But still more daring were his successors, John XXII. and Benedict XII., as both of these darted the lightning of excommunication against the German Emperor, Louis of Bavaria, and declared him deposed. But how did the state of affairs turn out? Was it that Louis of Bavaria was deprived of the German throne, and, consequently, the Pope came off victorious? Oh no; quite the reverse. The German Electoral Princes met together, the Archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne at their head, and pledged themselves with an oath emphatically to maintain their right of election of a supreme

* The details concerning this can be read in the *History of the Popes*. Such discussions do not belong to the *History of the Jesuits*. In my *Mysteries of the Vatican* I have fully treated of it in vol. i., p. 260, and following pages, 4th edition.

head against anyone, be he whom he might. Indeed, to make the matter even plainer, they added:

"The rights and ancient customs of the German Empire enjoin that the conformation by the Holy See of the supreme head, elected by a majority of Electoral Princes, is by no means requisite; and even the title of Emperor may be borne by him consequent on such election, without any regard to the Pope!"

This took place on the 16th July 1338, and immediately the Imperial Diet, held at Frankfort, confirmed these resolutions in every respect. Afterwards the fundamental law of the independence of the German nation as regards the Holy Roman Empire, was proclaimed by the Emperor Louis on the 8th August 1338. It ran thus:—

"We declare, according to the counsel and with the consent of the Electoral Princes and Parliaments of the German Empire, first, that the Imperial dignity is immediately derived from God alone; secondly, that he who is chosen by all, or even by a majority, of the Electoral Princes, becomes, by this election simply and solely, at once King and Emperor, and, consequently, the recognition and confirmation of the Apostolic See is not required; thirdly and lastly, that all who oppose this, or even maintain anything to the contrary, shall be punished as guilty of high treason."

Thus did the German Princes break loose from the hitherto all-powerful Papacy, and, so far as Germany was concerned, an end was now put to the hitherto arrogant Papal pretensions. It can be easily imagined, also, how deeply the Papal power was thereby shaken; but it soon came to be much worse in this respect. Hardly, indeed, had Gregory XI., in 1377, returned from Avignon to Rome, in order to put an end to the insufferable dependence of the Popes on France, than, after his death, which followed in 1378, the Cardinals, although most of them were French-disposed, yet out of fear of the violence of the Romans, elected the Archbishop of Bari, Bartholemew de Prignano, to be Pope, under the name of Urban VI. But only a few months later, such as were French-disposed made their escape to Agnano, in Neapolitan territory, where they were protected by Queen Johanna of Naples, and they at once, in September 1378, created an opposition Pope, in the person of the Archbishop Robert of

Genoa, who, giving himself the name of Clement VII., migrated to Avignon. So there were two Popes instead of one, and with this double Popedom began a time almost worse than insane.

As regards the opposition Popes, as soon as Urban died a successor to him was made by his followers, who elected Boniface IX.; and equally so, later on, by those French-inclined, who chose Benedict XIII. The two Popes, Boniface and Benedict, had also, after their death, successors, and thus it appeared to go on continuously. They cursed each other and the opposite party in such a frightful manner, sufficient to make men's hair stand on end, besides waging war with earthly weapons. But what was still worse even than this, the whole Christian world became divided into two parties, of whom the one (France, Naples, Castille, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland) recognised the French Pope as *Vicarius Dei*, while the other (Germany, Upper Italy, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, &c. &c.) paid homage to the Roman Pope.

What frightful confusion! What bloodthirsty contention! What corruption and usury as regards the ecclesiastical appointments, as each of the Popes required money! In spite of these frightful doings, the opposition Popes were still allowed to subsist, until at length, after thirty years, the better-disposed among the secular and spiritual princes, came to the conclusion that Christianity itself must fall to the ground unless someone interfered; and thus Charles VI., King of France, assembled by summons a General Council at Pisa in the year 1409. The Council met and deposed the opposition Popes Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. Further, it nominated a new Pope in the person of Alexander V., who alone was to be looked upon as the proper successor of Peter, and, consequently, it enunciated the doctrine that the Œcumenical Council stood above the Popes.

This was, indeed, all right and proper, but what followed? Gregory XII., as well as Benedict XIII., both protested against their depositions, and there were now three instead of two Popes. God be merciful to us! Three Popes, each of which raged against the other two like a tiger! Alexander V., it is true, died in 1410, but still three Popes existed, as the Cardinals of his party at once nominated a successor in Balthasar Cossa, who called himself John XXIII. Yes, indeed, John XXIII. became the third Pope, although he was notoriously the most

unworthy, most ill-famed and vilest of men who could be found on the face of the earth. The confusion now attained its highest point, and the whole Ecclesiastical Court was sunk in profligacy, corruption, and ignorance.

At that time the Emperor Sigismund of Germany constrained the Pope John XXIII. to convoke another new Œcumenical Council, which latter met in October 1414 at Constance, on the lake so named. It was the greatest gathering that the world had ever seen, and at the same time the most powerful, as all the Christian rulers of Europe had previously declared that obedience must be rendered to its decisions. There appeared at it, besides the Emperor Sigismund and the Pope John XXIII., 26 princes, 140 counts, 20 cardinals, 7 patriarchs, 20 archbishops, 391 bishops and abbots, more than 300 doctors of theology, and not less than 4,000 other priests. It was, consequently, an easy matter for the Fathers of the Council to succeed in deposing the opposing Popes, and also in nominating as a sole properly-constituted Pope, Cardinal Colonna, who called himself Martin V., and thereby put an end to the schism which had lasted for so many years. So now there reigned, as formerly, one single Pope alone. The Council not merely succeeded in this, but in its fourth and fifth sitting it also managed to constitute the following proposition as an everlasting doctrine of faith. The proposition runs thus: "Every properly convened Œcumenical Council, representing the Church, has its authority direct from Christ, and in matters of faith, in the settlement of schisms, and in the reformation of the Church, every one, even the Pope, is subordinate to it, in the fullest degree."

Thus decreed the Council, and not a single one of the prelates there present remonstrated against it. On the contrary, all, without exception, declared themselves as agreeable to the dictum, and the whole Christian world said Amen thereto. Yes, indeed, the whole Christian world, and truly with the most perfect right, as thus and not otherwise had it been held during the first ten centuries of our era. The Popes even from this time forward assented to it; and seeing that not merely all the bishops adhered to the Council, but especially, also, all historians and learned theologians, among whom I may mention the Spaniards, Alfred Madrigal and Andreas Escobar, the Germans Cochläus,

Witzel, and Nausea, and, in fine, the celebrated Parisian high school with the still more celebrated Sorbonne, they did not dare for fully two centuries to revert to the pretensions and arrogance of a Gregory VII. or even a Boniface VIII.

It became very different after Ignatius Loyola had founded the Jesuit Order, since the Jesuits looked upon it as their highest problem to establish, by the annihilation of Protestantism, the omnipotence of the Papacy, as it obtained in the Middle Ages at the time of Hildebrand and Innocent, and designated all those who offered to exercise resistance to this as heterodox persons. Who, then, was more jubilant than the Roman Curie!

O God! if the Papacy of the Middle Ages could but be restored, then must the whole western world cringe again at the feet of the Pope, and the latter would once more become the "Representative of God," similar to the blessed condition of an Innocent III. It was even on this ground that the successors of Peter became not only the most zealous supporters of the Jesuits, but threw themselves entirely into their arms, and did only what the pious Fathers suggested to them.

Thus Paul IV., in 1558, only two years after the death of Ignatius Loyola, issued the disreputable Bull, *Cum ex apostolatus officio*, drawn up by the Jesuit General Laynez, in which he defines the following propositions:—

"1. The Pope, who, as *Pontifex Maximus* (Supreme Priest), is the representative of God on earth, has, in the plenitude of his power, entire dominion over peoples and kingdoms; he directs all, but cannot himself be directed by anyone in this world.

"2. All princes and monarchs as well as all bishops, as soon as they have degenerated into heresy or schism from the Church, are irrevocably deposed, deprived of all sovereign rights for ever, and have incurred the penalty of death without any judicial formality being required. In cases of penitential conversion, they shall be immured in a cloister in order that they may make atonement for life on bread and water.

"3. No one must render any assistance whatever, not even such as humanity dictates, to a heretical prince or one found to be schismatical; the monarch who attempts this is forthwith deprived of his country, which shall then fall to the lot of princes obedient to the Pope who can take possession of the same."

So spoke Paul IV. who reigned between 1555 and 1559; but Urban VIII. went still further, as under his Pontificate the ill-famed "Lord's Supper Bull" (so-called because it commences with the words, *In cœna Domini*) was definitely issued, and at once read aloud from the pulpits of all the churches of Rome on Maunday-Thursday. But what were the contents of this Bull which henceforth had to become abiding law throughout the whole of Christendom? Why, the Bull "excommunicates and curses all heretics and schismatics, as well as all those who receive, favour, and protect them, no less than all princes and magistrates who harbour in their countries other than Catholic believers; excommunicates and curses further, all who read the books of heterodox individuals, and who, without the leave of the Pope, keep or print them, as also all, let it be individuals, corporations, or universities, who appeal from a Papal edict to an approaching General Council. It excommunicates and curses, finally, all princes and their servants, down even to writers and beadles, who, without Papal permission, presume to levy new taxes, to institute new duties, or to punish in any way at all spiritual transgressors, thus encroaching on spiritual jurisdiction."

Thus the Jesuits caused Pope Urban VIII. to speak; and was it to be wondered at that almost all the Princes and States of Europe protested against this monstrous Bull? Was it to be marvelled at, that not one single Government permitted the proclamation of the same, and that even the Archbishop of Mayence hesitated about it? The Jesuits, on the other hand, admitted the Bull into their school books, and not only wrote explanatory commentataries on the individual paragraphs, but denied the Holy Communion to those who doubted their legality.

Thus, in short, did the Jesuits labour indefatigably to make the Pope again the universal monarch of the world, exactly as had been the case during the Middle Ages, and they evinced redoubled zeal after their Order, abolished by Clement XIV., had been re-established, owing to a predilection for them on the part of Pope Pius VII. But, as may be easily imagined, all the Popes coincided with them, and allowed themselves only too often to be hurried into taking steps which their supreme power warranted; there remained always, in that respect, the point as to the right of the Councils ever the Popes. Indeed, ever since

the Council of Constance, this was an article of faith, and so long as this was the case, complete Papal absolutism was out of the question. Now, how was this to be rectified? Very simply, indeed; in this way—that the Pope should convoke an Œcumenical Council which should declare him to be infallible over the Councils, and, consequently that all the powers of an absolute governor of the world should be delegated to him. That was the great trump card which the Jesuits of modern times took upon themselves to play, and, as may be well understood, Pius IX. went into the plan with the greatest eagerness.

Under date 29th June 1868, his missive was, therefore, issued throughout the world, which fixed the opening of the Council in Rome for the 8th December 1869, and this document was now zealously criticised on all sides. In the same the Holy Father calls to recollection—

"That the Popes, as well as society in general, had at once summoned General Councils during the severest disorders and distresses of the Church, in order that it might serve to determine, with the bishops of the whole Catholic world, as to the definition of articles of faith, the annihilation of ruling errors, the protection, revelation, and development of Catholic doctrine, the proposed maintenance and restoration of Church discipline, and the abolition of depravity of manners among the people." "At present, however," he went on to say, "the Church is shaken by the most frightful commotions, and society in general oppressed by many and great evils. The Catholic Church and her doctrine, as well as the highest authority of the Papal See, are attacked, the religious Orders are abolished, impious writings of all kinds being widely disseminated, and the instruction of youth almost universally withdrawn from clerical supervision. Thereupon follows the progress of disbelief and depravity of manners, the infringement of laws human and divine, so that not alone the Church, but society in general is visited with disorder and misery. In order, therefore, to regulate such oppression and deviation from the right way, a general Church assembly is summoned, which shall carefully consider and determine, as regards purity of the faith, the discipline and organisation of the secular and ecclesiastical orders, the observance of Church commands, care being taken for the Christian instruction of youth and the improvement of

manners, in order that the doctrines of the Church shall be everywhere revivified, and always more and more disseminated abroad and obtain preponderance."

In this manner the Pope expressed himself, provisionally, regarding the object of the Council; but for participation in the same he demanded not merely the Catholic Patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and especially all those who were entitled to a seat and vote at the General Council of the Catholic Church at all times, but also the bishops of the Greek Church, who are not in relation with the Roman See, and in particular the Protestants as well as "all those who acknowledge the same Redeemer Jesus Christ and pride themselves in the name of Christian, but who do not acknowledge the true Christian faith, and who do not belong to the community of the Catholic Church."

"That these latter," so it continues finally, "may be given the opportunity, through the Council, to extricate themselves from a condition in which they cannot be sure of their own particular salvation, and to come back into the bosom of the Holy Mother Church, as this return to truth and fellowship with the Catholic Church may not alone be the salvation of individuals, but also that of the entire Christian community."

The Jesuits thus caused the Pope to speak, and it cannot be denied that the missive caused no small sensation in the world. First of all, the Protestants allowed themselves to deliberate regarding this, and one after another expressed their astonishment at the naive invitation of the Representative of Christ to take part in the Council. Still more were people amazed at his childish belief that the Protestants would suddenly enter into this idea, and again become good Catholics; so there was no want of scoffing and jeering about the matter. No less was it protested against most solemnly, especially in large assemblies, and the severest reproaches were directed against the Pope and his Jesuits. At length an Englishman, Dr. Cumming went so far as to write to the Holy Father, that he would be willing to take part in the Council provided it should be allowed to him to plead at the same in favour of the principles of Protestantism, and at once published his particular proposal in the newspapers. It was, of course, without result, as the Pope caused a reply to be given to him through the Archbishop of Westminster, Dr. Manning,

"that the Church of Peter could not by any means admit of a discussion in regard to damnable error and heresy, but, on the other hand, that all Protestants were highly welcome if they would discard their preconceived erroneous opinions, and again return to the Father from whom they had, unfortunately, so long strayed away."

But let us now turn from the utterances of the Protestants respecting the Council, and come to what the Catholics thought about it. The most part remained indifferent, if they did not relieve themselves by laughing. Others, who had been long before won over by the Jesuits, acquiesced in it, and rejoiced over the new bone of contention which had been thrown among mankind. A minority were inspired with a peculiar fear in regard to this appointed Council, and these, consisting of the German bishops, who on this account assembled at Fulda, did not omit at first to raise openly their warning voices. Much more important altogether than this, was it that even the German Government of Bavaria mixed itself up in the matter, and with marvellous openness disclosed the aim which was intended by the Council. The Holy Father had not mentioned a single word in his missive, to which I have before alluded, that it might be proposed to proclaim the Papal infallibility as a new doctrine of faith. No, but he spoke in the most pathetic manner of the promotion of religion and piety, of the defence of justice and faith, of the improvement of the education of youth, and much more of a similar description. It appeared that his Holiness wished to make the world believe that matters of a quite innocent character would be brought before the Council; but the Bavarian President of the Ministry, Prince Hohenlohe, issued a circular despatch, under date the 9th April 1869, to the ambassadors accredited to the different European Courts, which brought the matter to light without any circumlocution, and I cannot do better than here reproduce this despatch. It runs as follows:—

"It may for the present be assumed as a certainty that the General Council summoned by His Holiness Pope Pius IX., if no unforeseen circumstance should interfere, will be actually held in December. The same, without doubt, will be attended by a very large number of bishops from all quarters of the globe, and will be more numerous than any which has previously

taken place, and will thus, also, in the public opinion of the Catholic world, lay claim for itself and its decisions the high importance and consideration which are attached to an Œcumenical Council. That the Council will occupy itself merely with the consideration of questions of faith, with subjects of pure theology, is not to be supposed, as matters of this nature, which require a settlement by Council, are not forthcoming. The sole dogmatical subject, so far as I can ascertain from sure sources, which may be settled by a Council in Rome, and for which at present the Jesuits throughout Italy as well as Germany and elsewhere are agitating, is the question of the infallibility of the Pope. This, however, reaches far beyond a purely religious sphere, and is of a highly political nature, as herewith will also come to be determined, as an article of belief, the power of Popes over all princes and peoples. If this highly important and weighty question is now calculated to arouse the attention of all Governments which have Catholic subjects upon the Council, so must their interest, or, more correctly, their solicitude, be increased when they consider the preparations already in progress, and the organisation of this Committee about to be constituted in Rome. Among these points for determination, there is one, also, which has to do with matters connected with the Established Church. It is thus, without doubt, the settled purpose of the Roman Court to decide, through the Council, at least, some resolutions of a politico-ecclesiastical character, and questions of a mixed nature. It is noteworthy that the periodical published by the Roman Jesuits, *Civiltà Cattolicà*, to which Pius IX., in a special Brief, has imparted the significance of an official organ of the Roman Curie, has recently indicated a problem intended for the consideration of the Council, viz. to convert the sentences of condemnation of the Papal Syllabus of 8th December 1864, into positive resolutions or decrees of Council. As, now, these articles of the Syllabus are directed against several important axioms of State administration as existent in all civilised nations, there thus arises the anxious question for the Governments—whether and in what shape they would have to indicate, partly to the bishops under their jurisdiction, and partly, also, to the Council itself, the serious results which might be brought about by so important a rupture of the relationship hitherto subsisting between Church and State.

"There further remains the question—whether it might not be expedient that the Governments should, through their representatives present in Rome, tender a protest in common, against such resolutions which might, in a one-sided way, be determined by the Council, without the assistance of the representatives of the State authorities, and without previous communication respecting ecclesiastical State questions, or subjects of a mixed nature. It appears to me imperatively necessary that the States concerned should endeavour to arrive at a reciprocal understanding regarding these serious affairs. I have up to the present waited to see whether an allusion from one side or another might not be forthcoming; as this, however, has not taken place, and time presses, I find myself constrained to charge you to bring to the notice of the Governments to whom you are accredited, the matters in question, in order to obtain information relative to their opinions and views respecting these weighty concerns.

"I beg also to submit to the consideration of the beforementioned Governments, the question whether a joint, if not a collective, mode of action of the European States, and a more or less identical form might not be resolved upon, in order that the Court of Rome should not beforehand leave them in ignorance regarding the attitude to be assumed by them before the Council, and whether a conference of some description of the representatives of the whole of the Governments concerned might not be considered the fittest means to determine that joint action in regard to a settled mode of procedure."

One sees that the Premier Minister of Bavaria thus spoke clearly and openly, and the view he took was apparent, to frustrate the intentions of the Pope and his friends the Jesuits, at least in relation to the dogmatisation of the Syllabus, as well as to the declaration regarding the Infallibility of the Roman High Priest.

But how, then, did the different European Governments receive his proposition? Several of them did not mistake regarding the uncommon importance thereof, and instantly demanded in Rome whether the views, spoken of by Prince Hohenlohe, were actually entertained in Rome. But while the Roman Secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli, gave the most tranquillizing assurances, and indicated, indeed, that the Roman

Curie was not responsible for what an individual Jesuit had written in the *Civiltà*, the inquiring ministers saw no longer any cause for distrust, and simply declined the proposition of the Premier Minister of Bavaria. Thus acted Count Beust, the Prime Minister of Austria, and he was followed by the smaller German Governments. Most of the dissentient States were of opinion, however, that they knew how to protect themselves against any such ecclesiastical attacks, and they decided to await, first of all, whatever should occur in Rome. They wished to keep quiet, truly, and the Swiss Confederacy replied "that it did not find itself in a position to put in a protest beforehand, or to take, indeed, precautionary measures against eventual conclusions to which the Council might at any time come, and especially, as the Constitutional measures were already sufficiently well known, as to how such resolutions of the Council as might be in opposition to the principles of the Constitution, or might endanger the peace under the secrecy of the confessional, had to be met."

Thus the Conference asked for by Prince Hohenlohe not only did not take place, but no hindrances of any kind were offered to the assemblage of the Council, and the Jesuit party in Rome were simply allowed to do as they pleased. The Council was convoked by the Pope for the 8th December 1869, and already on the 1st of that month upwards of 400 bishops and prelates out of all Catholic Christian States—indeed, from all regions of the world—were to be found in Rome. During the next two days there streamed in 300 more, and thus the opening actually took place on the day fixed, at 9 o'clock in the morning.

The Pope advanced in procession before the assembled bishops into the hall in the Vatican, where the sitting was held, and the crowd was enormous. In the hall itself were to be found, in the Tribunes filled to overflowing, the first Catholic notabilities, ambassadors, counts, princes, even an Empress (Austria), and all now listened in breathless silence to the allocution (address) of the Pope. But what did he say? Not a word about what had been mooted by Prince Hohenlohe, but he merely expressed his joy at the arrival of the Bishops, "as they had now only come together in order to point out to all men the ways of God, and to adjust false human science, as well as the impious conspiracy of disbelievers against the Church." He did not,

indeed, express himself thus pithily and briefly, for his speech took a full hour in delivery; the fact was, however, that it related as little to the true object of the Council as did the missive which invited the bishops to Rome.

But let us now leave the allocution, as well as the festivities connected with the opening, which took fully six hours, and turn to the Council itself, that we may, first of all, ascertain something as to its composition. It consisted, on the whole, at the time of the convocation of the higher Catholic clergy, besides the Pope, of 57 real cardinals, 12 real patriarchs, 139 real archbishops, 723 real bishops, and, lastly, of 234 titular bishops, among whom were 36 titular archbishops. This made up the full number, in all, of 1,163 of the higher ecclesiastics; but, of course, it was well known that all, without exception, could not appear, as many were unavoidably detained; some by sickness, some by the infirmities of old age, and others by one cause or another. Only about the half was, therefore, to be reckoned on; but still the thing turned out even better than was anticipated, and not fewer than 767 prelates met in conclave. Such a mass of the Princes of the Church had never before, at any previous Council, been brought together, and Pius IX. could look upon his assembly with pride.

Let us examine, however, these ecclesiastical gentlemen more in detail. There was, to begin with, a great difference between them; as, for instance, the diocese of Breslau numbered 1,700,000 Catholics, and possessed only one single bishop, while the States of the Church, as constituted in the year 1869, numbering not quite 700,000 Catholic inhabitants, were represented by 62 bishops. In like manner, 1,400,000 belonged to the diocese of the Archbishop of Cologne, 1,300,000 to that of the Archbishop of Cambray, and 2,000,000 Catholics to that of the Archbishop of Paris. On the part of Naples and Sicily, on the other hand, there appeared 68 archbishops and bishops, although the population they represented had not even, put together, a third more inhabitants than the diocese of Cologne, Cambray, and Paris. Further, still, Catholic Germany numbering somewhere about 12,000,000, was represented by only 14 Princes of the Church, while the whole of Italy sent no fewer than 194; and that this was a great disproportion must be clear to everyone. Notwithstanding all

this, however, the Pope ruled that every bishop, whether he represented a larger or smaller community, should have the same right as to voting, and even the titular bishops enjoyed a similar privilege. Why was this? The grounds of it could well be apprehended, in that the Pope knew quite well that the smaller bishops were, with scarcely an exception, all on his side. Already had the Papal organ—edited by the Jesuits—the *Civiltà Cattolicà*, under date the 2nd October, 1869, loudly proclaimed that the bishops had not been summoned to Rome in order to discuss, but in order to approve of all the propositions which would be made in the name of the Pope; and if this, now, was the aim that was pursued in the Pope's favour, then must there not be, at the Council, a decided majority of the members on his side? Certainly, if it was wished that his plans should be carried through, a large majority of the bishops must blindly approve of everything without discussion; and the Jesuits had to take care that such a majority should be at their disposal at once from the beginning. They, indeed, did take care in this respect, as, lo and behold! as soon as the Council was opened, it became apparent that two great parties existed. Two very unequal ones, however, namely, a minority of somewhere about 160, and a majority of, say 600 heads. It was reasonable, then, to inquire of what elements the two parties consisted, and it was found that the majority was chiefly of two descriptions of bishops; namely, first of all, of bishops of the Roman race, and secondly, of the titular, or mission bishops. The Romans came in the first place from Italy, then from Spain and Portugal; lastly, from Mexico, Brazil, and the South American Free States, and formed a contingent of somewhere about 350 heads. How could these vote otherwise than as the Pope's party wished? One has only to reflect that by far the greater number of those had acquired their entire education and theology in Jesuit Colleges. One has to consider how much the Italian bishops were dependent on those who almost entirely nominated them. One has to bear in mind that the Spanish bishops had been raised to their bishoprics by the extra pious, because extra profligate, Queen Isabella, and her faithful counsellor, the Papal Nuncio at Madrid, and that the Queen, together with the latter, had naturally selected only the most truly Popish sheep. One has, lastly, to call to recollection

the spiritual darkness which had for so long a period reigned in South and Central America, into which even our own century had been unable to introduce any ray of light, at least so far as the high clergy were concerned. When all this is considered, can it be wondered at that all these Romans, or, at least, almost all of them, swam in Jesuit ultramontane waters? while the missionary bishops from Asia and Africa, who together formed a contingent of about 150, would prove themselves to be schooled, being not one iota less Popish, or, as I have above said, Jesuitically ultramontane, since naturally being, indeed, without exception, pupils of the Roman Propaganda; they, therefore, only waited for any hint coming from that quarter. From them no single opinion was wanted or required, but each vowed to do whatever the Fathers of the Society of Jesus required of them, without for a moment troubling himself as to the nature of the vow he had taken. They were "voting cattle," as one says in North America, and therein lay simply and solely the ground why they had been summoned from their distant stations. Simply and solely, indeed; for, as proper Bishops, that is, as ecclesiastics who represented large Catholic districts, or, as may be better said, strong Catholic communities, they could not be considered, because they possessed, for the most part, none at all, or, at least, a very small one indeed, just in its infancy. But did not their summons to Rome cost the Pope a large sum? O Lord! they had all of them a frightfully long and expensive journey to make, and, as the eternal complaint of the missionary journals about want of money was well known, their own purses were, indeed, perfectly empty. If their presence in Rome was required, it was necessary to give them assistance from the Pope, and this cost large sums of money. Still more, during the whole time of their sojourn in Rome it was necessary to feed them and supply all their other requirements, as they were unable to earn anything for themselves, and this maintenance and clothing of them, &c.* also made great demands on the Papal treasury.

* Besides these mission bishops there were also at least 150 others, notoriously poor, who were present at the expense of the Pope, especially those from the East and the Titular Bishops (bishops *in partibus infidelium*) who were attached to no dioceses. To such appertains the proverb, "Wess Brod ich ess, dess Lied ich sing" (I sing the praises of him whose bread I eat). It was well that at that time Peter's pence flowed in freely, otherwise the Pope might readily have become insolvent instead of Infallible. I

Lastly, was not the expense of the return journey of these missionary bishops a great burden to the Pope, and could it be imagined that they would have been summoned had he not been perfectly certain of them? It is to be seen, then, that the Jesuitical ultramontane party could rely upon more than 500 votes; but, added to this, there came the Jesuitically-schooled Bishops, of whom there were not a few, partly in Germany, partly in England, Belgium, and North America, and still more in France, and thus the certain majority from the beginning amounted, at the least, to 600 heads. The minority, however, which was reckoned at somewhere about 160 heads, consisted partly of German, Hungarian, and Bohemian bishops, so far as they had not previously been won over by the Society of Jesus, partly, also, of those French, North Americans, and English who could lay claim to education and knowledge.

The reader has now been acquainted with the constitution of the Council, and knows that the Pope and his friends the Jesuits could, by a large majority, carry everything that they desired; but they were not at all satisfied with this, they wished to gain over the minority also for themselves, or, at least, to reduce it to a minimum. It might be expected beforehand, truly, of some few, that they would remain firm and consistent, in order to bid defiance to Jesuitical suggestions; it was not to be anticipated, however, that the others could boast, in any way, of such an iron character, but that they could be made supple by degrees. Thus, then, did the sons of Loyola set to work, under the guidance of their General Beckz, hanging like chains on the bishops amongst the minority. Wherever they themselves, however, could not reach, they knew how to influence one of the chaplains, or secretaries, or counsellors devoted to them, so that he might play their game, and thus an artificial net was spun round all the members of the minority which was drawn together in the Collegio del Jesu. What, however, were the means employed? Well, naturally enough, threats in the first place, and on the other hand promises, which seldom fail to produce their effect on weak souls. Oh! can it not easily be imagined that the enticement of a title, as, for example, that of

may also remark that Pius IX. nominated, in the years 1868 and 1869, over fifty titular bishops, ostensibly for no other reason than to increase the number of votes upon which he might reckon in the Council.

Papal House-Prelate, might make an impression among the bishops belonging to the minority? Thus, the Bishop Lavigerie, of Nancy, allowed himself to be allured thereby, when a new liturgical garment, a stole adorned with fringe, called Supernumerale, was found for him, which hitherto no Western bishop had been allowed to wear! Besides, were there not Cardinals' hats which might be promised? I remember the instance, in this respect, of the Hungarian Primate Simon. Might not, indeed, national hate be even made use of, as, for instance, when the Polish bishops were promised that the Pope would accord his blessing if Poland should break loose from Russia? In short, there were plenty of baits, and it was only required to bring them to bear in a skilful manner, as fitting for each individual person. Moreover, might not threats be made to operate —threats of the Pope's disfavour, as well as that of impending excommunication, on more prolonged resistance to the wishes of the great majority? Certainly by such means good results were obtained, especially when their employment was not restricted merely to one or two cases. Thus, the preponderating majority of the Council was through and through Jesuitically ultramontane, and this was proved by the manner and way in which its commissions were constituted. The subjects which the Council had to take into consideration were previously examined, before being brought to discussion in the great assembly of Council, the Commissions being confirmed, or otherwise, according to the result. On the whole six of these were nominated, the first for dogmas and articles of faith (*Congregatio de fide*), the second for questions of ecclesiastical polity (*Congregatio de ecclesia*), the third for ecclesiastical discipline, the fourth for ecclesiastical order, the fifth for Oriental, and the sixth for miscellaneous matters; by far the most important, however, were the first two, which were to give their judgment on matters of Faith and Church, and in the persons who were elected on this committee the earnest opinions of the Council were again reflected. Only such prelates were chosen as held Jesuitical ultramontane opinions; and thus it was known pretty well beforehand what would be the sentiments of the majority of the Council, as the subjects submitted to their consideration would assuredly be viewed in a Jesuitical ultramontane light. Had broad-thinking prelates, on the other hand, been elected, they would, of course,

have held a contrary opinion, and then the resolutions of the Council's committees would have met with opposition.

Well, now, already the two parties measured their strength, on the 14th December, by the election of the Committee on Articles of Faith; but what was the result? The minority, that is, the liberal-thinking among the prelates (I thus term them, although even they possessed but little enough of what one generally understands by the expression), were unable to carry a single one of their party, although they gave themselves the greatest trouble that, at least, the two most prominent theologians and Church historians, Dr. Hefele, Bishop of Rottenburg, and Archbishop Dupanloup, of Orleans, might not be thrown out; indeed, the majority elected only Jesuit pupils, and that according to a list which was previously prepared for them by the Collegio del Jesu. Thus, only adherents of the Jesuit party were placed on the Committee, and of these, in the first rank were Dechamps, Manning, Martin, Senestry Pie, Regnier, and Gardoni. Precisely similar results were afterwards obtained as to the election of the remaining committees, and it was now perfectly well known that every proposal that the Jesuit ultramontane party had a desire to bring forward would be carried in Council. I will presently indicate some of the members of Council by name, and this will, perhaps, awaken in the reader curiosity to become more acquainted somewhat with these prelates, at least the more important among them. Let us, first of all, turn to the majority, to those, that is, who might be called the "pillars of the Papacy." It must, indeed, certainly be conceded that nine-tenths of them, and, before all, the Romans and missionaries, were very far behindhand as regards knowledge and cultivation, and frequently were not even at home in Latin, much less in theology; but they had leaders, and these latter must not be undervalued. In the first rank I name Monsignor Gardoni, Archbishop of Edessa, who already had played a part in the Council as Consulter of several Congregations and Theologian of the Dataria, and had devoted himself, heart and soul, to the Jesuits. Cardinal Barnabo contrived to render no less service to the Curie, for, as Prefect to the Propaganda, he at once assumed a decided attitude as to the discipline of the missionary bishops, and did not hesitate to threaten some of them with a withdrawal of their subsidies from the Pope as soon as they showed symptoms

even in the least degree, of an inclination towards independence. Further are to be named Cardinals de Angelis of Lucca and Capalti of Bilio, of whom the latter was a tolerably well-schooled theologian, and even understood a little German; not more, however, than to say that the science of the country incited in him a feeling of horror.

I next have to mention Monsignor Lulio, a Barnabite, and the prelates Audisio and Vincenzi, of whom the first had composed a work on Jesuit moral theology, the second a history of the Popes, and the third an apology for Origen. The principal pillars of the majority were, however, not Romans, but English, French, or Germans, simply for this reason, that, in order to find true men of learning, one must travel far abroad, to Germany, France, and England.

Among the non-Romans, Archbishop Dechamps, of Mechlin, prominently distinguished himself; a scholar of the Society of Jesus who knew how to develop his inborn gift of speech. He attached himself, from the very commencement, to the most extreme party, and, when there was nothing else for it, loved to engage in a combat of words regarding all bad Christians who set themselves up in opposition to the principles preached by the Jesuits. Along with him might be placed Archbishop Spalding, of Baltimore, a New Englander, who, at the commencement, placed himself among the liberal thinkers, but only for the first few days, for he afterwards went over full sail into the Jesuit camp. Archbishop Manning, of Westminster, the successor of Cardinal Archbishop Wiseman, some years before deceased, showed himself equally determined in regard to his Jesuit ultramontane opinions, and succeeded in carrying with him the English and Irish bishops. It ought to be known, however, that in his activity he never lost sight of his own personal advantage, and, had it not been for the promise of a Cardinal's hat, he would, perhaps, have attached himself to the opposition side of the Council. Among the few Germans who went, thick and thin, with the majority, were Bishops Martin of Paderborn, Senestrey of Ratisbon, Fessler of St. Pölten, and Leonrod of Eichstadt, as those four had long before been won over to Jesuit views; and on their arrival in Rome it was natural for them to range themselves completely in the circle of the Popish party. It is true that, of late years, they had expressed them-

selves—especially Bishop Martin—quite differently; but does it not happen a thousand times over that men change their opinions, especially when thereby they derive no sort of disadvantage. Besides, I cannot help remarking that the German bishops mentioned distinguished themselves, in the speeches which they delivered, much more by shouts, rebukes, and insults, than by profoundness and eloquence; and it may be observed that their aim and object was much more to fulminate than to confute.

Lastly, there were several Frenchmen who belonged to the Jesuit ultramontane party, and among those I may mention the Bishops Pie of Poictiers, Dreux-Brézé of Moulins, and Regnier of Cambray. Less conspicuous were the Bishops Plantier o Nimes, Mermillod of Geneva, and some others; but they dragged along the great coach, and stood in high favour with the holy Father and his Jesuits.

We must now, however, as a matter of course, refer to the leaders of the minority; and here it proves to be undeniable that, although their number was but small, they far excelled in understanding, knowledge, honesty of purpose, consistency, and eloquence. What calmness and dignity, as well as elegance, did Archbishop Melchers, of Cologne, display, although it must certainly be admitted that he was wanting in determination, as he wished, if possible, to prevent the occurrence of any rupture. What force of language was at the command of Archbishop Haynald, of Kalosca (Hungary), as well as of Bishop Strossmayer, of Bosnia and Servia! With them no other member of the Council could compete. This was universally admitted, and the difference between the two consisted in this, that Haynald distinguished himself by greater elegance and adroitness, Strossmayer by greater fire, so that his burning words penetrated even to the bone and marrow.* Archbishop Darboy, too, knew how to speak excellently well, and as he diligently endeavoured to

* Strossmayer especially thundered against the Jesuits in the fifth sitting of the Council, judging unfavourably as to their teaching and system. "Consider well, my honourable brethren," he exclaimed to the bishops, "the situation in which these men opposite (the Jesuits) stand. It is they who initiate and determine all the proceedings of the Council. Consider how the conclusions which it has the idea of surrounding with the highest Church authority are framed, fixed, and prescribed by these men. Consider the dangers to which the Church must be subject when it takes its teaching from the Jesuits, as their doctrines are in contradiction to history, to the Fathers of the Church, to the Word of God, to everything, in short, that is held to be most sacred by true Christians."

express himself with perspicacity, his opponents listened to him with strained attention. Precisely similar was it with Archbishop Dupanloup of Orleans, who, notwithstanding his French delicacy, unburdened himself with the utmost candour, and unreservedly pronounced "that the folly of omnipotence which had been assiduously awakened and cherished in the heart of the Pope by miserable flatterers, added to Curial avarice, bore the chief blame of the decay and numberless deficiencies of the Church."

Not less brilliant as a leader of the minority was Bishop Hefele, of Rottenburg, as learned a theologian as anyone, as also the greatest living authority in Council business. Then there was the Cardinal-Prince Archbishop Schwarzenberg of Prague, as well as Cardinal Archbishop Rauscher of Vienna, both of whom could not be too highly esteemed for their intrepidity. Further, Cardinal Archbishop Mathieu of Besançon, and Archbishop Ginoulsiac of Lyons; lastly, Bishops Förster of Breslau, Dinkel of Augsburg, and Eberhard of Treves, whose candour could not for a moment be questioned.

But when, now, the best speakers, supported by learning and steadfastness of character, had ranged themselves on the side of the minority, and used the greatest efforts to carry out what they considered to be the truth, what more could be done? The majority formed a determined body, that would listen to no arguments, but simply follow the advices they received from the Collegio del Jesu. Moreover, were the deliberations of the Council free? that is to say, of such a nature that every member found himself in a position to express his opinion without any let or hindrance? Was it permitted to everyone carefully to examine the matter at issue, and then, when this was done, to vote accordingly?

There is still another question to which I must necessarily devote a few words, as now, when one reflects upon all this, one can have some idea how the Council terminated as it did. First of all, the place in which the Council held its sittings was extremely unfavourable for free deliberation. The right wing of the nave of St. Peter's had been selected by the Pope for the purpose, or, in other words, the Chapel of the Holy Processus, and this space was separated from the rest of the Basilica of the great church by barricades. But while, now, this locality was

sufficiently extensive to furnish conveniently with seats all the bishops, patriarchs, and cardinals there assembled, it was completely wanting in the first requirement for a large assembly hall, namely, it was deficient as to its acoustic properties. After obtaining a seat, the speaker could not be heard unless he possessed the powerful organ of a Strossmayer, which so penetrated through it that all his words could be clearly followed. It was declared, even by Cardinal di Pietro, after the first six sittings, that he had actually not understood a single speech, and another cardinal also stated that during all the deliberations not forty words had reached to him. Anything like a thorough discussion was quite out of the question; a lively exchange of remarks and counter-observations did, indeed, take place, but, on these grounds, no speaker could hope to make an impression on his audience.

There might have been some amends made in this respect if the members of Council had at least been able to read the speeches which they could not hear; but, after the first sitting, the bishops were prohibited from allowing their votes and discourses to be printed, and this prohibition remained as long as the Council lasted.

Can one now call this a free council, with free deliberation? Has not, indeed, every member of every assembly, and in every parliament, the right of making propositions either himself alone or in conjunction with other associates holding similar opinions, and of bringing forward motions which may be discussed by the assembly? How was it, however, with the Council at Rome? Well! the Pope, in virtue of his supreme power, nominated a general congregation, which had to examine into all propositions and motions on their introduction, and to sit in judgment on them as to whether or not they might be brought forward, and this Commission was composed entirely of those who held Jesuitical opinions.* Thus it was that only those propositions could be brought forward which met with the approval of the Pope and his party. As a rule, however, all decrees were intro-

* In the General Congregation there were summoned by the Pope the Cardinals Pairizi, di Pietro, de Angelis, Corsi, Sforza, Cullen, Barili, Moreno, and Antonelli; then the Patriarchs of Antioch and of Jerusalem; again, the Archbishops of Tours, Turin, Valencia, St. Iago da Chili, Baltimore, Soronto, Tessalonica, Cardi, and Westminster; lastly, the Bishops of Paderborn and Anagni.

duced in the name of the Pope himself, and the assembly had nothing further to do than to accord its "placet."*

In short, it was the most servile council that could well be imagined; and in confirmation of this I quote the opinion of a man who was held in great esteem in the Catholic camp, Vicomte le Meaux, the son-in-law of Count Montalembert. Writing to the strongly Catholic Parisian newspaper *Correspondant*, he states:—

"All propositions about which the Council have to consult are made up beforehand; the order of affairs is forced upon the bishops, the committees are chosen, before any deliberation, according to an official list, by a disciplined majority which give their votes as one man. In these committees the minority is unrepresented, while other conferences than those in the general congregation do not take place. The matters are brought forward quite impromptu, and laid before the members of Council without previous explanations. The speeches are with difficulty understood, while as regards memoranda (stenographic reports) which may be inspected by the Fathers, there are none; so that it is impossible for the bishops to communicate their mature thoughts to their colleagues. Then it is forbidden to cause anything whatever to be printed here for the Council; and in all these features one recognises an assembly called together, not to discuss but to approve, designed to elevate the power which has summoned it, instead of to moderate it."

The Vicomte de Meaux formed this judgment from personal observation; and now, I ask once more, was it a free assembly with free power of deliberation? But with what did the Council occupy itself? Of course with ecclesiastical matters of faith, as the Pope, in his missive to the bishops, as well as in his allocution at the opening of the Council, had proclaimed; but these matters of general business were but secondary to those on account of which such pains had been devoted in calling together in Rome so many bishops from such great distances, and with

* If all those present said Yes, or "Placet," it ran thus: "Nosque (We, 'Pius IX.') sacro approbante Concilio decernimus, statuimus atque sancimus"; but if the minority said No, or "Non placet," the number of "Noes" had to be given, and then it read thus:—"Nosque sacro approbante Concilio decernimus, statuimus atque sancimus." The Pope was, then, the only decisive lawgiver, who, out of politeness and courtesy, listened to the opinions of the bishops; and, consequently, the Council was only treated as a consultative body called together for that purpose.

such expense and trouble. The question, on the other hand, was rather in regard to things of the highest importance, no less than the exposition and sanctioning of three entirely new articles of faith, namely, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary; the dogmatising of the Syllabus, with the contents of which the reader has already been made aware; and, lastly, the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope, of which I have likewise already spoken in detail. These three dogmas must be confirmed and sanctioned in such a way that in future all Catholics shall believe them at the risk of the loss of eternal happiness; but it must so happen as if the members of the Council itself, in the name of Catholic Christendom had spontaneously urged these three dogmas, and on this account the Pope had not made mention of them in a single passage, either in his missive or in his allocution. It was a most cunningly devised artifice of the Jesuits in order to throw dust in the eyes of the world; and they calculated that thereby the bishops who were inclined towards opposition, would not be able to make themselves at home on the subject by the necessary theological and historical studies.

The main objects which should engage the attention of the Council were sedulously concealed from the bishops, in order that they should be unprepared, and without the necessary books; they would then simply sanction in the Council, as voting machines, what had been elaborated by the Jesuits.

Now, in the first place, as regards the Assumption of Mary, this dogma was, of the three that have been mentioned, the most harmless; after that the Pope had once declared "the Immaculate Conception of Mary" as a divine revelation, it would be not much to attest her ascension to heaven, also in her living body. There is not a single syllable said of this ascension to heaven, it is true, in the New Testament, which is completely silent regarding the fate of the mother after her death. Equally little was declared by the ancient teachers of the Church on this point, and no single individual amongst them relates when she died and where she was buried. As, however, Mary-worship rose higher and higher, it naturally could not be wanting that people began to translate her into heaven, and hence gradually the tradition arose that she had been taken up into the skies when still living. Be it well understood, moreover, that the ancient teachers of the Church treated

this idea purely as tradition, and in the Martyrology in use in the Church of Rome, by Usuard, it stands recorded that in the 9th century nothing whatever was known regarding the death of the Virgin Mary, or as to the fate of her corpse.

Besides, when later it became customary, here and there, to observe, on the 15th August, "the Festival of the Ascension of Mary into Heaven," the Church was still far from recognising this ascension as dogma. It was the Order of Jesus who first of all thought otherwise, and as, also, Pius IX. venerated the "Madonna" above everything, it made it easy for him to demand, on the part of the Council, the dogmatising of the bodily ascension. Yet, no, this statement is incorrect; the Pope did not directly submit this demand to the Council, but the Jesuits, with the consent of the Pope, went round among the bishops with a petition, requesting them "to make the bodily ascension to heaven of the Mother of our Lord an article of faith, and thus to anathematise everyone who doubts this, and who asserts that the same is mere tradition." Yes, indeed, the Jesuits circulated this petition to the Pope amongst the bishops of the majority in the beginning of January 1870, and by the 31st of that month it had already obtained more than 400 signatures. What was, then, the wonder when the Committee of Faith (the *Congregatio de fide*) was at once empowered to receive the new dogma among the articles of faith, wherever, at the close of the Council, all those bishops who had inscribed on their banner the Infallibility of the Pope, voted for the new dogma? It is not necessary that we should dilate still further concerning this dogma, held by most people to be the Pope's hobby, but we pass over to the second and much more important point, the dogmatising of the Syllabus.

The Jesuits, even before the commencement of the Council, declared quite openly that the theses of the Syllabus must be regarded as dogmas. Thus, before the sanction of them by Council, and, indeed, a few days after the opening of the Council, a number of the bishops belonging to the majority had a joint audience of the Holy Father, giving it as their opinion that the complete Syllabus ought to be dogmatised. "He could not neglect this," as he expressed himself, "and would sooner yield something on other points." Thereupon, Father Clement Schrader, one of the most sagacious and, at the same time, well-

informed members of the Order of Jesus, was commissioned to elaborate formally the eighty theses of the Syllabus—the most remarkable of these are already known to the reader—so that they should be the more readable, as, according to the sons of Loyola, "the Syllabus was good, but being raw flesh, should, first of all, be made palatable by skilful preparation;" the matter, however, should remain the same, and rather, even, gather additional fire. Father Schrader undertook this commission with the greatest zeal, and the results of his labours were the eighty *Canones de fide et ecclesia Christi* (Precepts in respect to Christian Faith and of the Christian Church), which accurately expressed the eighty theses of the Syllabus. When he was ready with the work, however, Cardinal Bilio was entrusted with its revision, and as this prince of the Church carried out this work, one may conclude therefrom that the same would possess the approval of the Pope, and, in like measure, also of the Jesuits. In other words, the canons remained as they had been elaborated by the Jesuit Schrader, and in this form were laid before the Fathers of the Council. How did these, however, proceed in regard to the paper submitted to them? There was certainly contained within it a whole deluge of equally irrational as un-Christian sentences, which the bishops, after a little reflection, should have absolutely rejected. War was not only waged therein against Protestantism, but also against the whole modern world, and especially against State arrangements as now constituted throughout Europe. But what did that matter? The bishops of the majority found all very excellent, and accepted the new enrichment of the teachings of faith and manners, as if they had discovered a treasure therein. Consequently it was but natural to find that ultimately, on the 13th July 1870, the whole scheme had been voted *en bloc*, only 97 having opposed it, while the remaining 600 then present gleefully pronounced their "Placet." Like the dogma of the bodily Ascension of Mary, the Syllabus had thus been also dogmatised, and the Jesuits rejoiced with exceeding joy. Still, great as was this delight, it could only be made complete when the third new doctrine should also be raised to the dignity of a dogma, the doctrine, namely, of the Infallibility of the Pope, and to this we must now turn our attention.

The Pope, as has been already seen, both in his missive con-

voking the Council as well as in his allocution at its opening, had preserved perfect silence about the matter, and his Secretary of State, Antonelli, had, indeed, gone so far as to give assurance to several of the representatives of foreign Powers, that the Holy See did not contemplate making it a subject to be laid before the Fathers of the Council. Nevertheless, the dogma of the Infallibility buzzed about, so to speak, in the air, and everyone knew that the bishops had been summoned to Rome, if not simply and solely, at all events chiefly, to vote that dogma. How, then, could an escape be made out of this dilemma? Eh, indeed, the Fathers of the Order had long ago a scheme *in petto*, and this consisted simply in once more concocting a petition to the Pope, in which he was entreated to lay the dogma of the Infallibility before the Council. But, truly, it must not have the appearance of proceeding from the Pope himself, as this, indeed, would have the semblance of too great presumption, so the idea must emanate from the Council; and if this was the case, what foreign Power could then have anything to allege against what should occur? The question, thus, was of a twofold character, first of all to find out the proper Fathers of the Council who might prepare the petition, and then, again, to collect signatures to it, so that an imposing majority might appear. Both objects were, however, attained without the slightest difficulty. Persuaded by the Jesuits, Archbishop Manning of Westminster, Spalding of Baltimore, and Dechamps of Mechlin, with Bishops Senestrey of Ratisbon, Martin of Paderborn, Canopa of Verona, and Mermillod of Geneva, entered together into a Consortium, and, aided by the editorial department of the *Civiltà*, modelled a petition to the Pope, as well as, at the same time, to the Council, the contents of which ran as follows:—

"The undersigned Fathers submit to the Holy Œcumenical Synod of the Vatican, the most humble and pressing solicitation that it may determine in plain words, excluding all possibility of doubt, that the authority of the Pope of Rome should be supreme, and therefore free of error, when he fixes and dictates such matters of faith and manners as should be accepted and upheld by faithful Christians, as well as when he rejects and condemns them."

Such a petition was put in circulation, naturally, however,

only among those who could be relied upon, as truly Popishly disposed; and, lo and behold! the signatures already numbered, on the 15th January, not less than 512. A splendid majority was thus beforehand secured for the dogma about to be created, and one can now well imagine how great was the joy of the Jesuits.

There was, still, a small bitter pill in store for them; for scarcely had the broad-thinking bishops become acquainted with this manœuvre, than they counselled together whether they might not get up a petition to the Pope which should be couched in opposite terms. The majority of them resolved upon this, and the Cardinal Archbishop Rauscher was entrusted with the preparation thereof. He went as mildly as possible to work, but he did not on that account mince matters in regard to the difficult point in question. His opposition statement runs thus:—

"It would be a vain undertaking if one were to lay before Christian people the doctrine recommended by the majority as an openly revealed truth of God, and, in the absence of discussion, this thing is repugnant to our hearts. We, therefore, approach thee, confiding in thy benelovence, that the necessity of deliberating on such matters may not be imposed upon us, and we hope of thee that thou wilt not lay before the Committee on Matters of Faith the petition in favour of the Infallibility. Moreover, as we administer our episcopal charge among the more important Catholic nations, we are thus by daily experience aware of the state of matters with them; even, on this account, it is known to us that the desired definition will but deliver new weapons to the enemies of religion, and excite bitter enmity against Catholic affairs, and we are certainly persuaded that the same must offer an occasion or pretext, at all events within the sphere of our governments in Europe, to attack privileges still appertaining to the Church."

Such were the terms of the counter-petition, and the same was signed by 137 Fathers of the Council, among whom were the Archbishops of Vienna, Prague, Olmutz, Bamberg, Munich, Kalocsa, Cologne, Saltzburg, and Lemberg, as well as by the Bishops of Breslau, Hildesheim, Treves, Osnabruck, Mayence, Rottenburg, Augsburg, St. Gallen, Trieste, Budweis, Fünzkirchen, Grosswardein, Temeswar, Tarnow, Laibach, Raab, Siebenbürgen, Bosnia, and Servia. Did the sons of Loyola allow

themselves to be intimidated by this? No, not in the least degree, but, on the 22nd January 1870, the Infallibility address mentioned, with its mass of signatures, was presented, and at once handed over to the Commitee on Matters of Faith, in order to its being discussed, under the proper presidency of the Pope.

And now, shall I describe further the ins and outs of how it went with this desired dogma of the Jesuits? With what words, for instance, the Bishops of Belley and Carcassone concisely called upon the Council to proclaim the Infallibility without delay, as it had been called together simply and solely with this object? Or how Schwarzenburg, the Cardinal Archbishop of Prague, condemned the desired dogma with these words: "You will cause the religious ground to give way under our feet if you pass unanimously as the newest dogma a project of the personal infallibility, reprobated and long abandoned by men of sound understanding, and which you may yourselves be well convinced the world will never accept as law"? Or how the Jesuitically-disposed, that is, the Infallibilitists, broke out into a roar of rage, with clenched fists, at the powerful Strossmayer, the Bishop of Bosnia and Servia, in order to bring him to silence? Or how the Pope quite seriously assured everyone who visited him that he felt he was infallible, precisely after the manner of that madman who considered himself to be God the Father? Or how—but, no, I will not relate all to the reader, as it would carry me away much too far; but I cannot pass over at least two of the many fundamental grounds brought forward in favour of the Infallibility, as one learns thereby in what manner and through whom the Infallibility came to be established. On the 14th of May, Bishop Pie, of Poitiers, brought forward a proof, and the following logic was actually accepted by the majority of the Council with immense enthusiasm: "The Pope," he exclaimed, "must be infallible, as Peter was crucified with his head downwards; consequently, then, the head of Peter bore the entire weight of his body. Now, the head of Peter is analagous with the Church of Christ, as also with the Pope. Thus, the latter sustains the entire Church, and as it can only be the infallible who sustains, and is not sustained, thus must the Pope be infallible." A beautiful argument, certainly, at which the reader will, no doubt, be sufficiently astonished; but not less original was the second theory, which

had the honour of having for its father Archbishop Dusmet, of the island of Sicily: "We Sicilians," spoke the dignitary mentioned, also on the 14th of May, "have a particular ground for believing the infallibility of all the Popes. The apostle Peter preached, as is known, upon our island, upon which he found a number of Christians, and, as he declared that he was infallible, they found the matter surprising, because it never had been previously communicated to them. In order to clear up the matter, they sent a deputation to the Virgin Mary, to demand of her whether she had heard anything of the infallibility of Peter. 'Certainly,' replied she, 'as I myself was present when my son conferred this special privilege upon Peter, and I can recollect even the day and the hour perfectly well.' By such testimony the Sicilians felt themselves to be completely satisfied, and since then no one, throughout the whole island, has had the slightest doubt about the infallibility of the Pope."

In such fashion did the Archbishop of Catania plead for the new dogma of Papal Infallibility, and the reader may now know what to think of the majority of the Council. Let this be as it may, after a great number of the Fathers of the Council present had spoken, part for, and part against the Infallibility, the majority urged for a termination of the debate, and all the more strongly as the heat now began to be unbearable in Rome. It was now arranged that the "preliminary voting in private sitting" should be held on the 13th July, and at the same time it was decreed that "the decisive public voting in the presence of the Pope himself" should take place on the 18th of the same month. The preliminary voting, however, gave the following result: 450 voted for the infallibility of the Pope absolutely, with "Yes" (*placet*), while 88* bishops absolutely with "No" (*non placet*);

* Among these determined opponents of the Infallibility belonged especially:—Cardinal-Archbishop Prince von Schwarzenberg, of Prague; the Cardinal Archbishop Mathieu, of Besançon; Cardinal-Archbishop Rauscher, of Vienna; Archbishop Simon von Gran (Primate of Hungary); Prince Bishop Fürstenberg, of Olmütz; Archbishop Scherr, of Munich; Archbishop Deinlein, of Bamberg; Archbishop Wierzcheyki, of Lemberg; Archbishop Darboy, of Paris; Archbishop Heinald, of Kalocsa; Bishop Rivet, of Dijon; Bishop Dupont des Loges, of Metz; Bishop Legat, of Trieste; Bishop Dupanloup, of Orleans; Bishop Ketteler, of Mayence; Bishop Strassmayer, of Bosnia and Servia; Bishop Jirsik, of Budweir; Prince Bishop Förster, of Breslau; Bishop Forwerk, of Leontopolis (Apostolic Vicar of Saxony); Bishop Clifton, of Clifford; Bishop Dobrilla von Pola; Bishop Dinkel, of Augsburg; Bishop Eberhard, of Treves; Bishop Dours, of Soissons; Bishop Place, of Marseilles; Bishop Beckmann, of Osnabrück; Bishop Crementz, of Ermeland; Bishop Ramzanowski, of Agathopolis (Provost of the Catholic part of the

conditionally with "Yes," however, or, as it may be expressed, "*Placet juxta modum*," that is, with the reservation that in the wording of the dogma *some* slight modification might be introduced—61 prelates voted; while 91 others, partly on the plea of indisposition, and partly on other grounds, though present, indeed, in Rome, did not attend the sitting, and 77 of them had already left Rome on account of the state of their health. Such was the result of the preliminary voting of the 13th July 1870; consequently it was now accurately known how the proper and public voting would turn out. On this account, 88 bishops of the opposition took their departure at once from Rome, in order that they might not be obliged to be present at the public voting; still, they did not commence their journey till they had first made a vain attempt, by sending a deputation to the Pope, with the object of turning him away from the unhappy dogma. The 18th of July advanced apace, and the Jesuits, with feverish activity, beat up for the sitting all the prelates still present in Rome, especially those who had voted conditionally. There were present in all 535, among whom were all the cardinals, with the exception of Prince Hohenlohe; 533 voted with "Yes" (*placet*), two prelates voted with "No" (*non placet*), namely, Bishop Riccio, of Cajazzo, and Bishop Fitzgerald, of Little-Rock, the latter with a truly stentorian voice. Thus the new dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope was accepted, almost unanimously, and Pius IX. had the unspeakable satisfaction of proclaiming it himself to the world.

It consists of an introduction and four chapters. It is stated, in the introduction, that as the gates of hell rise up refractorily, with daily-increasing hatred, against the foundations of the Church erected by God, it has become necessary to prescribe, according to the ancient and established faith of the Universal Church, the doctrine of the investiture, perpetual duration, and inner nature of the Holy Apostolic Primate, upon which rests the whole Church's strength and solidity, and contending against the same, to judge and condemn errors so pernicious to the Lord's flock.

The first chapter treats of the investiture of the Apostolic Primate in the person of the Holy Peter, and concludes with the following sentence: "Thus everyone who shall not affirm

Prussian Army in Berlin); Bishop Hefele, of Rottenburg; and Bishop Bourget, of Montreal.

that the holy apostle Peter was invested by our Lord Christ as the most supreme of all apostles and visible head of the Church militant, or even shall allege that the same has received the Primacy directly and immediately from the Lord Christ, merely as an honour and not in actual and particular jurisdiction—he shall be accursed."

The second chapter treats of the uninterrupted continuance of the Primacy of Peter in the Popes of Rome, and concludes with the sentence: "Whoever shall say that there exists no investiture by the Lord Christ himself, and no divine right by which the Holy Peter has uninterrupted successors in the Primacy over the whole Church, or that the Pope of Rome is not the successor of the Holy Peter in every individual Primacy—let him be accursed."

The third chapter treats of the condition and nature of the Primacy of the Pope of Rome, and concludes with the sentence: "Whoever shall say that the Pope of Rome has merely the office of supervision and guidance, not, however, the complete and supreme jurisdiction over the whole Church, in matters which relate to faith and manners, as well as to discipline and the government of the Church extending over the whole globe, or that he has only a prominent part, not, however, the complete fulness of this supreme power, or that this, his power, is not regular and direct, be it over all and every individual church, or all and every individual flock and believer—let him be accursed."

The fourth chapter, lastly, treats of the Ministry of the Popes of Rome, and concludes with the following paragraphs: "This gift of truth and never-wavering faith has been accorded to Peter, and to his successors in the Holy See, by the dispensation of God, in order that they may exercise their sublime office for the weal of all, the whole flock of Christ being thereby guarded from the poisonous allurements of errors, and nourished with the food of heavenly teaching, so that, putting aside every opportunity of schism, the whole Church may remain as one, and firmly persevere and keep its position against the gates of hell. Seeing that, however, in these times, when people stand much in need of the wholesome reality of the Holy Office, not a few are to be found who wish to do away with that authority, we thus hold it to be imperatively neces-

sary solemnly to assert the prerogative with which the only begotten Son of God has had the grace to endow the supreme Pastoral office. Therefore, in true dependence on the tradition which springs from the commencement of Christian belief, to the glory of God, our Redeemer, to the elevation of the Catholic religion, and to the weal of Christian peoples, we teach, with the approval of the Holy Council, and declare as a divine and revealed dogma, that the Pope of Rome, when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*, that is, when in his office as pastor and teacher of all Christians, according to his supreme apostolical character, he defines a doctrine to be firmly maintained by the whole Church, concerning faith and manners, as the divinely promised succour of the Holy Peter has been accorded to him, as regards that Infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer wished to endow his Church—therefore, such-like utterances of the Pope of Rome, proceeding from himself, are to be considered unchangeable, without requiring the approval of the Church. Thus, anyone who dares to contradict this our definition, which God forbid, let him be accursed."

Thus ran the new dogma of the Infallibility as it issued forth from the Jesuit editorial department, and the laughter of scorn was for ever raised among all society of any education. Not only, however, a laughter of scorn, but also a cry of anger, as one could not conceal from one's-self that what had been dogmatised at the last Council, that is, declared to be a divine truth, must bring about the most prodigious consequences.

What is, indeed, the quintessence of the Infallibility doctrine? Nothing else than the following: "There exists on earth only one single Lord, the representative of God, and he rules over Kings as well as subjects, nations as well as families. In respect to him, there is no right and no law, but all Christian mankind are his slaves. There is one and only one reservation; the bishops, who are upper slaves, may, in the name of the Pope, rule freely in their dioceses so far as he appoints; the other class, however, the rulers and their subjects, are his entire slaves and must simply obey."

But in what way? Does not the new dogma teach that not only the Pope, for the time being, has become infallible, but that everyone of his predecessors was endued with like powers, and that thus, all the doctrines and precepts of former Popes

must be looked upon as divine truths? Most certainly such is the case; and pray, what did the former Popes teach?

Leo X. proclaimed, with the approval of the fifth Council of Lateran, the following three points as holy truths of faith:

"In the first place, the entire body of the clergy is, according to Divine right, exempt from all civil power, and has not only no obligation as a subject, but may not be bound in conscience by secular commands. Secondly, wherever a State law stands in contradiction to a regulation of the Church, it is only the latter which is binding; the former being inoperative or invalid. Thirdly, before everything, all the State laws are invalid which compel the clergy to be amenable to secular tribunals, and to bear State burdens. One may, from necessity, submit to them outwardly, but they are not binding inwardly."

Thus far Leo X.; but what did Boniface VIII. teach in his infamous Bull *Unam Sanctam*, and Paul IV. in his Bull *Ex Apostolatus Officio*? Now, according to them, the Pope is absolute lord and master of all people, supreme judge of all monarchs and monarchies, as also head of all Christians in the world; and to him is power given to declare every ruler or prince who is not steadfast to the faith, or, as may be better said, obedient to the Pope, to be deprived of his lands and possessions.

"Yes, indeed," writes the distinguished Döllinger, "the fulness of power to which the Popes, from the time of Gregory VII. have laid claim, is quite boundless and undeniable; it can penetrate over all, wherever, as Innocent III. says, there is sin, and can call everyone to account with sovereign caprice; it tolerates no appeal, as the Pope, according to the utterance of Boniface VIII., carries all rights in the shrine of his breast; in other words, the tribunal of God and of the Pope is one and the same."

But even this was not by any means sufficient, for the Popes of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries have declared that all non-Catholics, one with another, more especially Protestants, have, through baptism, equally become their subjects, and must, as rebels, be brought back again to obedience by force.

"Yes, indeed, Protestantism must be conquered, or, where possible, annihilated and extirpated, and the idea of toleration,

equality of religions, or freedom of conscience, is to be condemned to the lowest hell."

This was Papal teaching from the beginning, and this doctrine the dogmatising of the Syllabus proclaimed afresh. What is there in prospect for us, according to the resolutions of the Council? Nothing but religious strife and contention; perhaps, indeed, a new edition of the Thirty Years' war. One may laugh now over it, as an impossibility; but did not people smile also when the Jesuits proclaimed the warlike resolutions of the Council of Trent, which they had instituted? Formerly, of all Germany, the eighth, or perhaps the tenth part, was actually Catholic. But Canisius and his associates travelled quite quietly from one bishop's see to another, and their brethren, the rest of the sons of Loyola, followed them. They carried on their operations, at first, secretly, and concealed in secular clothing; gradually they found an entrance, in addition to princely Courts, into a couple of families, as well as into a couple of cloisters, and from these into a couple of pulpits; then they possessed themselves of one or other school classes, and after a few years they opened an educational institution; lastly, they took care that, on the one hand the cathedral, and on the other the Court and official appointments, should be filled by their pupils; and, behold! in the course of forty years, Germany was again Catholicised to the extent of two fifths. But with this, even, the sons of Loyola were not content, for they wished to eradicate Protestantism entirely, and then began the most terrible of all contests, a religious war, which lasted as long as full thirty years. It did not, it is true, bring about what the Jesuits wanted and hoped for, namely, the annihilation of Protestantism; but it gave to Catholicism a largely increased development, and, by the Westphalian peace, religious liberty was a thing of the past wherever the sons of Loyola had nestled themselves. Though, indeed, Protestant science has made, it is true, great conquests, yet the Jesuits, too, have gained ground. By inactivity, the Protestant dominion has more and more decreased, while the sway of Catholicism has been continually extending, and this has almost entirely been produced through the exertions of the Society.

Taking everything into consideration, one should not depart with a haughty smile at the circumstance of the Jesuits causing

the Pope, in the Syllabus, to declare war afresh against the Protestants? Yes; they gave themselves no rest until the Syllabus was dogmatised, that is, until it was raised to be an irreversible article of faith, and consequently necessitates all faithful Catholics to hate and persecute the Protestant heretics. Thus, assuredly, there may be a haughty smile, if not an out and out explosion of laughter; but, still, the weather-glass of the last resolutions of Council indicates a storm. Moreover, to take a comprehensive view of the matter, the sons of Loyola are not by any means content, but, at the last Council, they arranged, forsooth, that war should be declared against all existing States. Yes, indeed, the dogmatising of the Syllabus had, and has, no other object than the obstruction and suppression of the free tendencies of modern times, particularly as they have taken root in Germany, for these notions do not accord with mediæval ideas, which are to be afresh aroused from the grave. But how? Does not the Syllabus conclude with the declaration that all are condemned who consider as possible and desirable the reconciliation of the Pope with modern civilisation? Are not the constitutional liberties which the rulers of our day accord to their subjects—as the liberty of the press, and equality in the eyes of the law—expressly and especially condemned? Has not the Pope declared from his infallible chair, on the 22nd July 1868, that, by virtue of the care he has over all the Churches entrusted to him by Christ, he curses the fundamental law of Austria as an abomination (*infanda*)? Has he not especially cursed the horrible laws (*abominandæ*) which vouchsafe to all State citizens freedom of opinion, freedom of the press, and freedom of belief; and has he not cursed them on account of this, that the education of children of mixed marriages is regulated according to the principles of equality of confession, the corpses of heretics (Protestants), whenever they have no burial ground of their own, being interred in the Catholic precincts? Has he not pronounced as an article of faith that all laws of that kind are contrary to the constitution and authority of the Church and the Papal power, and that they must be looked upon by all good Catholics as completely invalid and without any force whatever?

Certainly the resolutions of the Council were regarded as quite monstrous, and the indignation felt thereat among people

of education was but too well founded. The more that sensible and clear-sighted persons were filled with indignation, and partly, also, with fear, the louder did the Jesuits rejoice, as henceforth they considered themselves to be all-powerful. The doctrine of the Infallibility was their own doctrine, and as it had now been raised to the dignity of a dogma, this was nothing else than to say, "Whatever the Jesuits teach is alone truly Catholic." In other words, their victory proclaimed to the world that Jesuitism and Catholicism were henceforth identical, and consequently it was not so much the Pope, properly speaking, who was infallible, but the Society of Jesus. Did there not lie therein justification for this exultation? But the sons of Loyola were not content alone with rejoicing; they were also desirous of displaying their power, by showing at once they were in a position to bring back into the world the spirit of mediæval times, in the shape of the Syllabus, confirmed, as it had been, by the Council on oath. Yes, indeed, mediæval times shall return, and, above all, his mediæval territory shall be given back to the Pope. Such territory had, indeed, in the years 1859 and 1860, suffered a very considerable diminution, in consequence of the war between Austria and Italy, the latter being in alliance with France; and matters were still worse in 1870, on the outbreak of the Franco-German campaign, when the French saw themselves compelled to withdraw their garrison from Rome. What then did the Italian Government do? Very naturally, in order to make the union of all Italy complete, they took away also the remainder of the States of the Church, and at length firmly established themselves in Rome itself. This was, indeed, imperatively necessary, in order to satisfy the Italians, since the inhabitants of Rome, as well as of the Roman States, demanded it, as they had long been heartily tired of the sad Papal misrule. Moreover, there was not a single European State that made any remonstrance, and still less was there anywhere an inclination to draw the sword in favour of the Pope. The rage, however, which filled the Pope, as well as his trusted friends the Jesuits, was beyond all bounds, and His Holiness loudly exclaimed against the impious spoliation. But the protest was of no avail, and as little was the curse which was soon to follow. It was thus perceived that another plan must be adopted,

namely, that of force, as without compulsion the Italian Government would not yield. Yet, whence shall this practical aid come? France, once so powerful, had just been, as it were, stricken to the ground, in such a way that it would require very many years in order for it to assume again its former position. Not much better was Austria situated, as it had engaged in the war of 1866, and there could be no question, therefore, of any warlike action in favour of the Pope. Then the smaller Catholic States, I mean the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, did not possess the power to enter into such an undertaking, and Russia was not at all to be thought of, from its notoriously unfriendly disposition towards Rome.* There remained, therefore, only one single power which might set up the Pope again in his lost dominions, and that State was Prussia, or rather the German Empire. It was perfectly certain that the German Empire possessed the power of doing this, as no other empire could compare with it, and it stood to reason that the much weaker Italy would not be so bold as to attempt any resistance to so powerful a rival. It consequently became a question to move the Government of the German Emperor to condescend to make an intervention in favour of the Pope, and to accomplish this appeared to the sons of Loyola to be an easy matter. For, naturally, the Catholic Church had, up to this time, enjoyed even greater privileges in Prussia than in the Catholic States themselves, while the extension of the Jesuits in that country tended to facilitate matters. One has only to think of the many Jesuit schools on the Rhine, and in Posen, of which I will merely mention those of Posen, Schrimm, Maria Laach, Paderborn, Cologne, Coblentz, Mayence, Gorheim, Bonn, Aix la Chapelle, and Münster. One has only to bring to remembrance the excessive number of unions, sodalities, and congregations which they had called into existence, even under the eyes of the authorities, in order to govern by means of them the whole Catholic population of Germany.† One has only to bear in memory their great protector, the Prussian

* The Pope himself must bear the blame of this unfriendliness, in that he had allowed himself to be led on by the Jesuits to stir up underhand the Poles to revolt against the Russian Government, supporting them in other ways, if not with money.

† These unions and sodalities had often very peculiar names, and at one time called themselves "union of labourers," at another of companions, of youths, of maidens, of temperance; sometimes also chastity unions

Minister of Public Worship, Von Mühler, who satisfied their every wish, before they had even themselves expressed one. Certainly, then, the Jesuits had a ground for hoping that the Government of William I. might not be disinclined towards an intervention in the affairs of the patrimony of Peter, as Catholic efforts were especially in favour thereof, and they got up at once a number of petitions, all of which had the same object—re-establishment of the Pope in his lost dominion. Care was also taken that highly influential names should be attached to these petitions, as, for instance, the whole of the Silesian Catholic nobility, and the entire Association of the Maltese Order of the Knights of St. John. Indeed, even the Prussian Catholic bishops with their chapters were included in such a petition; and the great Archbishop Ledochowski of Gnesen and Posen consented to deliver the same in person to the German Emperor at Versailles. The result of these petitions, however, was by no means reassuring, as Prince Bismarck did not give them in the least any approval, but expressed his opinion, with sufficient clearness, to the effect that the interference in the affairs of foreign States was quite adverse to German interests. Had, then, the petitioners been wise, they would have been satisfied on the subject, but the Jesuits looked upon themselves as too powerful to draw back; and, consequently, they at once had resort to other means. With this view they hastened to exert a pressure on the Imperial Government, through the German Parliament. It was a question before everything, therefore, to get up a strong party in the Parliament; and as with the year 1871—it being, as was well known, the first year after of the constitution of the Empire—the elections were to come on, the Jesuits, entering in full force into the conflict, urged the whole clergy of Germany, who through the bishops were more or less subservient to them (the

All, however, had a settled organisation, and were hierarchically conjoined. The most widely extended were the Rosicrutians, whose members, almost entirely composed of male and female servants, were commissioned to keep an eye upon their masters, to report respecting them, and to work upon them religiously. Their organisation might, indeed, be termed almost military, and the strictest discipline was preserved among them. Fifteen persons of the same sex formed a rose, eleven roses a tree of God, and fifteen God's trees a garden of the most Holy Virgin Mary. All these grades were placed under a Jesuit Father, or, at least, under the guidance of some ecclesiastic who was a blind tool of the Jesuits. The members, however, who distinguished themselves, or showed special zeal, obtained the most ample absolution.

cause thereof has been already discussed), to give their votes. It turned out, to the joy of the Jesuits, that a tolerable number of Ultramontanes were elected by their pledged friends, especially in Bavaria, in Posen, and on the Rhine, wherever, indeed, the Catholic population were in a majority.* The parsons made use of their pulpits to proclaim to their confessing children that, if one did not wish to endanger the welfare of his soul, he must strive solely for the election of good Catholic men as members of Parliament, the problem being to influence the Imperial Government, with the view of bringing about an intervention in favour of the Pope. When the Parliament opened in March 1871, these gentlemen formed themselves into a very determined faction, which got the name of the "Faction of the Centre" (if these gentlemen had been honest they would have called themselves the "Jesuitical Faction," for they allowed themselves notoriously to be blindly led by those of the leaders of that party within the Catholic Church who were generally known to be affiliated to and associated with Romish Jesuitism), and at once recommended themselves to the Imperial Government as the rock of defence for the Conservative interests of Germany. Yes, indeed, they sang again the old song, the refrain of which was that a strict and well-regulated Government could only be supported by them, because they alone were capable of offering an effective opposition to the revolutionary ideas of the times. Their intention, consequently, was to render tractable the Imperial Government, as they had in bygone days influenced former Governments, especially in the reactionary period which succeeded the downfall of the first Napoleonic Empire; but it was soon apparent what was the real aim after which they were striving. It was nought else but to revive the old, long-interred claims of the Papacy, and not only to stir up strife again, but also to raise afresh the contention between ecclesiastical and secular power. Above all, they wished to force the Imperial Government to intervene in favour of the Pope, and the recovery of his former worldly possessions, and with this desire they

* Against elections of that kind frequent protest was made, especially from Cologne. In regard, indeed, to some elections, the petition from Cologne runs thus:—"Fanatical fury raged from the pulpits of almost all the Catholic churches, and heaven and eternal happiness were on the one side, hell and everlasting damnation on the other, according as the voting was exercised."

pretty frequently came forward with their counsels and addresses. Indeed, they unhesitatingly expressed themselves to the effect that the German Emperor ought to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, who looked to Rome for the Imperial Crown, and recognised the duty of standing by the Papacy in all its troubles, as truly obedient servants. But what a storm of displeasure did they call forth, as well among the majority of the Parliament as also in the Imperial Government itself. I will not further dilate on the subject, but merely repeat the words of an individual member of Parliament. Thus spake Deputy von Bennigsen:—

"The name of the German Emperor and Empire is involuntarily connected with the recollection of the great and eventful battles which the ruler of Germany formerly waged with the Roman Church and the kingdom of Italy, not as Emperor of Germany, but as Emperor of Rome, having, as such, claims upon the Imperial succession. Our task, however, is to leave no doubt henceforth that by far the greater majority—indeed, an overwhelming majority—of the German people and their representatives is entirely adverse to the Imperial Government entering again upon the old mistaken policy of German Church politics. What advantage did it bring us? The perpetual devastation of Italy, and the political impotence and internal disintegration of Germany. And now we come again upon efforts in Parliament to lead German politics back into such an injurious groove, upon efforts which must once more call similar contentions into existence. Our essential business lies henceforth in this; that at the very first moment when the German Emperor assembles around him the first German Parliament, he should erect a beacon distinctly visible to all far and near, internally as well as externally, that in future German politics shall be restricted to the internal requirements of the State, and that they shall no more be directed to interference with the affairs of foreign nations."

Thus spoke Deputy von Bennigsen, and as the great majority of his colleagues agreed with him in his opinions, the following passage in the Address was adopted:

"The severe distress which France suffers to-day, confirms the often-witnessed fact, which never fails to bring punishment in its rear, that in the circle of civilised peoples even the

mightiest nation only remains safe from serious complications by a wise limitation in the development of its internal economy. Even Germany has, in a degree, received the seeds of decay by intermeddling in the affairs of other nations, when the rulers followed the traditions of a foreign origin. The new Empire has sprung up from the self-elevating spirit of the people, which, armed for defence, is invariably devoted to the work of peace. In intercourse with foreign peoples, Germany demands for its citizens nothing more than the consideration which right and custom require, and, not misled either by aversion or inclination, does not grudge to any nation the way towards unity, or to any State that it should, after its own manner, find the best form for its constitution. The days have gone by for the interference in the internal affairs of other nations, never, we hope, again to return under any pretext or in any form whatever."

This was clearly and distinctly expressed, and, consequently, the pressure of the Jesuitical party for Government interference in favour of the Pope was once for all powerless. The rage of the Jesuitical Ultramontane party can now be readily imagined, and it was at once resolved to make war against the German Empire. Not, however, of course, a war with cannon and needle-guns, but a contest with spiritual and ecclesiastical weapons. The whole Catholic Church in Germany, in respect to all Catholic inhabitants of the new Empire, should unite their powers, and thereby compel the Imperial Government to diverge in another direction. They did not, however, proceed in a straightforward way, but slowly and gradually, creeping along with cat-like steps. Their object was to begin by undermining, and only to storm and capture the fortress when its foundations had been sapped.

First of all, however, it was necessary to establish complete unity in their own camp before commencing their operations, as if such were not attained, that is, if the leaders and heads of the Church found that there were individuals who would not give in their adherence to the Jesuitical Ultramontane party, then might the Imperial Government place their reliance on such a split, and, consequently, a division might be brought to pass which would render victory impossible. "Unity, unity," was the cry, then, of the Jesuits to those bishops who had voted in the Council against the Papal infallibility, and they, at the same time,

threatened them with the Papal excommunication and interdict if they carried their opposition as far as schism. On the other hand, they admonished the "truly disposed," that is, the prelates who had held by the Jesuitical Popish party at the Council, to issue a general pastoral letter to the German clergy, and in this to exhort everybody to accept the resolutions of the Council, and believe them to be divine revelations. The "truly disposed," therefore, assembled together in Fulda in August 1870, in order to determine upon a general pastoral; and it was a matter of endless rejoicing to the Jesuits that the "truly disposed" were here joined by several deserters from the opposition camp—for instance, by Bishop Ketteler of Mayence, Archbishop Scherr of Munich, Bishop Dinkel of Augsburg, and Bishop Cremenz of Ermeland.

Thus it happened that the pastoral letter, which declared "that the last Vatican Council was regular and general, and, consequently, that its resolutions were binding on all believers, by virtue of the publication thereof, made, in the most solemn manner, by the Supreme Head of the Church in the public sitting of the 18th July 1870, and that, therefore, all bishops priests, and believers ought to accept these resolutions with steadfast faith as divinely-revealed truths, and must adopt and acknowledge them if they desired to remain true members of the one holy, catholic, and apostolic Church," was subscribed by all the German Princes of the Church, namely, by Gregory (Scherr), Archbishop of Munich-Freising; Paul (Melchers), Archbishop of Cologne; Peter Joseph, Bishop of Limburg; Christopher Florentius, Bishop of Fulda; William Emanuel (Ketteler), Bishop of Mayence; Edward Jacob, Bishop of Hildesheim; Conrad (Martin), Bishop of Paderborn; Johannes, Bishop of Culm; Ignatius (Senestrey), Bishop of Ratisbon; Pancratius (Dinkel), Bishop of Augsburg; Francis Leopold (Leonrod), Bishop of Eichstadt; Matthias (Eberhard), Bishop of Treves; Philippus (Cremenz), Bishop of Ermeland; Lothar, Administrator of the Bishopric of Freiburg; Adolphus (Namszanowski), Bishop of Agathopolis, Chaplain-General of the Prussian Army; Bernard (Brinkmann), Bishop of Münster; and Konrad (Reither), Bishop of Speyer.

Had not, then, an immensity been thus attained? Certainly unity had been well-nigh accomplished, while the few who had still not given in their submission, as, for instance, the Arch-

bishop of Bamberg, and the Bishops of Rottenburg, Breslau, Würzburg, and Passau, could not possibly withstand, in the long run, the pressure put upon them by their fellow functionaries. Certainly they must also, sooner or later, orally acknowledge the resolutions of the Council as divinely-revealed truths, as they would otherwise run the risk of being removed by the Pope from their Bishoprics, and to such a danger they would not, of course, subject themselves. No, certainly, that would, indeed, be too much to expect, to exchange so high an office as that of a Bishop for a mere article of faith; and thus the sons of Loyola succeeded, without much difficulty, in enticing completely into the Ultramontane camp even the last remains of the German opposition to the Council.

The first who came over was the most highly esteemed Prince Archbishop of Breslau, Dr. Henry Förster, not openly, it is true, before all the world, but secretly, by night, and in a mist; and as a reason for this falling off from the former recognised truth, he afterwards gave out that he did not wish to disturb the "unity of the Church." Bishop Henry of Passau followed him, and then came Archbishop Deinlein of Bamberg. The last was Bishop Hefele of Rottenberg, and he also could assign no other ground for his change of opinion than that the unity of the Church could not at any price be disturbed. Along with this he spoke much of humility and submission, but he did not mention a single syllable as regards a man's duty to sacrifice his place, even be it the office of Bishop, for the sake of the truth.

This was the first victory which the Jesuits gained, after which they resolved to accept battle with the German Empire; and they proceeded, therefore, to commence the fight. Against whom, however, should the first blow be aimed? Naturally against the German universities—"those heretical nests and devilish institutions," as they themselves loved to call them, and, especially, against the Catholic theological faculties therein, as the latter were most hated by the Jesuits. For, of course, science flourished at the universities, therefore free thinking and free investigation; and hence resulted the most violent opposition to Jesuitical doctrines. Naturally enough, seeing that the future spiritual guides and instructors of youth were formed by the Catholic theological faculties, and the professors could not, in the nature of things, have any desire to

regulate their lectures according to the infallible principles of Gregory VII., Paul IV., Boniface VIII., and Pius IX., or even after the pattern of the Syllabus, now also declared infallible! Shall this any longer be tolerated? No, indeed; for they, the Jesuits, wished alone to instruct the future spiritual guides and teachers. No, indeed; for the dogmas, morals, and exercises of the Society must be for the future alone instilled into the youthful students; and, therefore, away with the professors who stand upon the platform of modern science. Away with them, as, indeed, they were all heretics as long as they did not absolutely acknowledge the Infallibility dogma! Yet how were they to come in contact with the professors? They still held their positions from their respective Governments, and were only responsible to the latter. One could only, indeed, hound on the bishops against them, to, first of all, threaten them with the necessary ecclesiastical censure, and then, when there was nothing else for it, falling back upon curse and excommunication. But as regards the bishops, might one dare to hope that, in this way, they would set themselves into collision with the State authorities? Indeed, a renegade always becomes a zealot, and the Princes of the Church, who had recently thrown themselves into the arms of the Jesuits, must still prove to their converters that they were heart and soul all for them. O Lord! one would have taken them, indeed, for miserable dissemblers if they did not proceed with fire and sword; and then the sons of Loyola might be certain that the thoroughly persuaded Fallibilitists of yesterday would prove themselves to be the most intolerant Infallibilitists of to-day. Yes, indeed, of this they ventured to be certain, and the first to prove the correctness of their surmises was the Prince Bishop of Breslau, the above-named Doctor Henry Förster. As soon as he had been gained over by the sons of Loyola, he demanded of the professors of the University of Breslau, as well as those of the Mathias Gymnasium, to declare themselves, whether they recognised the resolutions of the Council, as well as the infallibility of the Pope, and the dogmatising of the Syllabus. Four of those gentlemen at once replied directly and publicly in the negative. These were Canon and Cathedral Scholastic D. Baltzer, Professor of Church History, D. Reinkens,

private teacher of philosophy and religious doctrine to the Mathias Gymnasium, D. Weber, and the Director of the Mathias Gymnasium, D. Reisacker. What did the Bishop do then? First of all, he decreed the *suspensio ab ordine* over them, that is, he declared them to be no longer fit to administer their offices if they did not immediately recall their heresy, and, as they hesitated to do so, he threatened them with excommunication. Still further, his princely Grace, the highly-esteemed Lord Bishop, vouchsafed to forbid the pupils of his Boys' Seminary (the future teachers and schoolmasters) to visit the Mathias Gymnasium; all theological students, especially the pupils of his community, he threatened with immediate expulsion if they should any longer attend the lectures of the professors mentioned. Therewith he cried down the latter, who still held their appointments from the State, and it now came to be a question as to whether the Government would tolerate such an attack upon their rights. It could not, of course, submit thereto, and the Minister of Religion declared that the professors should continue to deliver their lectures.

But with this the war which had broken out was still far from a termination, and the Bishop adhered to his above-named prohibition, and neither dare the seminarists of the Mathias Gymnasium, nor the monks of the community, attend the lectures of a Reinkens, Baltzer, and Weber. He refrained, however, without doubt, from carrying into effect the threat of excommunication, as he feared himself to prosecute the conflict to the utmost. In just such a way as the Prince Bishop of Breslau, did Archbishop Melchers of Cologne also act, as he prohibited the students in Bonn from attending the lectures of the theological professors Hilgers, Reusch, and Langen, seeing that they had fallen into sad heresy by not recognising the Infallibility dogma. Consequently, he wished to make it an impossibility for the same divines to lecture any more, and, on that account, he must needs, also, as a matter of course, run counter to the State Government. The professors, in regard to this, continued to work as teachers just as before, but, on the other hand, the Bishop, too, adhered to his prohibition, and even ventured to make it more severe, so that Messieurs Hilgers, Reusch, and Langen saw themselves compelled to lecture to bare walls. The Lord Archbishop, however, as little dared to carry excommuni-

cation into effect as had been the case with the Prince Bishop of Breslau, and merely the threat thereof remained to the fore. The third spiritual Prince who brought theological professors on the scene was Archbishop Scherr of Munich-Freysing; and after he had received his instructions from the sons of Loyola, he demanded the theological faculty of the University of Munich to intimate to him their position in regard to the resolutions of the Council of the Vatican, and as to their submission thereto. Not a single one of the professors had any desire to do so, but, after long consideration, the most of them resigned themselves as to the matter, and simply on this account, as it might be perceived, that they had no wish to come into conflict with the ecclesiastical power of the Lord Archbishop. They wished to continue to teach in peace, as they had hitherto done, and thus said "Yes, in God's name," to the question of the Infallibility.

Not so, however, did the distinguished theologians Doctors Döllinger, Huber, and Friedrich, hitherto the great support of Catholicism, as they declared they would never recognise the dogma, which they considered contrary to reason, tradition, and Biblical teaching, and they remained firm even when threatened with excommunication by the Archbishop. Indeed, the conclusion come to by all reasonable and honest men among Catholics was that Catholicism, founded upon the resolutions of the Vatican Council, was nothing else than a "New Catholicism," a heretical deviation from the true Catholic faith, and they henceforth called themselves "Old Catholics." An uncommon number of men of the cultivated classes, namely, all Catholic Professors of Medicine, Jurisprudence, Philosophy, and Philology at the University of Munich, ranged themselves on their side, and a commotion arose the end of which could not be measured. So-called Old Catholic unions formed themselves in almost all the provinces of Germany, especially in the larger towns, where the Catholic population predominated; in a few weeks these increased to communities, and as such appointed their own parsons*; thus there was schism, and, of course, excommuni-

* Old Catholicism took its origin after that Dr. Döllinger (Stiftsprobst) had given his celebrated declaration to the Archbishop of Munich-Freysing, in which the following passage occurs:—"Thousands of the clergy, and hundreds of thousands of the laity think as I do, and look upon the new articles of faith as unacceptable. Up to to-day not a single person, even among those who have given in a declaration of submission to it, has said

cation could no longer be deferred. Moreover, it is worthy of remark that when Archbishop Scherr intimated to Professors Döllinger, Friedrich, and Huber that they had been excommunicated on account of open heresy and non-recognition of the Infallibility dogma, the communication still remained private, and the excommunication was not publicly proclaimed from the pulpit. No! no public and direct excommunication took place, but the Archbishop caused it to be intimated indirectly among the clergy that all those who denied obedience to the Vatican resolutions thereby excluded themselves from the community of the Holy Catholic Church, and must bear the consequences thereof. As now the supreme spiritual shepherds in Breslau, Bonn, and Munich had thus proceeded against the universities, so also did their inferior colleagues follow suit, with only very few exceptions, and proceeded with even greater severity against all the minor clergy who dared to have any doubt respecting the Infallibility dogma. It was, indeed, an unsurpassed piece of arrogance if any poor parson or chaplain rebelled against his lord and ruler, the most esteemed bishop, and such presumption could not be otherwise punished than by deposition. Thus, ultimately, the Archbishop of Cologne declared as deposed Parson Tangermann of Unkel; the Bishop of Augsburg, Parson Renstle in Mering; the Bishop of Ermeland, Parson Michelis at Braunsberg; the Archbishop of Munich, Parson Bernard of Kiefersfelden, as well as Parson Hosemann of Tunten-

that he is convinced of the truth of the proposition. All of my friends and acquaintances affirm to me as having the like experience. 'Not a single person believes in it,' I hear daily said from every mouth." To this declaration various men from all ranks of society at once adhered, among them high officials and civil officers like Deputy Inspector von Wolf, Head Master of Ceremonies Count von Bray, Count Ludwig Arco Walley, the great brewer Ludwig Brey, the Appeal Councillor von Enhuber, Mint Assayer von Schauss, and others; together, in April 1871, they protested against the Infallibility, and to them were added all those who were of a similar opinion in Augsburg, Vienna, Memmingen, Neustadt, Kaiserslautern, Bergszabern, Fürth, Bonn, Coblenz, Cologne, Wurzburg, Freiberg, Traunstein, and elsewhere. The first step towards the formation of Old Catholic communities, having separate churches and parsons of their own, took place in Heidelberg in August 1871, at the assemblage of Old Catholics there, and forthwith such a community was formed in Munich. Other cities followed suit, and the number of such communities has now perhaps risen to about forty. However, we doubt whether Old Catholicism will attain to anything magnificent, as it only opposes the Infallibility, and does not venture in any way to attack other cancerous affections, as, for instance, oral confession, celibacy, indulgence, the Romish Primate, and especially the hierarchy. Is it, then, to be wondered at that the large masses stand aloof and remain indifferent, and that the whole of the lower clergy also, for the most part, take no interest in the movement?

hausen; the Prince Archbishop of Breslau, Parson Buchmann in Canth; the Bishop of Ratisbon, Parson Max Hort in Straubing; and the Bishop of Solothurn, Parson Egli at the Penitentiary of Lucerne; and nominated other spiritual advisers in room of those deposed. They were of opinion that they had the whole of the inferior clergy completely in their power, as in the Middle Ages, and they could do with them as they pleased. But, behold! the parsons declared to be deposed did not stir from their posts, being altogether supported by the communities to which they belonged. What was now to be done? Why, my Lords Bishops did not, of course, deliberate long about the matter. They addressed themselves to the secular authorities, in order that force might be employed. They came, however, not as complaining in any way, or making a request; oh no! they "demanded" of the secular authorities, without anything further, that those parsons who had been declared deposed should be removed by force from their situations, in order that those newly nominated might take possession of the vacant posts. Yes, indeed, this they did, supporting their action on the 12th Canon de Ecclesia; that is, on the 12th Article respecting the Church, proclaimed by the Council of the Vatican, according to which the secular authorities had unhesitatingly to carry into effect the punishments awarded by the Ecclesiastical Courts. This, indeed, as a matter of course; for, according to the resolutions of the Council, the Church, that is, the Pope, was held to be altogether superior to the State power, and the latter had to carry out all its orders without asking any questions whatever! To their great alarm, however, the secular authorities did not trouble themselves any further to lend a helping hand to the bishops, but, on the contrary, they addressed themselves to the Ministry, and the latter in turn put the question to themselves, "Have the bishops, out of regard for the present Pope, the right to sequestrate the incomes of those parsons who adhere to the old doctrine, and assign the vacant posts to other ecclesiastics well affected towards the Infallibility dogma?"

They further asked themselves, "Are the funds, partly inherited from olden times, partly collected at assemblages, from adherents to the old faith, available (without any further question) for the benefit of the new religion and Church?"

Thirdly, they asked themselves, "Does it seem admissible that the new Catholic doctrine should be inculcated in the youth of the country precisely as the former creed, under the protection and authority of the State; especially, should the bringing up of teachers of the people, together with the conduct and supervision of schools for the people, be left in the hands of the Church which has recently become infallible?"

They further, lastly, asked themselves, "Can the established rights of the Catholic Church, as formerly constituted, after its transmutation into a new one, with an infallible Pope at its head, have any further claim upon the State?"

One sees that in addition to the questions thus raised there was still another one; for the tendency, so inimical to the State, of the bishops, led by the Jesuits, asserted itself always more distinctly and energetically, and the supreme government of the State had thus to say to itself, "We have the duty to maintain aright confessional peace and State authority."

The State, then, took up the gauntlet which the Jesuits, in the persons of the German bishops, had thrown down to them; but it did so only with the greatest foresight and forbearance, for at the head of Prussian religious administration stood Von Mühler, hitherto the great well-wisher to Ultramontane efforts. It went openly against his inclination to proceed with energetic measures, and he would rather have got rid of the matter by some small palliative means. Indeed, even from such he would have timidly receded, had he not been urged forward by Prince Bismarck. The latter, however, the statesman with an iron will, at once perceived that the authority of the Imperial power stood in danger if a limit were not put to the aggressive conduct of the sons of Loyola, and, with his accustomed energy, he hit upon a plan. Naturally, however, it was not in accordance with his views to cut through the knot with the sword, without further ado, but he proceeded wisely and sagaciously, step by step, trying at first to attain his end by peaceable means.

First of all, he was desirous to ascertain whether the Roman Curie approved the newest steps taken by the Jesuits, and he therefore brought to official notice in Rome the attitude of the Jesuitical Catholic faction in Parliament which, as we know, had pleaded for an intervention in favour of the Pope. Such action had, at all events, this effect, that the Cardinal

Secretary of State, in order not to injure his position with reference to the German Imperial power, unequivocably disapproved, in some degree, the action of the faction in question; but immediately afterwards he recalled this disapproval, and gave it as his opinion that he merely held it to be not opportune, or in accordance with the spirit of the time, if the Catholics at once placed a proposal for intervention before Parliament. He, indeed, straightforwardly declared that he admired the conduct of the faction of the centre, and that their proceedings had not less the fullest approval of the Pope. Prince Bismarck thus became aware that the Jesuits were acting in most complete understanding with the Roman Curie, and a step was at once taken on this occasion, on the part of the Prussian Administration of Religion, which showed to the Catholic bishops that it was not intended to submit to their pretensions.

During the government of Herr von Mühler, there had been a special department "for Catholic Church affairs," and the Director thereof was the Government Privy Counsellor, Dr. Krätzig, an associate of Bishop Ketteler, of Mayence, in the Parliamentary faction; the other two members of the Department, Messieurs Government Councillors Ulrick and Linhoff, were, if possible, even more favourable to Ultramontanism, and steered their course in everything according to the precepts of the sons of Loyola. So the whole management of Catholic affairs was entrusted to these three gentlemen, that they might rule according to their pleasure, as Herr von Mühler approved of all their proceedings. In what way did they govern, however? As a matter of course, in a manner which was diametrically opposed to the interests of the State, in that they played completely into the hands of adherents of the sons of Loyola, in regard to school instruction, as well as school supervision.

It had thus happened that the Jesuits had become, by degrees, almost all-powerful in Prussia, as we have formerly pointed out, and not the less had it resulted that this antagonism between Protestantism and Catholicism had assumed constantly a rougher aspect. But, lo! in July 1871, the news suddenly spread abroad that the department for Catholic Church matters in the Religious Administration, had been abolished; the three

members above mentioned having received their pensions. At first the report did not obtain credence, but the news was presently verified, and the first great step for the destruction of Jesuitical Ultramontanism had now taken place.

One may well imagine the anger of the bishops and their supreme guides, the sons of Loyola. They certainly could no longer entertain any doubt but that the iron Prince Bismarck wished to break down their power; but they held it to be impossible that he would ever be able to obtain the signature of the Prussian Monarch to the required enactment, because the latter had, up to the present time, himself shown forbearance in Catholic ecclesiastical matters. They, therefore, addressed themselves in an immediate petition to the said monarch, in which they urged that he should abstain from proceeding inimically against the Catholic Church; but they were simply repelled with the observation that in no other country in Europe, as the Pope had formerly acknowledged, did the Catholic Church possess a more favourable position than in Prussia, and that, on that account, it was all the more imperative for the State to reject presumptuous pretensions.

Rage now rose to its height in the Ultramontane camp, and to anger also succeeded consternation at the same time, as, at the beginning of November 1871, the Bavarian Plenipotentiaries placed a proposition before the German Diet, that they should lay before Parliament the following project of law:—

"Act relating to the completion of the Penal Law-Book for the German Empire.—We, William, by the Grace of God, German Emperor and King of Prussia, order the following, with the acquiescence of the Diet and of Parliament. Individual article. After para. 167 of the Penal Law-Book for the German Empire, the following new para. shall be inserted: 'An ecclesiastic or other servant of religion, who, in the exercise of, or on occasion of the pursuit of his calling, publicly brings forward a subject for discussion before a crowd of people, or in a church, or in any other place destined for religious assemblages, in a way which seems calculated to disturb the public peace, shall be punished by imprisonment to the extent of two years.'"

This was the proposition which the Bavarian Plenipotentiaries placed before the Diet of the German Empire; and can one, therefore, be at all surprised that the Jesuits and Ultramontanes

were in the highest degree disturbed thereby? Good Catholic Bavaria, with its good Catholic Government, and such a proposition! This was, indeed, an attack upon the most holy rights of the clergy, for whom, hitherto, the pulpit had stood at their completely free disposal! God in Heaven! that was, indeed, unheard of! Hitherto, anyone might agitate and insult from the pulpit, at his pleasure, without a soul whatever, even in the highest position, being able to say a word! Yes, indeed, it had hitherto been thus, and, at the last Parliamentary elections, the Jesuitically-minded ecclesiastics, by thundering words from the pulpit, had gained the victory for a goodly number of Ultramontane candidates. But this misuse of the pulpit was not any longer to be tolerated—a misuse which, in Bavaria especially, had by degrees become quite insufferable. As a proof of this I will only adduce a few instances.

Joseph Bergmeier, Parson of Geisenhausen, had declared from the pulpit, "Hohenlohe is a Prussian rogue." Another Catholic parson called the Bavarian ministers and deputies, "simpletons and debauchees." A third exclaimed, "Your deputies wish to give you Jewish fellows as teachers; they desire to establish brothels throughout the whole land, and to rob you of the blessings of marriage." A fourth proclaimed from his pulpit: "If the school law passes, then your children will be taught by Jewish fellows to despise the Saviour, as once upon a time the Jews did in Jerusalem. And the parents will even be punished if they call 'Hepp! Hepp! Hepp!' after the Jewish fellows." A fifth preached from the cathedral of Ratisbon: "The Emperor, as King, has command only over the body, but the Church holds sway over both body and soul, and therefore the Church can even release the people from the oaths they have sworn to the princes." A sixth, a bishop, thus expressed himself before a large assemblage, on a confirmation journey: "We live in sad times; we are called Ultramontanes and Reactionaries; this condition can only be put an end to by war and revolution. We keep secular laws merely because power supports them, and we should be seized by the throat were we to act otherwise. If kings no longer consider themselves acting by the grace of God, I would be the first to overturn the throne." A seventh—but enough of examples, as, from those already given, everyone must be convinced that there

need be, in the German Empire, protection—legal protection, indeed—against such misuse of the pulpit by the Catholic clergy. The proposition of Bavaria was, on this account, accepted almost unanimously by the Diet, and not the less passed through Parliament with *éclat*. The Ultramontanes now, to be sure, raised the most piteous complaints all over the German Empire, and at once declared religion to be in danger; but, in spite of all this, the new law was proclaimed accordingly, and soon displayed its blissful operation. I say blissful, as the chief thing was that now insults ceased to be given from the pulpit, as the clerical gentry had no desire to make closer acquaintance with prison cells.

From what has been already related, it must have become sufficiently apparent that the German Government was not indifferent to the arrogant pretensions of my Lord Bishops and their wire-pullers; still anything energetic and effectual could not be carried out as long as Herr von Mühler remained at the head of the Ministry of Religion. He was, indeed, notoriously the drag upon all progress in ecclesiastical as well as educational matters, and if he even consented to the innovations urged upon him by Prince Bismarck, it only happened as it were by way of compulsion. Besides, what did individual crumbs signify as long as the whole system hitherto obtaining was not broken through? Herr von Mühler at length perceived that he was no longer suitable for the new era of the German Empire, and as he became aware that all the liberal sections of the House of Parliament were determined to vote in plain terms a want of confidence in him, he tendered his resignation to his King at the beginning of the month of January 1872. This request was at once accepted, without further ado, and it was felt through all Prussia—indeed, over the whole of Germany—that freedom from oppression had been effected. One had only to look at the universities to see what kind of men had been appointed professors by Herr von Mühler. Preference had evidently not been given by him to knowledge and scientific reputation, but, much more, to position in the Church and orthodox faith. How could there, then, be any wonder that the Prussian universities sank deeper and deeper? In a precisely similar way had Herr von Mühler proceeded respecting the different gymnasiums and lyceums, only stedfast believers

having received employment therein. Men of a free or even of a moderate tendency, were rejected, and it was exactly as if Herr von Mühler had possessed a mortal fear of acute understandings and able heads. It was thus, then, only natural that for the most part persons breathed more freely when this impediment to progress had at length quitted office. And not the less natural was it that there was loud rejoicing when it became known that the Privy Councillor of Justice (Der Geheime Oberjustizrath), Dr. Falk, had been nominated as his successor, on the 22nd January 1872. This was quite a different style of man. With such a person as he, Prince Bismarck could work hand in hand in proceeding against clerical lust after power, and the presumptions of the Jesuits and Ultramontanes; indeed it was precisely on this account that the Imperial Chancellor had effected his nomination. The Prussian Government would, however, have deeply sinned had it hesitated any longer to appoint a liberal Minister of Religion, as, in regard to the manner and way in which the Jesuits had conducted the colleges founded by them, and, indeed, all educational institutions, things now came to light respecting their mode of instruction, that made it imperatively necessary for the immediate interference of the highest authorities. With what aim and purpose, then, did the pious Fathers work? For the same object that had been attained in Spain, Ireland, and the States of the Church; in short, wherever the Jesuitical Ultramontane system had won supremacy for itself. One had only to look to Posen, or even Silesia, for instance, in the Government district of Oppeln; the grossest ignorance made itself there apparent, and the instruction was limited entirely to what the Jesuits called religion. Now, as for this latter, the teachings of the Syllabus played the chief part therein, together with the cursing of those who did not believe in the Infallibility of the Pope.

The new Prussian Minister of Religion thus perceived that to the operations of the Jesuits in the schools an immediate check must be imperatively put, and he introduced at once before the Prussian Chambers, in the beginning of February 1872, a new law as to school supervision, consisting of the following two paragraphs:—

"1. The inspection of all public educational institutions

rests with the State. On this account, all proper authorities and officials entrusted with this duty are commissioned for the purpose by the State.

"2. The nomination of local and circuit inspectors, and the limitation of their circuit of inspection, belongs to the State alone. The commission granted by the State to inspectors of public schools for the people, in so far as they conduct this charge as an extraordinary or honorary office, is at all times revokable. Those persons, however, to whom the inspection of schools for the people has been hitherto entrusted by command, are obliged to conduct this office in accordance with the regulations of the State, and are not allowed to indulge in vagaries of a contrary nature.

What was now the aim of this new law, which the Minister himself designated as merely a law of necessity? Nothing else, indeed, than the liberation of the schools from the influence of the Jesuitical-Ultramontane ecclesiastics. According to the arrangement hitherto obtaining, school inspection belonged to the clergy—the Protestant schools to the Protestant parsons, and, on the other hand, the Catholic schools to the Catholic priests, or, in other words, the ecclesiastical gentry were the "born" school inspectors.

How, for instance, did the Catholic ecclesiastics exercise school inspection in the territory of Posen? They united themselves with the Polish nobility, in order to annihilate the German element in the country, and to separate this land from Prussia. Yes, indeed, the old Pole must be re-established within his former boundaries, in order that Jesuitism might there be enabled to flourish again as formerly; and on that account instruction in German became not only neglected, but regular opposition was made against it. By such conduct the Jesuitical Ultramontane ecclesiastics had carried the matter so far that, for example, in the West Prussian communities, which formerly were purely German, the German language was now no longer understood by the rising generation. And could the Prussian Government tolerate any longer such a calamity? It was bad enough that the ministers Raumer and Von Mühler had so long retained in their hands the Jesuitical Polish propaganda. Now, when the German Empire had been again constituted, one must proceed in earnest and with energy; and, consequently, the law concerning school inspection, brought forward by Dr

Falk, was approved by a large majority in the Prussian Parliament, and later, also, in the Upper House. It is true, indeed, that the Prussian Catholic bishops at once strongly protested against this step, declaring that the inspection of schools, as daughters of the Church, rested alone with the clergy, not with the State. But what did this protest signify! The King established this law by his signature, and it became valid throughout the whole of the Prussian dominion.

What happened, however, in consequence of this, in the province of Posen, when the extraordinary revision of schools was held? Wherever school inspection had been exercised by a Jesuitical Polish-disposed ecclesiastic, instruction in the German language had been totally neglected; while as regards Prussian history and geography, as well as the relations of the Prussian States, the pupils were totally ignorant thereof. Indeed, in many village schools the pupils could not actually tell to what State and country they belonged, and still less had they any knowledge as to how the King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany was designated. At that time, when the Jesuitical Ultramontane movement was so much exciting the minds of all, it suddenly became known that an apothecary, formerly of Posen, had been arrested, on the 21st February 1872, because he was strongly suspected of contemplating an attempt on the life of the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Bismarck. The investigation which followed showed that the accused was called Emilius Westerwelle, and that he was in close relation with Prebendary Kozmian, of Posen, confidential adviser of the Archbishop of Posen-Gnesen, Count Ledochowski. A domiciliary search was made at the house of the said Prebendary, which elicited extraordinary disclosures. Not, however, concerning Westerwelle, who was afterwards pronounced to be not guilty, but in regard to Prebendary Kozmian and his intimate friends the Jesuits. It transpired that he kept in Posen a large establishment in which a young Polish nobleman was retained by the Jesuit teachers as assistant in matters of school instruction; at this time, however, by order of the Archbishop named, he had to undergo, as a Church punishment, seclusion in the Jesuit cloister of Schrimm, because, in company with a disreputable woman in the bathing-place of Homburg, he had partly wasted in riotous living, and partly gambled away, a

large sum of money, which, as Peter's pence, was destined for the Holy Father in Rome. The domiciliary search was now extended to the Jesuit cloister at Schrimm, and again something remarkable came to light; letters were found there proving that the Polish Ultramontane movement in Posen entirely proceeded from the Jesuits, and, also, that the members of the so-called Central party in the Parliament were not by any means ignorant as to the matter. Further proof was found that the Pope, at the instigation of the Jesuits, had nominated a Primate of Poland, and that this step stood in close relationship with the efforts of the nobility in Posen to set up again the Polish kingdom—seeing that, according to old Polish law, the Primate of Poland was representative of the King and possessor of political power when the Polish throne was vacated. Lastly, it was found that a number of foreign Jesuits were disporting themselves on Posen territory, with no other object than that of guiding and firmly uniting the connection of the Posen nobility with the nobility in Russian Poland, as well as Galicia. This was a highly important discovery, which justified Prince Bismarck in instantly proceeding against the sons of Loyola by State measures; but, ere doing so, he wished still to try beforehand a final remedy. He therefore endeavoured, through an understanding with the Roman Curie, to get the mastery over them without being obliged to resort to force on his side. Accordingly, at the end of April 1872, it was suddenly reported that Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe had been nominated to be German Ambassador at the Holy Papal See, and, of course, it was perceived therefrom that a great concession had been made to the Catholic Church. The German Empire to be represented at the Holy See, not only by a good Catholic, acknowledged to be faithful, but by one of the Princes of the Church of the highest standing! What more could the Pope desire? Therein lay, indeed, the proof that the German Government was earnestly desirous of maintaining peace with Rome, and of fulfilling all just demands of the Catholics.

But there was one thing that could not be forgotten: Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe had remained a German in all his words and actions, and had never yielded to the influence of the Jesuits. They therefore entertained a decided hatred towards him, and contrived to keep him always far away from the Papal Court.

People were all the more eager to know how the Pope would take the nomination; but, fortunately, curiosity was not long kept in suspense. Under date the 25th April 1872, Derenthal, the German Chargé d'Affaires in Rome, communicated to Antonelli, the Cardinal Secretary of State, in a confidential way, that the nomination had taken place, and asked, at the same time, whether the same was agreeable to the Pope. The Secretary of State gave no reply for several days; consequently, Derenthal repeated the question on the 1st of May. The Cardinal Secretary of State at once replied, on the 2nd of May, "he had not omitted to obtain the orders of the Pope, but His Holiness, although not insensible to the intentions of His Imperial Majesty, found himself, nevertheless, in the disagreeable position of being unable to authorise the reception of so delicate and important an office by a Cardinal of the Holy Romish Church, particularly under the present circumstances of the Holy See."

Thus the Ambassador nominated by the German Emperor was rejected by the Pope, and in such a way, indeed, as could hardly be more rude. Was there not therein a deadly insult? Everyone knows that the rejection of a newly-named Ambassador had, perhaps, never before happened, and Prince Bismarck expressed himself as follows on the matter: "It very seldom occurs that the question arises whether the person of an Ambassador appointed to a friendly Court is a *persona grata*. An answer in the negative is an invitation to cancel the selection. I have been now for one-and-twenty years engaged in the business of higher diplomacy, but this is the first case, during this time, of a refusal. It more frequently happens that a Court is desirous for the recall of an Ambassador already accredited to it for a long period. When in such a case the wish is confidentially expressed for a change in the individual, there is in the background an experience of several years' intercourse; but I cannot call to mind the rejection of a newly-appointed representative." Thus, the refusal of Prince Cardinal Hohenlohe, whom the German Emperor had nominated his Ambassador in Rome, was a sharp insult to this most powerful of all European monarchs; and it was considered so in the latter's capital. But why had the Pope thus acted? After a few days it became apparent.

At first, Pius IX. and his Cardinal Secretary of State, Antonelli, were very much flattered at the circumstance that the German Emperor had sent an Ambassador to Rome, in the person of a cardinal, and they never for a moment contemplated declining the honour; but the Jesuitical surrounding of the Pope, impelled by the hatred they had entertained during many years against Cardinal Hohenlohe, represented the matter as indicating the initiation of an anti-Catholic policy, judging, that is, from the character of the person sent, and moved the weak Pius IX.—their plaything during many years—to proceed against the German Empire in the manner which has been represented.

Prince Bismarck—or, better said, the German Government—now knew what to think of the position in relation to the Roman Senate. On the part of Germany, the Pope's Government had been met in the most friendly manner, the hand for an understanding having been held out; the Senate, however, declined the offer with a rude haughty spirit, and proclaimed, at the same time, that it had nothing to do with peace. What peace, what understanding, what compromise? Was it likely the German Empire would submit, and blindly approve of all the demands of Rome? Would it proclaim the Syllabus, and regulate its code of laws according thereto? Would it recognise the Infallibility of the Pope, and therewith also his right of sovereignty over all temporal governments? Would it adopt measures to restore the old Catholics, and, lastly, bring all its Protestant subjects into the lap of the only saving Church? If it was to act thus, then would the Pope graciously grant it peace, and there would be nothing more on earth but heavenly felicity.

This was clearly the position which Rome took up: there could be no longer any doubt about it. "Still," the Imperial Chancellor asked himself, "who has influenced Rome to assume this position?" There could, of course, be no other answer to the question than "that the sons of Loyola had done it." It was they who had everywhere poisoned the instruction of the Catholic youth; it was they who had hounded on the German bishops to battle against the laws; it was they who had preached open sedition in Posen; it was they who rebelled in everything against the State. It was to them the invention of the Syllabus and the Infallibility was due; and shall Germany

submit any longer to this? Would it be justified in quietly leaving the matter alone until things had gone on to such a height as to occasion another Thirty Years' War?

Truly, indeed, had there been any other man at the head of the Imperial Government than the magnificent statesman we possess in Prince Bismarck, and, moreover, had there not been a colossal majority of the German people against the Jesuits, things would have taken a different turn from what actually occurred.

Indeed, in October 1871, the German Protestant Assembly had unanimously passed the following resolutions:

"I. Respecting the dogma of the Papal Infallibility. (1) In so far as the Infallibility of the Pope, determined by the Council of the Vatican of 1870, simply implies the intention of establishing the absolute authority of the Pope within the Catholic Church, the Protestant Union abstains from any remark regarding it. (2) In so far, however, as the new Romish dogma shall serve, in a Jesuitical sense, (*a*) to attack the sovereignty of modern States in general, and the German Empire in particular, (*b*) to endanger the confessional peace in Germany, (*c*) to threaten the liberty of mind, freedom of conscience, and our whole culture; the German Protestants, and the whole of the German people, are induced and obliged to oppose determinedly this threat to States, to peace, and to modern freedom of thought, and to operate vigorously and carefully for the removal of these serious perils.

"II. As regards the Jesuit Order. In consideration (1) that the Jesuit Order consists entirely of members who are estranged from their families, from civil society, from their native country, and implicitly obey the orders of their Roman superiors; (2) that the Jesuit Order is no union of free individuals, but a strictly disciplined spiritual army corps, under officers and a supreme General; (3) that the Society, since its re-establishment by Pius VII. (Bull of 7th August 1814), as before its abolition by Pope Clement XIV. (Brief of 21st July 1773), worked with the sole object of renewing and accentuating the mediæval supremacy of the Roman Hierarchy over the human mind, and setting up again the supreme power of the Pope of Rome over princes and peoples; (4) that the Jesuit Order has declared war against the entire cultivation of mind in the world, no less than against modern law, and civil as well as political liberty

(see Encyclica of the Pope of 8th December 1864), and has striven to hinder the religious moral development of mankind; (5) that it disturbs and undermines the peace of families in a way which threatens the continuance and development of the German Empire, and on every occasion shows enmity to the rights of German Protestantism; (6) that it destroys the education of youth by priestly training, by mortification of the love of truth, by the annihilation of conscientious spontaneity, by slavish submission to the authority of the hierarchy, and thereby deeply injures the development of the formation of the character and mind of the nation and of individuals; (7) that it promotes superstition and the weakness of men for the increase of riches, and wickedly contributes to the extension of its dominion; (8) that the freedom of union and of religious associations are only rightly constituted in so far as they conform to the ordinances of the State and of law, and are subordinate to the same:—in consideration of all these things, the German Protestant Union expresses its conviction that the security of legal order, and the authority of the laws and the power of the State, the well-being of civil society, the preservation of confessional peace, and the protection of spiritual freedom and spiritual culture, demand the State prohibition of the Jesuit Order in Germany. The Union also looks upon it as an earnest duty of the German Protestants, and of the whole German nation, to act in regard thereto with energy, that all interference in school and church matters, should be put a stop to as regards those belonging and affiliated to the Jesuit Order."

Thus did the German Protestant Union express itself unanimously in October 1871, hailing from Darmstadt, where it was then assembled, and hundreds of thousands joyfully agreed with it. However, of course, the German bishops, at the head of whom were those of Ratisbon, Limburg, and Paderborn, at once espoused the cause of their oppressed friends, the sons of Loyola, and most energetically and openly declared their intense grief, as well as moral indignation, at the most unwarrantable persecution of the calumniated members of the Society of Jesus.

"The same" (the members of the Order of Jesus), affirmed the Archbishops of Cologne and Posen, as well as the Bishops of Breslau, Treves, and Münster, in a declaration of somewhat later date, "distinguish themselves by a truly moral and Chris-

tian behaviour, and by their thorough knowledge, their sound principles in theological science, as well as their zealous and blessed efficacy in the cure of souls, leaving besides, nothing indeed, to be desired. As regards their attitude, also, towards the State, it is, indeed, the truest and most loyal, and it can be only evil-disposed men who would accuse them of anything to the contrary."

It would have been cowardly had the bishops acted differently; but facts are not to be controverted by phrases, and it was bad, indeed, very bad for the Jesuits, that proofs of their generally injurious proceedings, so inimical to the State, accumulated daily more and more. Therefore, when the Parliament assembled in the spring of 1872, at Berlin, petitions to it poured in from all sides, which took their stand-point on the Protestant Union, and demanded the prohibition of the Order of Jesus by the State. The most remarkable thing, however, as regards these petitions, was that they proceeded almost entirely from Catholic supplicants, and each of them supported itself upon authenticated facts. It is true, indeed, that petitions were also presented against the expulsion of the sons of Loyola, and, indeed, to the very considerable number of 151. But when the particulars in regard to the preparation of these latter were investigated, it was found that they all ran quite alike, and had been manufactured after the same model, and hawked about by some friends of the Jesuits.

Could any value, then, be attached to such kind of fictitious things? No, certainly not; on the contrary, the other petitions were all the more to be regarded with attention, because they desired that a highly cancerous affection should be extirpated. The Parliament was looked to with anxious eyes, as to how it would settle the matter; and, at first, it was not known for certain whether one might rejoice or not. It was reported, indeed, that the Liberal majority in the Parliament intended to request the Imperial Chancellor "to bring about an understanding in the Federal Government, on the general principles relative to Religious Orders, in order to establish legal protection to subjects of the State against ecclesiastical authority, a project of law being submitted to Parliament, whereby the settlements of Jesuits and other allied Orders should depend upon the approval of the State."

It was thus reported, and, in fact, the Parliamentary Commission which had to consult about the Jesuit petitions decided on a proposition to this effect, by a majority. But, already, in the said Commission, voices made themselves heard which went much further, and especially Deputy Windhorst, of Berlin, expressed himself in the following terms: "The Order of Jesus is dangerous to the Empire, because it teaches unconditional submission to the hierarchy, and ascribes to the Church rights which are incompatible with the existence of a well-ordered State. The Jesuits are also dangerous to the Empire because they have persecuted the new Empire with glowing hatred, excited false representations among the Catholic population, sought to diminish the value of the Empire, and represented it as a declared enemy of the Church and of religion. Lastly, the Jesuits are dangerous also to culture, because they have disturbed the peace of civil society, and impeded the moral development of the people. They are, therefore, to be opposed with all, even the most severe measures, and only a law of prohibition, which must be courageously enforced, can be of any avail."

The motion of the Committee for Petitions, it will be seen, appeared too lukewarm in the eyes of Deputy Windhorst, of Berlin, and when, in the middle of May, the Imperial Diet entered into consultation on the subject, many sided with him from the outset.

"From the very day"—thus reasoned Deputy Wagener of Newstettin—"from the very day on which the Vatican Council was inaugurated, the religious dissensions in Germany are to be dated. The Governments have hitherto shown an unpardonable indulgence in this matter, and hence the Catholic Church deems herself more powerful than in reality she is. There exists, however, a very large party within her who crave to be freed from the oppression now exercised by Rome—an oppression which, even by good Catholics, is denounced as quite unbearable. The Jesuitical reaction starts from the principle of ignoring entirely the State, and straightway identifies revolution and reform. It is impossible for the German Government to face with folded hands an agency which questions the very foundations of the State; and, therefore, it is likewise impossible for the State any longer to maintain the same position with regard to the Jesuits which it has maintained until now."

Several other members of the Diet spoke in the same strain, amongst the number, Kiefer (from Baden), Fisher (of Augsburg), Lucius, Schulze, Marquardsen, and M. Barth. Finally, Wagener and Marquardsen joined in the following motion :

"The petitions anent the Jesuits are to be made over to the Chancellor of the Empire, with the demand : 1. To bring about such a condition of the public law as will secure religious peace, parity of all confessions, and the protection of the citizens against any encroachments on their rights on the part of the spiritual power. 2. In particular, and, if possible, during the present session, to bring in a Bill which (on ground of the preamble and Article IV., paragraphs 13 and 16 of the Imperial Constitution) will regulate the legal status (*modus standi* ?) of religious Orders, congregations, and communities, the question of their admission, and the conditions thereof, and will render their proceedings, particularly those of the Society of Jesus, in so far as they are dangerous to the State, punishable by law."

On this motion a division took place in the Imperial Diet on May 16th, 1872, and it was carried by the immense majority of 205 votes against 84.

Thus the Diet left it, as it were, with the discretion of the Imperial Government to proceed with more or less severity against the religious Orders, particularly the Jesuits, and people watched with intense curiosity, to see how it would act. At first it appeared as if, for the present, *i.e.* during this session, no Bill concerning the ecclesiastical relations would be brought in; for, in the first instance, such a highly important matter could not be treated precipitately; and, in the second place, the regulation of the relations between State and Church could only be established in its entirety by a whole series of laws. But the Catholic clergy, or rather the Jesuitical Ultramontane party which swayed them, bore itself with greater arrogance every day; and it soon became evident that, at least against the Jesuits, some immediate measures must be taken. Some stop had to be put to their intrigues, unless the State was to abdicate all authority, and consequently the Federal Council deliberated at once on the question.

After a few meetings, it came to the resolution that in this very session a Bill of Urgency against the Jesuits should be

moved, and as early as the 11th of June 1872 it was ready framed. Its wording was:

"Project of a law concerning the limitation of the right of domicile of the Jesuits in the German Empire. § 1. To the members of the Order of Jesuits, or of any congregation affiliated to this Order, even if they are natives of Germany, the domicile in any spot of the federal territory can be interdicted by the local police authority. § 2. All regulations requisite for the enacting of this law will be issued by the Federal Council."

This short project was submitted to the Diet on June 12th, 1872, and two days later it already stood on the order of the day. Naturally so, for momentous interests were at stake.

On the 14th of June 1872, the consultation regarding the Jesuit law difficulty began; and a hot day it was, this 14th of June. The great friend of the Jesuits, Mallinkrodt, the most accomplished and clear-sighted head of the Ultramontane Central Party, opened the debate, and omitted nothing that could be said in praise of the Jesuits. But Deputy Wagener, of Newstettin, replied to him not the less sharply and incisively, and his opposition carried with it all the more weight as he was invested with the high office of Councillor in the Prussian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He showed, in the first place, that the proposed law was merely one of necessity, and proved that it rested on a real need, because the doings of the Jesuits had risen to a height dangerous to the State in the fullest degree. He proved, by official documents, that those black Fathers aimed at nothing less than collecting together all the enemies of the Empire, in order, in combination with France, to begin a war of revenge. He proved, moreover, that during the summer, large Jesuit missions were to be held in Posen and Silesia, in order to set up a general Polish insurrection, strengthened by the Poles in Galicia. He proved that the disobedience of the bishops, and their recusance in regard to the observance of the laws, were fomented by the Jesuits, and that their aim in such a line of conduct could be no other than the kindling of strife which, as a matter of fact, had, indeed, already begun. He proved——but what need have I to occupy myself any longer with details?

The great majority of Parliament on that memorable 14th of June, was thoroughly on the side of Government, and it became,

indeed, apparent, that if peace were to be maintained, the proposed law must, indeed, be made even more severe, and the expulsion of the Jesuits enforced in its entirety.

At the second sitting of Parliament, on the proposition of Deputy Meyer von Thorn, it was accordingly resolved by the Liberal section as follows:

"1. The Society of Jesus and all Orders allied to it, as well as congregations of a similar nature, are prohibited within the territory of the German Empire. The establishment of settlements of this Society is interdicted. The settlements at the present time existing must be dissolved within a time fixed upon by Parliament, at the most not exceeding six months.

"2. Those belonging to the Society of Jesus, and any congregation allied to them, may, if they are foreigners, be expelled from the German Empire; in so far, however, as they may possess German rights and privileges, their sojourn shall be forbidden in certain districts, or a fixed place of residence assigned to them.

"3. For the carrying into effect of this law, regulations shall be determined by Parliament. The measures adopted in this respect shall be executed by the police authorities. Difficulties in regard to any arrangements which may be ordered in conformity with this law appertain to Parliament, which may commission a committee, appointed by it, for the discharge of the same. There shall be no delay regarding any difficulties."

This modification of the project of law was not only an improvement upon that drawn up by the German Government, it was, in fact, something quite new, totally differing from the previous scheme. The Government contemplated no further object in their plan than to obtain a permit, in order to enable them to proceed against Jesuitism; but now it was proposed to make a law according to which no Jesuit might in future exist on German territory, and if this proposition passed through, the Government would be compelled to eject all Jesuits.

The debate upon this new modification of the Jesuit law, came on in Parliament on the 17th June, and the result was its approval by a large majority. The chief stroke was given by Deputy Völk, known as a Bavarian Catholic, and we cannot do better than quote some passages from his speech. "It is

a question," said he, "as to whether the German Empire shall become subservient to the Jesuit power, or liberate itself from the same. Were it merely a matter regarding the five or six hundred Jesuits, viewed as individuals, it would not be worth the trouble to make so much talk about it, but it is a point as to whether the whole Jesuit Ultramontane clergy, as a huge corporation, shall be allowed to comport itself like a great power. Indeed, it is a question affecting the Papal power itself, which, in our days, has identified itself with Jesuitism, and it has come so far as this, that the Jesuit Ultramontane Catholics represent themselves to be the only true representatives of the Faith. The new Romish Jesuitical reactionary combination permeates through the whole of Europe, and, as the Jesuits have made themselves tributary to Rome and the Romish Church, thus the German clergy has also become in a great degree subservient to them. Look at Spain; there, at least, 200 Ultramontane parsons stand at the head of the Carlist insurrection that has broken out. Look at France; there an alliance is notoriously sought with the Jesuits, in order that by means of the combinations which they maintain in Germany, a revenge may be taken on this latter State. Indeed, in France they calculate on this alliance with the German Catholics, and, on this account, one may read almost every day in the Ultramontane organs of the press the quite unconcealed threat, 'Only wait until the French come back again, we shall then show to you what will become of the German Empire!' Look at Belgium; shall we, perchance, allow things to come to pass with us as they have done there? Shall we wait until the Jesuits have also eaten themselves into all circles among us, until capital as well as labour have become subservient to Jesuitism? I have a conviction that the spirit of the German people will become master of the Romish and despotic Jesuitism. But do not let us think meanly of the struggle! Had things been allowed to remain as they were of old in Rome; had not all the new decrees been issued under the guidance of the Jesuit Order, which have in every war engendered discontent and hatred, it would not have arrived so far as a combat. But we have thus been attacked, and we must accept battle. We now do so, and I am confident we shall obtain the victory; so surely as the German people have driven the foreigners in defeat over the Rhine,

in like manner, also, will they know how to drive the foreign foe over the Alps."

Thus spake Catholic Völk, and afterwards the project of law—as it had been proposed by Deputy Meyer von Thorn—came to be accepted by a most decisive majority, at the third reading, on the 19th of June 1872, after it had undergone some immaterial amendments. The Parliament thereupon directed that the Order of Jesus, with all its dependencies, should no longer have any existence in Germany; and it only now remained to be seen whether the Imperial Government would act upon this decision. But how could there be any doubt about it, as there had not been the least opposition in Parliament to the proposition of Meyer? The authorities must certainly have been in favour of the law, otherwise they would have pursued a different course of conduct, and it appeared to be also certain that the other Governments of the Diet would give their hearty approval. But all doubt disappeared when, on the 10th of July, the law, bearing date 4th July, relative to the Society of Jesus, was promulgated in the Imperial Law Gazette; it ran thus:—

"1. The Order of Jesus and the societies allied to it, as well as congregations similar thereto, are excluded from the territories of the German Empire. The establishment of settlements of the same is interdicted. The settlements at the present time existing are to be dissolved within a period to be fixed by Diet, which shall not exceed six months.

"2. Those belonging to the Order of Jesus, or to Orders allied to it, or to congregations similar thereto, shall, if they are foreigners, be expelled out of German territory; if they are natives of Germany, their place of residence in certain districts or places, is prohibited as may be decreed.

"3. The necessary regulations as to the carrying out and securing the complete execution of this law shall be issued by the Diet."

It was thus proclaimed in the Imperial Law Gazette, and it now became apparent that the sons of Loyola, together with those connected with them, and the congregations dependent on them, would shortly disappear from German soil. Yes, indeed, it was clear that they would depart; or, as may be better said, be made to depart, and in fact the work was at once commenced. The first of the Black Cloaks who prepared themselves for

departure were those in Essen, and their emigration took place, partly to Holland, Denmark, and England, partly to France, Spain, and North America. After them went the Fathers of Maria-Laach, as well as those of Cologne; the latter, however, only after having been made to declare, by the police, whereto they intended to direct their steps. In Posen, the pious Fathers acted as if the law of expulsion did not apply to them, and even on the 31st of July, they celebrated the festival of their founder, Ignatius Loyola, with extraordinary pomp; but on the day following, the District Council declared the congregation of their Church to be dissolved; forbad their reading mass, preaching, teaching, and hearing confessions; and fixed a short time for them to quit the cloister.

Precisely the same occurred during the first days of August, in Münster, in Metz (as in the new Imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine the same law now applied), in Schrimm (whence the Fathers emigrated to Galicia, to gladden thereby the Austrian Empire), in Bonn, in Strasburg, in Aix-la-Chapelle, in Kreuzberg near Bonn, in Gorheim near Sigmaringen, in Marienthal and Bornhofen in Nassau terrritory, in Mayence, in Ratisbon, and all places where the Jesuits had settlements; and everywhere, or at least almost everywhere, they submitted themselves, without resistance, to the regulations of the police authorities. Only in Essen did there come to be some disturbances, but, on the whole, of inconsiderable character. At Ruda, in Silesia, the pious Fathers sought to evade the law, by declaring themselves to be only private individuals, the guests of Count Ballestrom, from whom they received board and lodging; but the police allowed no "x" to be made into an "u," and the sons of Loyola were obliged to take their departure out of Essen and Ruda, as well as their other settlements. And no regard was paid in the least degree to the circumstance that one or other called himself a high-born lord, a mediatized count, or a prince; for the aristocratic gentry were compelled to take their departure out of the Empire exactly as the citizens, seeing that the desire was to get rid of the objectionable Society under any circumstances.

But not merely were the Jesuits proper to be proceeded against, but all other Orders which stood in any close relationship to them, or even allowed themselves to be influenced by

them; such as the Redemptionists, in the territory of Nassau, as well as in Treves and Bochum; the school-sisters, who in great numbers had taken possession of the people's schools throughout the whole of Germany, on account of the want of teachers; the hospital Fathers in Posen territory, and the Sisters of Mercy in Kurnick and elsewhere; the Franciskanissen, in Salzkotten (Westphalia); the Order of the Ladies of the Holy Heart (*Dames au Sacré Cœur*) in Silesia and Posen; and the cloisters of Women of the Poor Child Jesus, in Bonn, and elsewhere on the Rhine. The ways and means, however, which were employed to ascertain what cloisters and Order communities should be abolished, were very simple.

The Burgomasters of all places in which monks and nuns were to be found, had to furnish replies to the following questions: "(1) Name of the Order. (2) Number of members (among whom, how many foreigners, and how many natives?) (3) Organisation (superintendence by superior General with unlimited legal powers). (4) Discipline (implicit obedience to superiors). (5) Object, aim, and principles (people's and Protestant missions, educational learning, moral teaching and educational method). (6) Connection with other Orders (affiliated to the Jesuits; directed by the Jesuits)."

In this way a conclusion was soon formed as to which Orders were particularly dangerous; and, although one or other of the Societies might deny being in any relationship to the Jesuits, they were at once abolished unless they were completely able to clear themselves. It was still, however, of far greater importance that an end should be made of the many unions which owed their origin to the Jesuits, and the Prussian Minister of Religion issued, with this object, the following order, under date 4th July 1872:

"It has come to my knowledge that in several provinces of the State there exist many congregations, arch-brotherhoods of the Family of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, and other religious bodies, which are intended partly for the instruction of scholars at gymnasia and universities, as well as other higher educational institutions, partly that these latter persons should become enrolled members. I resolve, therefore, that the religious communities now existing, connected with gymnasia and the higher educational institutions, shall be dissolved; that the scholars thereof shall be forbidden to sympathise with these religious

bodies in any way; and that all proceedings raised in opposition to this prohibition shall be severely punished—if necessary, by removal from the institution."

What a new blow was this for the Ultramontane party! Those unions had been expressly called into existence by the Jesuits in order to indoctrinate the students and pupils of the gymnasia in superstition, as well as in order to obtain from them a contribution for the Pope from the weekly money given by the parents. They had been established with the view of exercising an absolute influence upon the students at gymnasia, and that they should be drilled into strict obedience to the Jesuitical superiors. The pupils and gymnasium students had to accede to those unions and sodalities, as they had to fear being punished by the professors adhering to the Jesuits, or being treated under the suspicion of being heretical. They had to put up with them because they were forced by moral compulsion; and they were, therefore, immensely relieved when they found themselves freed from the unions, with their religious exercises and devotions.

The Jesuit Ultramontane party were under the impression that the Government of the German Empire would not dare to enter into the lists against them. They believed this, because they held it as their opinion that they would have at their back the whole Catholic population of Germany, and that it would be fool-hardy on the part of the authorities to make so many millions their deadly enemies, or even to excite them to raise a revolution. But, behold, it now appeared that the Catholic population of Germany was, in by far the greater part, not in the least affected by the expulsion of the Jesuits. It is certainly true that some of the German bishops loudly and publicly protested against the Jesuit law, "as a severe injury to the legitimate independence and liberty of the Catholic Church, and of its inner religious life." It is undeniable that they proclaimed to the world, trumpet-tongued, that there never had been a holier or more respectable Order than the Society of Jesus, "the whole of whose members were filled with the most sincere respect for authority, and most intense love of their Fatherland." It is certainly the case that here and there Ultramontane ecclesiastics held devotional services for the "oppressed" Church; and, again, that others ascended their pulpits in order to call for an

intensely sad farewell to the "pillars of heaven" (that is to say, the sons of Loyola). It must certainly be admitted that the Ultramontane print, *Germania*, devoted to the exiles a highly pathetic greeting on their departure, in which the sentence occurred that the martyred sons of Loyola left Germany as "victors"; and in this respect it was imitated by other prints of the same nature. It cannot also be gainsaid that there was much wailing and gnashing of teeth among the praying sisters of the Catholic cathedrals, and that they would not be comforted at all, at the loss of their beloved Father Confessors.

How did the great majority, however, of the Catholics of Germany take up the matter? It may be well said, with inner satisfaction, if not with unspeakable joy; "at all events, with the persuasion that the Imperial Government had acted rightly in expelling from their entire borders the cruel disturbers of peace, the deadly enemies of toleration and authorised equality of belief." On that account, nowhere, with the exception of the town of Essen, did there occur any agitation or dissatisfaction, in that the Jesuits had to take their departure, but, on the contrary, all breathed more freely, and it was even said by many Catholic parsons, "God be praised"; as, of course, wherever the Jesuits made their appearance, there they set up their missions, in order to make the abode of the wicked hot for the easily-excitable people; there they brought strife into society and into families; there they put the clergy against the overseers, and denounced everyone who did not work with fire and flame in their interest. Thus the whole of the thinking world, among Catholics as well as among Protestants, repeated the words "God be praised that they have gone"; and abroad it was thought that we Germans were indeed fortunate in having such a Government.

Moreover, the Prusso-German Government proceeded against the bosom friends and chief protectors of the Society, viz. the bishops, as they had done against the Jesuits and Jesuitical unions, inasmuch as these magnates of the Church, in declining obedience to existing laws, had made interference necessary; and the first instance of this occurred in the case of Chaplain-General Ramzanowski, Titular Bishop of Agathopolis.

In Cologne, for twenty-four years, the Catholic military worship of God had taken place in the Evangelical Garrison Church of St. Pantaleon, with approval and agreement on all sides. Now

the old Catholics in Cologne proposed, in January 1872, that they should be allowed, at certain stated hours, to have a service for themselves in St. Pantaleon. This was permitted with the consent of the Prussian War Ministry. Upon this Chaplain-General Ramzanowski declared the said church to be desecrated —one sees here how the Infallibilitists hated those who denied the Papal infallibility—and, without asking the Minister for War, or even making him the least acquainted with the matter, interdicted the parson, Eünnemann, at Cologne, from further holding the Catholic service in the Church of St. Pantaleon. The parson obeyed, intimating the circumstance to the Minister of War. The latter, however, represented at once to the Chaplain-General the impropriety of his conduct, as also the possible consequences thereof, and demanded that the Catholic military public worship should be held, as before, in the said church. Naturally the Chaplain-General, a subordinate of the Minister of War, ought simply to have obeyed; but, instead of doing so, he informed his superior that he had referred the matter to the Pope in Rome, in order to make himself certain as to how far his conduct met with the approbation of His Holiness. This was unexampled presumption; nevertheless it was shortly to become even more glaring.

On the 21st of May 1872, the Chaplain-General Ramzanowski, by order of the Pope, laid an interdiction and prohibition on the use of the Pantaleon church, as having been desecrated by the Old Catholics, and, by direction of His Holiness, prohibited afresh the parson Eünnemann from the exercise of any ecclesiastical act whatever in the said church; further, he threatened the latter with excommunication in the event of disobedience, and declared that the church would remain under this interdict as long as it continued to be in the use of the Old Catholics. By this step arrogance was now brought to its height; as there was, in this conduct, not only a public disobedience to the War Ministry, but also a solemn infringement of the rights of the State, under whose protection all creeds are placed on an equality. Besides, did it not appear evident in the clearest manner, from the appeal made to the Pope by the Chaplain-General, that the holy Father was to be looked upon as the supreme ruler, before whom all peoples and governments had to bow the head? The Prussian Government, of course,

instantly suspended the Bishop Chaplain-General from all his functions, and forbade the whole of the Catholic military clergy from paying attention, in any way whatever, to any orders of their ecclesiastical chief.

They proceeded not the less determinedly, also, against Bishop Dr. Cremenz, of Ermeland, and they were compelled to do so to prevent themselves losing all respect whatever. The said bishop, a most vehement Ultramontane, to be compared to few, allowing himself to be led astray by his Jesuit counsellors, had, at the end of the year 1871, when the pious Fathers had not yet been expelled, proceeded to decree the great excommunication against Professors Dr. Michelis and Dr. Wollmann, because they professed Old Catholicism, and even proclaimed from the pulpit this punishment of the Church. This latter step, up to the present, no bishop, not even an archbishop, had dared to do; and now the question came before the Prussian Government whether it could tolerate such a thing. The matter was considered in all its aspects; but it was, at length, unanimously agreed that an injury to the reputation of the State lay in this Church punishment, which was directly contradictory to Prussian law. Consequently, the Minister of Public Worship, no longer Herr von Mühler, but Dr. Falk, challenged the Bishop to explain, respecting this, how he could bring his measure of excommunication into accordance with the pledged obligations of his honour as a citizen. The Bishop found it convenient not to give any answer, probably with the hope that the thing might be allowed to go to sleep; but this did not happen, and the result was that, in April 1872, an admonition came from the Minister of Public Worship. So then Bishop Cremenz found himself compelled to give an answer; but what was it that he replied? Simply this, "that a contradiction between State law and ecclesiastical law did not at all exist, while an injury to the honour of the citizen excommunicated had not taken place through the publication of the excommunication; in any case, however, ecclesiastical law was more binding for him than civil law." With this the Prussian Government was, as a matter of course, not satisfied, and the Minister of Public Worship was obliged to put a formal request before the Bishop whether he was willing to submit himself to the laws of the land. Thereupon an infinitely courteous and soft answer came from

the Bishop; an answer, however, the contents of which were not, on that account, at all satisfactory. The Bishop wrote "that he was quite prepared to obey the law of the land when the latter was not in contradiction to the law of God. Besides, it is for the Catholic Church, that is, for him, the Bishop, and in the last instance for the Pope, to decide what the law of God was. Now the *Excommunicatio major* undoubtedly belonged to the law of God, and, therefore, on that account, the Bishop could under no circumstances revoke it. On the contrary, he was obliged firmly to maintain the same in spite of the common law of Prussia." This amounted to a public mutiny against State law, and there remained nothing else, therefore, for the Government to do but to deny him the State recognition which had before this been accorded. In other words, there remained nothing for it but to break off all State relations with him, and to declare his enactments for the future null and void; and, what was the main thing, to withdraw the income—35,000 thalers—which he had hitherto derived from the State. That this would occur, the Bishop foresaw; but he hoped to be able to elude the dire blow by a personal appeal to the Emperor, whose acknowledged benevolence he claimed for himself. The above reply was written in August 1872, and in the following month a great fête was to be celebrated in Marienburg—"The reunion of the province of West Prussia and Ermeland with Germany, as had formerly been the case a hundred years ago." The Emperor had promised to be there, and one may imagine that the old Monarch would on that day have nothing but a smiling countenance for everyone. Building upon this, the Bishop had written an extremely humble letter to the Emperor, begging that he might be graciously allowed to appear at Marienburg at the head of his clergy, in order to testify to His Majesty the expression of attachment of the Catholic Church of Ermeland. Such a direct solicitation was very graciously accepted by the Emperor, and he ordained that, in the meantime, all harsh measures against the Bishop should be suspended; causing it, at the same time, to be intimated to the latter that it would not be in his power to receive from his hands a loyal address until the conflict still going on between the Bishop and the State Government had been settled. The Emperor accordingly demanded, in the most peremptory manner, "the Bishop shall absolutely

acknowledge the sovereignty of the State and the efficacy of the laws, and when this had taken place he, the Emperor, would then joyfully receive from the Bishop the expression of attachment." Upon this, the Bishop now addressed another letter to the Emperor, which he caused to be despatched on the 5th September, and in this letter he employed every artifice of dissimulation. "He recognised," said he therein, "the full sovereignty of secular authority in the dominion of the State, and declared that there existed no other power therein. For this reason, he would fulfil his duty by obedience to the laws to the fullest extent. On the other hand, however, he avowed that, in matters of faith, and in the way of eternal weal, the revelation and law of God served as the sole irrefragable rule, and he herein submitted himself with equal unreserve to the revelation of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the authority of the Church instituted by Him."

What was the meaning of this? The Bishop declared that he recognised the sovereignty of the State in its own dominion, exactly in the same way as he unreservedly recognised ecclesiastical authority in its dominion. Did he not in this way leave a back door open for himself? Or how would it be when a State command stood in opposition to an ecclesiastical decree? When, for instance, the Pope ordered the Old Catholic professors to be excommunicated, while the State declared this to be contrary to the laws of the country, because no one could be openly deprived of his religion? Whom was the Bishop to obey in this case? Upon this the cunning gentleman did not express his opinion, under the conviction that the Emperor would not remark his Jesuitical reservation, and would be satisfied with his apparently cordial declaration. But the double meaning of the Bishop's language was at once recognised, and the Emperor commissioned Prince Bismarck to compel the ecclesiastic to make a candid declaration. With the view of carrying out this matter, the Prince now took his own peculiar way in order to put the Bishop, with his assurances of obedience, to the proof. If the spiritual lord really intended to render obedience to the law of the land, he must also acknowledge that he had to be subservient to the precept of the common law, which the so-called greater excommunication, without consent of the State, interdicted. He must also admit that,

as he had pronounced such excommunication in two cases, he had acted illegally. With this view, on the 9th September, Prince Bismarck wrote to the Bishop as follows:

"The declaration of your Episcopal Grace, of the 5th of this month, to His Majesty the Emperor and King, bears in its aspect a contradictory character, though I cannot but hope that it will be possible for your Episcopal Grace to put His Majesty in a position that would enable him to receive you. But, as official counsellor of His Majesty the Emperor and King, I can only admit of the personal reception of your Episcopal Grace by the same most mighty potentate when it is first of all consistent with the dignity of the Crown, every doubt being removed by your unreservedly and completely acknowledging the authority of the laws of this country, made by our King. Your Episcopal Grace has broken the law of the land, inasmuch as you have decreed the greater excommunication publicly against subjects of His Majesty. According to my judgment, it cannot be difficult for your Episcopal Grace to acknowledge these facts to the ruler of your country. As soon as this acknowledgment is made, it will give me much pleasure to see every obstacle removed which, up to the present time, has prevented your personal reception by His Majesty, our most gracious lord and master.

"v. BISMARCK."

Thus did Prince Bismarck write, and there remained no longer any back door open for this tortuous-minded Bishop. What did he do, however? He declined the admission that he had broken the law of the land, and thereby testified that it was impossible for him to obey the law of the land so long as the Church—that is, the Pope—commanded anything to the contrary. It now rested with the Government to take action, if it did not choose to acknowledge that the Church was predominant over the State; and, therefore, the Bishop was informed that all payments to him would be discontinued, seeing that the income of the Bishop had only been granted him on condition he should acknowledge that the laws and constitution of Prussia were applicable to and binding upon him.

In this manner the Government of the German Emperor dealt with the presumptions of the Jesuitical Ultramontane

party; but with this has all come to an end? No; what has already occurred was merely the beginning, and can, so to speak, only serve as a payment on account. The Jesuits have taken their departure, but the spirit of Jesuitism still remains in the bishops, and against them must the laws be so applied as to make all future ecclesiastical arrogance impossible. We, then, again repeat, "We have now done with the foreigners over the Rhine; we shall deal similarly with the foreigners across the Alps."

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